

Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens

*Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's Tenth-Century
Baghdadi Cookbook*



ENGLISH TRANSLATION WITH
INTRODUCTION AND GLOSSARY

BY

NAWAL NASRALLAH

Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens

Islamic History and Civilization

Editorial Board

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Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens

Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's Tenth-Century
Baghdadi Cookbook

English Translation with Introduction and Glossary

By

Nawal Nasrallah

Arabic text edited by
Kaj Öhrnberg and Sahban Mroueh
The Finnish Oriental Society, 60 Helsinki, 1987



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Sketches by Nawal Nasrallah

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*An ancient recipe
my mother handed down to me:
“Whenever it feels like the world is closing in upon you,
remember your wedding days.”*

إفلا ضاقتُ بك الدنيا نذكر الأيام عرسك

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PREFACE

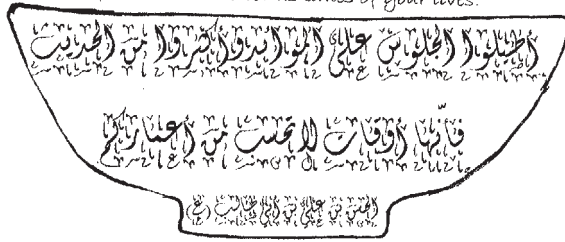
Had I foreseen the ordeals and perplexities, the challenges and frustrations that translating a cookbook had tossed me into for the last three years, perhaps I would not have undertaken the task. But I am glad I had not, for the translation proved a most gratifying experience. Throughout, the desire to spread the word about this most interesting book was my leading spur. Al-Warrāq's tenth-century *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* is the earliest known, and the most important culinary document to have come down to us from medieval times worldwide. It is a complete text, well written, thoughtfully devised, and abounds with illustrative poems and anecdotes, most of which are nowhere else preserved. The book's comprehensive Introduction addresses these and other aspects of interest to the modern reader as it places al-Warrāq's work in the era's cultural and historical contexts.

Although Arabic has not changed much since the Middle Ages, many names of objects and ingredients have metamorphosed or fell out of use altogether. Overcoming this daunting hurdle would have been unlikely without medieval lexicons and books on dietetics, medicine, and botany. What sometimes limits the benefits of such sources is their tendency to refrain from explaining a given ingredient because it is too 'well-known' *mā'rūf*. Added to this, are the semantic confusions due to the medieval copyists' disinclination to use the dots and diacritics to differentiate otherwise graphically similar words. I was lucky to have at my disposal numerous electronic texts through a website, www.alwaraq.net, whose search functions saved me hundreds of hours of going through the voluminous printed versions looking for a meaning or a clue. This, however, did not eliminate trips to the library in order to check possible typographical or editorial errors in the scanned editions.

In translating this cookbook, my main concerns were accuracy and readability. Each of the book's gastronomic poems, more than eighty in all, traditionally follows a single rhyme scheme. Reproducing them in verse form was not my intention, although I could not resist the temptation to use a rhyme or two here and there. My decision to fully translate all the poems is based on the fact that they constitute

a rare culinary mine worthy of exploration. Guided by comparable readability principles, the medieval weights and measures are followed by the modern equivalents throughout the book. The Glossary, which derives mainly from medieval sources, and the Appendix on people and places are meant to help animate a world a thousand years apart. My choice of the illustrations was similarly motivated.

Sit
at dinner tables
as long as you can
and converse to your hearts' desire,
for these are the bonus times of your lives.



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I owe a special thanks to Michael Haddawi for his careful copy-editing. I am grateful to Trudy Kamperveen, assistant editor at Brill, for her unwavering enthusiasm for the project the last two years or so, and her efforts to smooth the way so that it may see the light. To the editors Anita Roodnat-Opdam and Caroline van Erp I take off my hat for their remarkable and unfailing assistance. And as with food when the best is left till last, I am thankful to my husband Shakir Mustafa for his insightful comments, advice, and most of all patience, for the journey was long.

INTRODUCTION

PART ONE

I. *Discovery of Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*

In 1939, A. J. Arberry drew attention to Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's cookbook in a footnote to his translation of al-Baghdādī's cookbook *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, written in 1226:¹

Since the translation and preface were written, I have had the opportunity of examining an old manuscript of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which consists of a *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* by one Abū Muḥammad al-Muẓaffar b. Naṣr ibn Saiyār al-Warrāq (Hunt 187). I hope to show in a forthcoming paper that this work, which is of the greatest interest, was written some time during the 4/10th century, by a writer who had access to the actual recipe-books of the Abbasid Caliphs.²

A couple of years earlier, the Syrian scholar, Ḥabīb Zayyāt, noted the existence of the Oxford manuscript, and speculated that it was written during the Abbasid era. In 1947, he published the book's introduction and table of contents, and promised an edited volume.³ Despite the interest generated by the manuscript, the edited text did not come out before 1987.

The two editors of the Arabic text, Kaj Öhrnberg and Sahban Mrouch, tell of their excitement at the discovery of what they describe as a 'gem' of a manuscript at the University Library of Helsinki, an Arabic cooking manual, with a title page half torn, lengthwise:⁴

¹ Shams al-Dīn bin al-Ḥasan bin al-Karīm al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, more on him in Section V, below.

² "A Baghdad Cookery Book," *Islamic Culture* 13 (1939): 30, n. 5.

³ "Kitāb al-Ṭibākha," *Al-Mashriq* 35 (1937): 370–71; "Fann al-Ṭabkh wa Iṣlāḥ al-Aṭ'ima fī 'l-Islām," *Al-Mashriq* 41 (1948): 18–26. In 1948 Maxime Rodinson brought more attention to it by mentioning Zayyāt's remarks on the manuscript. See "Studies in Arabic Manuscripts Relating to Cookery," *Medieval Arab Cookery* (Blackawton: Prospect Books, 2001) 101–02.

⁴ Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, *Studia Orientalia* 60 (Helsinki: The Finnish Oriental Society, 1987) editors' Introduction, iii–iv.

كتاب الط (بيخ)
 في إصلاح الأغذية المأ (كولات)
 وطيب الأطعمة ال (مصنوعات)
 مما استخرج من كتب (...)
 الطهارة وما (...)
 من ملح الشعر ف (...)
 مما عني بجمعه وتأليفه (...)
 كشاجم

The manuscript mentions *Kushājim*, the well-known Abbasid poet and accomplished man of letters (d. c. 961),⁵ as the author/compiler, and according to the editors' judgment the copy was made in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Comparing it with the Bodleian Library manuscript of *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* by Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, they were pleasantly surprised with the fact that both copies were "one and the same work."⁶ The Bodleian manuscript carries this title:

كتاب الطبيخ وإصلاح الاغذية
 المأكولات وطيبة الماطعمة المصنوعات
 مما أستخرج من كتب الطب والفاظ
 الطهارة وأهل اللب تأليف أبي محمد
 المظفر ابن نصر ابن سيّار الورّاق

Thus they were able to edit the cookbook using the Oxford manuscript as a master copy because it is better written and less defective than the Helsinki manuscript. When their edition was ready for the

⁵ See Appendix for more information on him.

⁶ The Oxford MS was copied no later than the thirteenth century (editors' Introduction, iv). Originally, the book was written sometime during the second half of the tenth century. See Section III below for more details.

press, they learnt of the presence of a third manuscript in Istanbul,⁷ but it was too late for them to use it at that point.

On the discrepancy in authorship between the two manuscripts, the editors opted to rule out *Kushājim* because no early biographers mentioned he had a cookbook. Therefore, they embraced al-Warrāq, as the author/compiler of *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* even though this decision was also problematic because no information other than the book exists about him.

The editors' decision seems right even though *Kushājim*'s name is evidently associated with cookbooks and recipes. To begin with, he rose to fame not as a poet, but as the court cook of the Hamdanid king of Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla (d. 967). People used to call Sayf al-Dawla's age *al-ṭirāz al-mudhahhab* 'the gilded royal robe' due to the exceptionally distinguished talents he surrounded himself with. *Kushājim al-ṭabbākh* 'the cook' was counted as one of them.⁸ *Kushājim*'s gastronomic poetry enjoyed a wide circulation in the Abbasid literary circles.⁹ In this cookbook alone, many of the food poems are of *Kushājim*'s composition.

As for recipes, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* does indeed contain several of his, but unlike the poems, they pass uncredited. However, this can be verified by comparing identical recipes in the Istanbul manuscript *Kitāb al-Ṭabāyikh*, where they, in addition to some new ones, are attributed to him.¹⁰ Besides, medieval sources that confirm he authored cookbooks do indeed exist. The earliest is *Sirr al-Ālamayn wa Kashf mā fī al-Dārāyn* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111).¹¹ In his section on bakers, cooks, and butchers, al-Ghazālī recommends that cooks consult *Kushājim*'s cookbooks (كتب الطباخ لكشاجم). Another source is fourteenth-century *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* by Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī.¹²

⁷ It is an adapted and augmented edition executed in 1297. More on this in the following section.

⁸ al-Ṣafadī (d. c. 1362) *Al-Wāfi bi 'l-Wafayāt* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 2921.

⁹ A notable example is al-Mas'ūdī's famous passage on the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustakfi (d. 949) and the gastronomic poems recited to him. Several of them belong to *Kushājim*. See *Murāj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 693-97. Arberry translated the passage in "A Baghdad Cookery Book," 21-29. Al-Warrāq includes some of these poems in his cookbook, which I translate afresh.

¹⁰ See Section IV. 3 below.

¹¹ (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 8.

¹² (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 456.

Despite the aforementioned regarding Kushājim, al-Warrāq's name still weighs heavier in the balance. First, a cookbook by an accomplished cook and a renowned gastronomic poet like Kushājim would have most probably been a personal unified collection of his own dishes. Perhaps more like a cooking guide, as al-Ghazālī's advice for professional cooks clearly suggests. *Kūtāb al-Ṭabīkh*, on the other hand, is a compendium of recipes for dishes prepared for and by rulers, dignitaries and the affluent, tailored to the wishes of a commissioner.

Second, the editors convincingly argue that had the author been Kushājim, he would not have referred to himself when quoting his own poetry by saying *anṣhadanī* 'he recited to me.'¹³ It is quite possible that somewhere down the road of copying and recopying this cookbook, the name of Kushājim as the author/compiler was jotted down in some of the copies because he was better known for his culinary pursuits than al-Warrāq.

Third, although Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq is never mentioned in the extant medieval books, the reference to him on the title page of the Istanbul manuscript, copied in 1297, as *raḥimahu Allāh* 'May God have mercy on his soul' (the deceased) does indeed establish him as an author in his own right. Two centuries after his death, he was still the distinguished '*ālīm wa fāḍil*' 'learned and most excellent.'¹⁴ His copy, according to the detailed title page of the Istanbul manuscript, was possessed by no less than the Ayyubid King al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb of Damascus and Egypt (d. 1249),¹⁵ and I might add, his famous wife Queen Shajarat al-Durr (d. 1257), who was of Turkish origin.¹⁶

¹³ This occurs about nine times in the text. See David Waines, "Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq and *Kūtāb al-Ṭabīkh*," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988) 326.

¹⁴ The preliminary Turkish Introduction, fol. 1v. See the following section for details on this manuscript.

¹⁵ He was great grandson of the Ayyubid King Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn known as Saladin in the West (d. 1193).

¹⁶ She was a slave girl, whom Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb freed and married after she gave birth to their son al-Khalīl. She was an accomplished woman, knowledgeable in the affairs of the kingdom. See Khayr al-Dīn al-Zarkālī, *Al-A'lām* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 406.

II. *The Istanbul Manuscript*

A third manuscript Öhrnberg and Mroueh did not have the chance to use in editing the Arabic text of al-Warrāq's cookbook is the Istanbul manuscript of Topkapi Sarayı.¹⁷ Since I use it in this translation to verify the edited text, and make references to it, a brief discussion is in order here.¹⁸

The first of two title pages, written by a later hand,¹⁹ reads:

(كتاب الوصلة الى الحبيب ليغتنى به عن جهد الطبيب)

Kitāb al-Wuṣla ilā 'l-Ḥabīb, li Yughṭanā bihi 'an Jahd al-Ṭabīb
(*The Book of Winning a Lover's Heart and Sparing him the Need for a Doctor*)

A preface follows, written throughout in Ottoman Turkish, also added at a later date. It first contains the familiar greetings and paying respects to the author:

عالم وفاضل ابو محمد مظفر بن نصر بن ستار الوراق رحمه الله

Most learned and virtuous, Abū Muḥammad bin Naṣr bin
Sattār al-Warrāq
May God have mercy on his soul (fol. 2r)

It is followed by a list of the chapters of the book (fol. 2r–5r). Then comes a full title page written in Arabic (fol. 6r). It begins with a main title, given in large script:

¹⁷ Library of Ahmed III, signum A. 2143.

¹⁸ Professor Kaj Öhrnberg, co-editor of al-Warrāq's book, wrote an article on the manuscript, so far the only one available on the subject. It is "Ibn Sattār al-Warrāq's *Kitāb al-Wuṣla ilā 'l-Ḥabīb*," *La alimentación en las culturas islámicas* (1994): 23–35.

¹⁹ Öhrnberg's comment. He also suggests that the title *Kitāb al-Wuṣla ilā 'l-Ḥabīb* might well have been an "almost institutionalized name for a whole genre," and that "it need not necessarily be introduced by the author or compiler; it can come about in the course of copying, or even in the process of cataloguing the manuscripts." See "Ibn Sattār al-Warrāq" (24, 25–26). An extant thirteenth-century cookbook that carries a similar title is *Al-Wuṣla ilā 'l-Ḥabīb fī Waṣf al-Ṭayyibāt wa 'l-Ṭīb*, attributed to Ibn al-ʿAdīm (see the fourth point in Section V, below).

كتاب الطبايح

Kitāb al-Ṭabāyikh (*The Book of Cooked Dishes*)

Right below it, is this line (regular-size script):

وقد سَمِّيتُ هذا الكتاب الوُصلة الى الحبيب ليستغنى به عن علاج
الطبيب

(I have called this book *Winning a Lover's Heart and Sparing him the Need for a Doctor*)²⁰

It was most probably inserted later by the same hand that did the first title page and the Turkish Introduction. Then follows a detailed descriptive title of the book, which can visually be divided into three segments:

والمطجنات والبوارد والزياتين
والمخللات والخبيصات والزلابيات
والامياه والشرابات والفقاع والانبذة
والمربيات وهو مائة وثلاثون بابا
من كل فن

(And braised and cold dishes, olives, pickles, puddings, fritters, water, drinks, beer, wines, and conserves. It has 133 chapters,²¹ comprising all kinds of foods and dishes)

وإصلاح الاغذية الماكولات وطيب الطاعمة المصنوعات
مما استخرج من كتب الطب والفاظ الطهارة وأهل
اللب تأليف ابي محمد المظفر ابن نصر ابن ستار الوراق
رحمه الله

²⁰ The word *jahd* is replaced with *‘ilāj*, both may mean ‘treatment,’ in the given context.

²¹ Cf. the edited MS, which has 132 chapters.

(And preparing salubrious foods and delectable dishes, extracted from medical books and told by proficient chefs and the wise.²² Written by Abū Muḥammad al-Muẓaffar ibn Naṣr ibn Sattār al-Warrāq. May God have mercy on his soul)²³

وقد جُمع هذا الكتاب من خزائن الخلفاء وخزائن الملوك ومن
فنون جميع الاقاليم من كل فن وهي نسخة كتاب عند
الملك الصالح نجم الدين ايوب هذا مما جمع من لطف الزمان
مما اقتخر به جميع الصنائع في سائر البلاد والاقاليم وجريه
الواثق بالودود مسعود ابن مودود

(This book was garnered from the coffers of caliphs and kings. It covers all varieties of dishes taken from all regions. This is a copy of a book owned by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. It is a compilation of the most exquisite dishes, all tried by al-wāṭhiq bi 'l-Wadūd—he who puts his trust in the All-loving God—Mas'ūd ibn Mawdūd)

The title page mentions that this is a copy of a book owned by the Ayyubid King Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb of Damascus and Egypt (d. 1249),²⁴ It also confirms al-Warrāq's authorship of the cookbook. It was executed in 1297 (fol. 285v) by one Mas'ūd ibn Mawdūd, who tried the recipes *jarrahahu* himself.²⁵ As for calling himself al-wāṭhiq bi 'l-Wadūd (he who puts his trust in the All-loving God), that was one of several epithets medieval writers sometimes used if they happened to rhyme with their names, probably to give them an authoritative ring.²⁶

Essentially, the Istanbul manuscript is an adaptation of al-Warrāq's original work. It is both abridged and augmented, and Mas'ūd ibn Mawdūd seems to have been responsible for putting it together. He

²² Up to here in this paragraph, it is identical with the title of the edited MS.

²³ When copying in medieval times, it was easy to mistake سيار for ستار because the dots were not always added.

²⁴ See notes 15 and 16 above.

²⁵ Öhrnberg argues against the possibility that he is 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn Mawdūd, the fifth Zangid Atābak of Mawṣil (d. 1193) due to lack of evidence that he has any culinary pursuits of his own ("Ibn Sattār al-Warrāq," 27).

²⁶ Cf., for instance, al-mudh'in li 'l-Ma'būd, al-wāṭhiq bi 'l-Wadūd, Maḥfūz bin Maḥmūd, mentioned in Abū Nu'aym al-Aṣbahānī, *Ḥulyat al-Awliyā'* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 1923.

tried the existing recipes, added some of his own, and enriched the volume, God bless him, with valuable explanations and instructions, not to be found anywhere else in the extant medieval cookbooks. Enough evidence in the book shows that he was a proficient chef who had a propensity for teaching the culinary arts.²⁷ We also know that he was a great fan of fish, sausages, *sanbūsaj*, and legumes, especially lentils, for he added many such dishes. Internal evidence also supports the view that he was Egyptian. In the augmented parts which do not belong to al-Warrāq, there are several references to ingredients that were and still are more commonly used in Egypt than in Iraq such as *mulūkhiyya* ‘Jew’s mallow.’ He mentions kinds of Nile river fish such as *rāy*, *būrī*, *lūtīs* (fols. 62r, 67v), or calling *bāqillā* ‘fava beans’ *baysār*. Of the locations mentioned is Asyūt. In a chapter on fish, he tells us how delicious a fish dish he tasted in Tinnīs and Dimyāt was, but when it was made for him in Cairo it did not taste as good, and he attributes this to air and environment.²⁸

As an adapted and augmented edition of al-Warrāq’s book, it lacks the origin’s artistic coherence, elegant brevity, and structural unity, which begins with the preliminaries and essentials of food, equipment and nutriment, and ends with the benefits of sleep. Indeed, going through the Istanbul manuscript of 285 folios looking for al-Warrāq is a wild roller-coaster ride, with dizzying ups and downs and sudden turns beginning and ending with al-Warrāq’s recipes, but in the interim a lot goes on, as the following sketch shows:

1. The beginning is smooth and the chapters correspond with the edited text of al-Warrāq, except that verses and sources are left out. Then starting with Chapter 21, there begins a tendency to leave out some recipes or insert others, some of which seem to be of Mas‘ūd ibn Mawdūd’s making. Such additions include eight sausage recipes (fols. 54v–57r), seven *sanbūsaj* recipes given instead of the poems in al-Warrāq’s (fols. 57v–59r). In the corresponding Chapter 37, thirty

²⁷ Examples of his additions and comments: “sausage recipe that I cooked” (*laqāniq min tarkibinā*), fol. 56r; he explains the three ways for preparing *sanbūsaj*, fol. 57r; he explains the difference between poached fish (*salīq*) and dressed fish (*maḥshū*), fol. 63r; “a recipe I myself prepared” (*min ‘amalinā*), fol. 65r; a piece of advice on the best oils to use for browning fried foods, and how to get rid of the unpleasant odor (*zaḡfar*) of cooked birds, fol. 121v; he tells of foods he tasted and liked, fol. 133r; a recipe for sliced and spiced meat of his own invention (*allaftuhā*), fol. 192r; he says, “I mention here all the things I have tried,” fol. 239v.

²⁸ He actually said Egypt عمل لنا بعصر (fol. 63v). To this day, Egyptians refer to Cairo and surrounding areas as Miṣr.

fish recipes are inserted (fols. 59v–68v), the biggest collection of fish dishes I have seen in the extant medieval cookbooks.

2. Chapter 42 and upwards, only one or two recipes are copied from each chapter. However, chapters on lentils and beans are given in full, which betrays the personal preferences of the augments.

3. Six chapters on drinks are replaced with a variety of dishes (fols. 105r–13r). Then recipes on drinks and preserves resume and the concluding chapters on hand-washing preparations follow. This portion ends with some sections from al-Warrāq's Chapter 131 on table manners. However, the last chapter on sleep is not included. Evidently, for the Istanbul manuscript it is not naptime yet.

4. The ride gets a little too wild with a long series of chapters taken from sources other than al-Warrāq: two chapters on preparations that help with food poisoning and other medical conditions. Despite a note that this will be the last chapter, the recipe orgy goes on. A long section (fols. 121v–219r) dealing with meat dishes, some of which are similar to al-Warrāq's and others are new such as varieties of stews, spicy dishes, rice dishes, dishes of boiled meats and vegetables, enhancing salt, cooking eggs, sandwiches, *sanbūṣajāt*, *ṭardīnāt*, omelets, poultry dishes, fish, dips and sauces for fish dishes. The value of this section lies in the fact that it is peppered with new names of celebrity cooks, new cookbooks to be discovered, and some valuable explications that Mas'ūd tosses into the mix on techniques and ingredients.

5. Then follows a block of recipes dealing with lentil and bean dishes, only one is similar to al-Warrāq's (fols 219r–27r). There is, as well, a challenging recipe, a cook's feat, on preparing ten kinds of meat dishes, and ten kinds of poultry dishes using one pot, all in 3 to 4 hours (fols. 227r–28r). Then follow *ṭharīyid* dishes (broken pieces of bread sopped in rich meat broth), intriguing cheese pies and pastries, and a chapter on different kinds of bread and sweet pastries such as *kunāfa* and *qaṭāyif* (228r–41v).

6. Abruptly, the course of recipes takes a new turn, and we start all over again with meat dishes, mostly roasted meat but also grain dishes (fols. 241v–53v).

7. A short chapter on enhancing oil is given, a useful one for us modern readers, notwithstanding, for it explains a cooking technique not found in other extant medieval manuals (fols 253v–54r). It is followed by the last part of the ride, in which we are back to al-Warrāq's recipes from Chapter 41 to Chapter 104, which deals

with *nāʿīf* ‘nougat’ (fol. 254r–86r). The collection here is selective and some of al-Warrāq’s recipes, already mentioned in the first part, are repeated here. However, this time the names of sources al-Warrāq gives are included along with two anecdotes on the *sikbāja* dish and two poems. Possibly a different copy of al-Warrāq’s book, other than the one used at the beginning, is used in this part. Then a colophon ends the volume (fol. 286r). It mentions that copying the book was finished in 14 *Ḥamādī al-Awwal* 696 H/17 March 1297 AD.

An adapted augmented text, notwithstanding, the Istanbul manuscript is a valuable culinary source in its own right. The portions taken from al-Warrāq are useful in filling some lacunae and in correcting some of the problematic readings of words and phrases in the edited text. For instance, in Chapter 17 on vegetable oils and their properties, the last type of oil is written as *duhn al-baṭn* (دهن البطن) ‘belly oil,’ which does not make sense in the given context. The Istanbul manuscript removes the mystery by naming the oil *duhn al-buṭm* (دهن البطم) ‘terebinth oil’ (fol. 38r). The other portions not affiliated with al-Warrāq constitute a rare mine for medieval culinary information such as new names of cooks and cookbooks, as well as well-written and tried—we may assume—recipes not to be found in other sources. Replacing the poems and amusing anecdotes of al-Warrāq’s cookbook with recipes and instructions indicate that the main objective of whoever adapted and augmented al-Warrāq’s volume was to produce a cook’s book.

III. *Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq and Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*

Based on internal evidence, the editors of *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, Kaj Öhrnberg and Sahban Mroueh, speculate that the book was written sometime during the second half of the tenth century. Of the Abbasid Caliphs al-Warrāq mentions, al-Muktafi (d. 908) is the last. Of the identified literary figures, the latest to survive within the timeline they give is *Kushājīm* (d. c. 961).²⁹ I should add, though, that this evidence needs to be modified, since other names who outlived these two are found in the text. They are the two viziers of al-Muqtadir (d.

²⁹ Öhrnberg, “Ibn Sattār al-Warrāq,” 31.

932): *Shaffī* al-Muqtadirī (d. 943) and *Hāmid* bin al-‘Abbās (d. 923).³⁰ Caliph al-Muqtadir himself (d. 932) is mentioned in Istanbul MS, where a *sanbūsay* recipe was made especially for him (fol. 58v). There is also Mu‘nis al-Muẓaffar al-Mu‘taḍidī (d. 933).³¹ Of the poets, al-Warrāq mentions al-Ḥāfiẓ, who outlived *Kuṣḥājīm*. Al-Ḥāfiẓ was already 101 years old when his son died in 1009.³² These additions, nonetheless, would still possibly place the book in the second half of the tenth century, as the editors state. Based on the following, I would suggest more precisely the beginning of the second half of the tenth century if not even earlier—say 940s:

One of the poets with whom al-Warrāq establishes a personal note by saying ‘he recited to me’ *anṣḥadanī*, namely Abū al-‘Abbās al-Adīb,³³ died as early in the tenth century as 906. Besides, that the poet *Kuṣḥājīm* with whom al-Warrāq establishes a similar personal note, died around 961, does not necessarily push the book’s composition date that far. The reason is that most of *Kuṣḥājīm*’s poems were already well-known in the second quarter of the tenth century. Some of his poems, which al-Warrāq includes in his book, are already mentioned in al-Mas‘ūdī’s famous anecdote on the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustakfī (d. 946) and the gastronomic poems recited to him (693–96). If we assume that when al-Warrāq was still in his twenties had contact with Ibn al-Adīb at the beginning of the tenth century before the latter left for Egypt where he died, then writing the cookbook in his sixties or seventies, in the 940s/50s, will be our closest bet.

Al-Warrāq was commissioned to write a cookbook on the dishes and foods of caliphs, lords, and dignitaries. Of his commissioner, we know nothing besides his gastronomic aspirations to emulate the ways and means of the high-cuisine that such people enjoyed salubriously, and his curiosity regarding how they wine and dined and the dishes and drinks prepared for them, or they themselves might concocted. We also know that he was a reader with whom wayward discourses, long-windedness, and peculiarities do not sit well. Of the

³⁰ al-Warrāq, last recipe in Chapter 81; *Hāmid* bin al-‘Abbās is mentioned as *Hāmid* in al-Warrāq’s book, Chapters 85, 93, 94.

³¹ al-Warrāq, Chapter 90. His last position was commander of the army of al-Muqtadir.

³² See Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukḥṭaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq* 3159.

³³ al-Warrāq, Chapters 6, 50.

author/compiler of this commissioned volume, we know nothing other than his book.

His nickname, al-Warrāq, suggests he was in the book business, which involved copying manuscripts, compiling volumes, perhaps authoring some, and trading in them. In medieval times, such people used to practice their profession in special abodes, called *sūq al-warrāqīn*—literally market of people dealing with paper—where writers bought the stationary they needed, and where deals were struck, copies of books were commissioned and executed, and new ones were researched and compiled or authored. The shops in such markets also served as research libraries. The famous Abbasid writer al-Jāhīz (d. 869), for instance, built his encyclopedic knowledge by renting whole bookshops and reading their collections.³⁴ We can safely assume that al-Warrāq's gastronomic and literary knowledge and access to such amenities enabled him to tailor the book to his commissioner's taste.

Even though al-Warrāq's primary purpose for writing *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* was to 'anthologize' the celebrated Abbasid cuisine in a comprehensive recipe book for dishes and drinks, he had an eye on demystifying it to facilitate its duplication in relatively simpler kitchens. The anecdote of the sultan's chef and *sikbāja* stew in his first chapter sets the right tone, "Do you think," the chef asks, "that dishes cooked in the sultan's kitchen are any different from the familiar ones? The ingredients used there are no other than vinegar, fresh herbs, meat, eggplant, gourd, and saffron, and the like. In fact, it is the meticulous cleanliness of ingredients and pots that makes the difference" (81). Additionally, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* serves as an instructive manual for a healthy living, systematically arranged in an elegant and coherent compilation.

The book is divided into 132 *abwāb* 'chapters.' It begins with the basics of kitchen utensils and ingredients, the humoral properties of foods, advice on how to avoid any harm that food may cause, and the benefits of exercise before the meal (Chapters 1-30). Al-Warrāq then glides through the categories of snack foods and cold dishes, usually served before the hot meal or with it, prepared with red meat, poultry, fish, and vegetables (Chapters 31-47). Next, he embarks on preparations of stove-dishes cooked in pots and served hot with bread, beginning with the basic *mā' wa milḥ* (literally, 'water

³⁴ See, for instance, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 69.

and salt,' dishes of meat simmered in broth) and porridges and bean dishes. He then proceeds to varieties of meat stews, braised and fried dishes, and omelets (Chapters 48–86). From the stove he switches to outdoor cooking using the *tannūr*, grill, and the rotating spit *kardabāj* (Chapters 87–92). Dessert comes next (92–104) followed by dishes for the sick (105–9). Drinks, some of which are alcoholic, cover a number of chapters that include recipes for digestives (110–26). Since eating necessitates washing the hands before and after the meal and cleaning the teeth, there are recipes for hand-washing compounds and recommended varieties of *khilāl* 'toothpicks' (Chapters 127–29). Because eating was a social activity, literally, as diners share not just a table but also communal dishes, knowledge of specific etiquettes of dining with friends and dignitaries is necessary (Chapter 130–31). The book duly closes with a chapter on the benefits of having a nap after a meal (Chapter 132).

Within the course of these chapters, al-Warrāq incorporates 615 recipes taken from more than twenty cookbooks by or for caliphs, princes, physicians, prominent political and literary figures, professionals, and the like. However, the fact that he himself might not have been the author of the recipes does by no means detract from his achievement. Particularly significant is his effort in compiling and organizing such a huge volume from an extensive number of culinary and dietetic sources. Indeed, the book shows insignificant signs of being an amalgamation of various sources, with a good deal of 'editing' on his part to achieve the unified feel of his 'anthology.'

As a practical culinary guide, al-Warrāq duly uses lucid, straightforward, and grammatical language, tinged here and there with local expressions and vocabulary. Only in one recipe in the book—the last in Chapter 114—does the style suddenly become heavily colloquial. One of the sentences even somewhat verges on the gibberish:

ويضاف اليم بفلس شمر غريض ولباب فلو ش مرتين أخضر³⁵

A second look at the recipe heading gives the clue. It says it is *wasfa* 'recipe' for raisin wine made the Egyptian way, '*alā raʿ ahl Miṣr*. Readers familiar with the Egyptian dialect then and now will recognize typical Egyptian expressions and dialectical idiosyncrasies such

³⁵ For comments on the sentence, see Chapter 114.

as pronouncing ‘s’ as ‘sh.’ This is reproduced here effectively and amusingly to give the reader not only a recipe but a taste, as well, of the region where it came from.

The chapter headings of the book reveal al-Warrāq’s penchant for the literary and the artistic. They are given a literary ring—albeit somewhat forced and artificial to the modern ears—through use of rhyming words *sq̣*. Geert van Gelder describes this as a “tour de force” that is “unusual even in works of a literary nature.”³⁶

Al-Warrāq’s literary interest is further revealed in the supplementary material he provides. There is a good number of entertaining stories related to the dishes such as their evolution, as in Chapter 86 on *ṭabāḥija*; and their proverbial preparations, as in Chapter 49 on the slave-girl Bid’a and her *sikbāja*; and the amusing anecdotes on table manners, generosity, and stinginess, as in Chapter 131. Besides, he includes eighty-six poems of various lengths on a variety of subjects related to food. For Greet van Gelder the poems are “the equivalent of the luscious color photographs of modern cookery-books” (64). There are twenty-one instances where the recipes are followed by poems describing how the dishes are cooked. Of these Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, the Abbasid gourmet prince, has the lion’s share, or I should say, the dragon’s share—twelve poems.³⁷ Forty-nine gastronomic poems describe dishes, drinks, ingredients, hunting, and picnicking episodes. Six poems are about hand-washing compounds and toothpicks, *ushnān* and *khlāl*; and ten poems are on the subjects of hospitality, stinginess, parasites, and human nature in general. Of these, there is only one instance where al-Warrāq inserts verses he himself recited, *anshadtu* (I recited). However, he is modest enough to hasten to cite lines by another poet on the same subject, and admits to their superior eloquence (513). In fourteen instances, he establishes a personal note with the poet he is quoting by saying *anshadanī* ‘he recited to me.’ Nine of these occur with the prominent Abbasid literary figure Kuṣḥājīm (d. c. 961),³⁸ thrice with Abū al-

³⁶ *God’s Banquet: Food in Classical Arabic Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) 64.

³⁷ Ibn al-Mahdī was nicknamed *al-tinnīn* because he was dark-skinned and huge. See Abū al-Faraj al-Aṣbahānī, *Al-Aghānī* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 762. *Tinnīn* is the name of a huge serpent or dragon. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. تنن (<http://www.alwaraq.net>).

³⁸ The poems occur in Chapters 44, 69, 87, 101, 102, 104, 113, 128, 129. For information on Kuṣḥājīm and others, see Appendix.

‘Abbās al-Adīb (d. 906),³⁹ once with Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥakīm (d. 944) in Chapter 1, and once with al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. c. 1010) in Chapter 51.

The book is populated with figures from all walks of life. More than one hundred are mentioned by name, and they range from caliphs and their households, princes, viziers, military leaders, dignitaries, physicians, tutors, scholars, boon companions, entertainers, poets, professional court cooks, slave girls, famous wine and vinegar makers, bakers, confectioners, merchants and their servants, diners, hosts, and the incorrigible parasites always on the lookout for feasts.

IV. *Sources of Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*

The culinary manuals, cookbooks on dishes and drinks, and volumes on dietetics at al-Warrāq’s disposal were numerous, as one can surmise from what he cites in his book.

IV.1 Here is an alphabetical list of names he specifically mentions as having copies *nuskha*. We may safely assume that not all the copies associated with Caliphs’ names were actually written by them as some might have been written for them. Besides, there are instances where al-Warrāq mentions names in association with recipes without indicating whether they are taken from their cookbooks, but we already know they do have books, based on other sources:⁴⁰

1. ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umar (عبد الله بن عمر) Ibn ‘Umar (إبن عمر) his nickname was al-Bāzyār.⁴¹

2. ‘Abdūn (عبدون) known for his Christian recipes. He has a cookbook entitled *Mā Ya’kuluhu al-Marḍā wa ’l-Ruhbān wa ’l-Naṣārā* ‘foods that sick people, monks, and Christians eat.’⁴²

³⁹ The poems occur in Chapters 6 and 50.

⁴⁰ For details on the persons mentioned in this section, see Appendix.

⁴¹ Bāzyār is the keeper of falcons used in hunting wild animals. He has several books on this subject, which al-Warrāq could have used for his book. For more information on this subject, see the fifth point in Section IV.3, below.

⁴² See Zayyāt, “Fann al-Ṭabīkh,” 17. Some of his recipes of vegetarian dishes for Lent and the sick included in *Kitāb Waṣf al-Af’ima al-Mu’tāda* (fourteenth-century augmented version of al-Baghdādī’s cookbook) are said to have been taken from his book (كتاب ابن عبدون), 443–50.

3. Abū al-Ḥasan (أبو الحسن),⁴³ who might have been Jaḥḥa al-Barmakī (d. 908), the well-known singer and boon companion; or al-Munajjim (المنجم) (d. 888) boon companion of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muʿtamid. Al-Warrāq does not mention that the recipe was taken from a copy, but we know both of them wrote cookbooks. Ibn al-Nadīm says Jaḥḥa has *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* ‘cookbook,’ described as *laṭīf* (interesting), *Kitāb Faḍāʾil al-Sikbāj* ‘the virtues of *sikbāj* stew,’ and *Kitāb al-Nadīm* ‘a guide for boon companions.’ Al-Munajjim has *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* ‘cookbook’ (86, 187).

4. Abū Samīn ‘Abdullāh bin Samīn (أبو سمين عبد الله بن سمين) professional chef of Abbasid Caliph al-Wāthiq (d. 847).

5. al-Amīn, Muḥammad bin Hārūn (الامين محمد بن هارون) (d. 813) Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

6. al-Buzūrī (البزوري) (d.909) nickname of a famous Baghdadi merchant. Although the edited text does not mention his *nuskha* (copy), the Istanbul manuscript refers to his book as *Kitāb al-Buzūrī* (fol. 262v).

7. Ibn (al-)Dihqāna (إبن دهقانة) (d. 891) governor (*wālī*) of Basra, and boon companion.

8. Ibn Māsawayh, Yūḥannā (إبن ماسويه) (d. 857) the Nestorian physician. Ibn al-Warrāq mentions taking recipes from his book but does not give its title. Of Ibn Māsawayh’s books that al-Warrāq might have possibly used are *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (cookbook), *Daḡ Madār al-Aghdhiya* ‘avoiding the harms of nutriments,’ *Kitāb al-Ashriba* ‘the book of drinks,’ and *Kitāb al-Siwāk wa ʾl-Sunūnāt* ‘book of toothbrushes and toothpicks.’⁴⁴

9. Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī (إبراهيم بن المهدي) (d. 839) Abbasid prince, son of Caliph al-Mahdī, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His book is *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* ‘cookery book.’

10. Ishāq bin al-Kindī (إسحق بن الكندي) (8th/9th centuries) scholar, physician, and philosopher.

⁴³ As it occurs in the Helsinki and Istanbul MSS (Chapter 121). In the Oxford MS, it is mentioned as Abū al-Ḥurr (?).

⁴⁴ Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbā fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʾ* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 167.

11. Jālīnaws (جَالِينُوس) Claudius Galen, the second-century Greek physician. His translated volume is *Kitāb al-Aghdhiya al-Musta'mala* 'the book of familiar foods.'

12. al-Mahdī (المهدي) (d. 785) Abbasid Caliph, father of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

13. al-Ma'mūn (المأمون) (d. 833) Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

14. Mu'nīs al-Muẓaffar (مؤنس المظفر) (d. 933) an army commander. The edited text does not mention he has a cookbook. In the Istanbul manuscript, he is referred to by his nickname al-Mu'taḍidī (المعتضدي), and the preposition *min* 'from,' used in both recipes attributed to him, indicates they were copied from a book (fols. 126r, 248r).

15. al-Mu'tamid (المعتمد) (d. 892) Abbasid Caliph. He has a cookbook written for him.⁴⁵

16. al-Mu'taṣim (المعتصم) (d. 842) Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

17. al-Ṣūlī, Abū Ishāq (أبو إسحق الصولي) (d. 857) famous poet and man of letters. Al-Warrāq uses some of his recipes but he does not mention he has a cookbook. However, Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* says he has *Kiāb al Ṭabīkh* 'cookbook' (72).

18. al- Wāthiq (الوائق) (d. 847) Abbasid Caliph.

19. Yaḥyā bin Khālīd al-Barmakī (يحيى بن خالد البرمكي) (d. 805) mentor and vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd. That he wrote a cookbook or had it written for him is confirmed in a passage in the anonymous Andalusian thirteenth-century cookbook *Anwā' al-Ṣaydala* (53).

20. Ya'qūb bin Ishāq al-Kindī (يعقوب بن إسحق الكندي) (d. 873) physician and philosopher. Al-Warrāq uses his book *Al-Ālāt wa 'l-Adawāt* 'implements and utensils.'

IV.2 Al-Warrāq attributes recipes of dishes and drinks to a number of people, known and obscure, but he does not mention they have cookbooks. Neither do we have evidence that their recipes were

⁴⁵ As mentioned in the anonymous Andalusian thirteenth-century cookbook *Anwā' al-Ṣaydala fī Alwān al-Afima*, ed. Abū al-'Azīm (al-Dār al-Bayḍā': Maṭba'at al-Najāh al-Jadīda, 2003) 53.

documented in books. It is quite possible that some were circulated as part of the oral culinary tradition. Instances of these are:

1. ‘Abdullāh al-Sharābī (عبد الله الشرابي) made *fuqqā* drink for al-Mu‘taḍid (d. 902). He could have been his butler.

2. Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Aḥwal (أبو عبد الله الاحول) might have been a recognizable name of a contemporary vinegar maker.

3. Abū Ḥamza (أبو حمزة) possibly Abū Ḥamza al-Sukkarī (d. 792), an admirable Abbasid personage, renowned for his hospitality and kindness.

4. Abū al-Mu‘allā al-Ḥalawānī (أبو المعلى الحلواني) might have been a well-known contemporary confectioner, judging from his nickname and recipe.

5. Bid‘a (بدعة) slave girl and excellent cook of the Abbasid prince Ibn al-Mahdī (d. 839), known for her *sikbāja* and *bawārid* dishes.

6. Būrān (بوران) (d. 884) wife of Caliph al-Ma’mūn, famous for her eggplant dishes.

7. Ibn al-Shiṭranjī (ابن الشطرنجي) son of Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī al-Shiṭranjī (d. 946).

8. Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (إسحاق بن إبراهيم الموصلی) (d. 850) famous Abbasid singer during the time of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd.

9. Um al-Faḍl (أم الفضل) wife of Yaḥyā bin Khālīd al-Barmakī (d. 805), mentor and vizier of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd. She was famous for her cold dishes *bawārid*.

10. Um Ḥakīm (أم حكيم) (d. 719) mother of the Umayyad Caliph ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Al-Warrāq cites her fried dish *qaliyyat Um Ḥakīm* for which she must have been renowned.

IV.3 Evidently, al-Warrāq does not always give credit for the recipes he uses. Luckily, I was able to find sources for some of them:

1. The first recipe in Chapter 33, stuffed fish *samak mahshū*, is included in the Istanbul manuscript (fol. 213r), with the additional information that it is taken from the book of al-Faṭḥ bin Khāqān (d. 861).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ There is another recipe (*mutajjana*) in the Istanbul MS, also taken from Ibn al-Khāqān’s book (fol. 127v), but al-Warrāq’s edited text does not have it.

2. The opening section of Chapter 32, which deals with general remarks on *muṭajjanāt* and *tabāhijāt* (varieties of braised dishes), is identical with a corresponding passage in the Istanbul manuscript (fol. 126r), where the source is given as *min al-Muṭaḍḍī* **من المعتضدي**.⁴⁷ *Min* ‘from’ denotes that the reference is to a book.

3. In the Istanbul manuscript (fols. 185r-v), there are recipes in “Chapter on Enhancing Salt, *Kuṣḥājīm*” (**باب في تطيب الملح**) **كشاجم**,⁴⁸ two of which are identical with al-Warrāq’s salt recipes in Chapter 21. The phrase *min nushkhatihi aydan* (**من نسخته ايضا**) ‘from his copy, too,’ clearly indicates that *Kuṣḥājīm* has a cookbook of his own (fol. 185r).⁴⁹

4. Also in Chapter 21, al-Warrāq gives a recipe for a laxative salt, which is included in the Istanbul manuscript with the additional information (**وجدته في كتاب جالينوس**) “I found it in the book of Galen” (fol. 185r). It is not clear here if ‘I’ refers to *Kuṣḥājīm*, or Maṣ’ūd ibn Mawdūd, the compiler of the Istanbul manuscript.

5. A short segment in which al-Warrāq describes meat of *zibā* ‘antelopes,’ in Chapter 48, is almost identical with a passage in *Al-Bayzara*, a tenth-century book on hunting written by Bāzyār al-‘Azīz al-Fāṭimī.⁵⁰ It is my contention that both al-Warrāq and al-Bāzyār drew on the same source, an earlier book on hunting. Quite likely this source was *Kuṣḥājīm*’s *Al-Maṣāyid wa ’l-Maṭārid* ‘hunting and chasing wild animals.’ *Kuṣḥājīm*, to begin with, was al-Warrāq’s acquaintance, to say the least.⁵¹ We have evidence that al-Warrāq did use *Al-Maṣāyid wa ’l-Maṭārid* in two more places in his book. The first one is where he quotes *Kuṣḥājīm*’s verses urging his son to be kind to him in old age (Chapter 8), and the second, where he mentions that the first to chase the wild animals on horse-

⁴⁷ Also known as Mu’nis al-Muẓaffar. See point 14 in Section IV.1 above.

⁴⁸ See above, Section I.

⁴⁹ Besides these recipes, *Kuṣḥājīm* is credited for a couple more in Istanbul MS (fols. 215v, 218r), the first is about making salted fish, mentioned as **سمك مالح من عمل كشاجم**, and the second is a sauce recipe served with fish, mentioned as **آخر من كشاجم**. Neither is included in al-Warrāq’s book.

⁵⁰ (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 44. The author is said to be Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Ḥasan bin al-Ḥusayn al-Bāzyār. He was the keeper of the palace falcons used in hunting wild animals. He served the Fatimid Caliph al-‘Azīz bi-Allāh (d. 996).

⁵¹ When al-Warrāq quotes *Kuṣḥājīm*’s poems he often precedes them with *anṣhadamī* ‘he recited to me.’

back was Rabīʿa bin Nizār (Chapter 48). These two segments are mentioned in al-Qalqashandī's book *Ṣubḥ al-Aḥṣā* as being taken from *Al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-Maṭārid*.⁵² Significantly, in both cases, al-Warrāq quotes *Kuṣḥājim*'s poetry without saying 'he recited to me,' an indication that he was copying from a book rather than having the verses aurally recited to him.

IV.4 In addition to the aforementioned sources, al-Warrāq had access to other cookbooks and manuals which he might well have silently incorporated into his book. The earliest bibliography of such books was made by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. c. 1000) in his *Fihrist*. The following list excludes the ones already mentioned above:

1. al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad (الرازي) d. 923, the famous physician, called "Galen of the Arabs," author of *Kitāb Aṭʿimat al-Marḍā* 'food for the sick' and *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* 'cookbook' (187).⁵³

2. al-Ḥārith bin Baskhar (الحارث بن بسخر) (9th century) has *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (187).

3. Maḥbarā (مخبرة) boon companion of Abbasid Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 902) has *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (187).

4. Aḥmad bin al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (أحمد بن الطيب السرخسي) (d. 899) was a confidant of al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 902), and wrote a cookbook for him divided according to the days and months of the year. He also wrote *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* 'cookbook,' and *Kitāb Ṣād al-Musāfir* 'traveler's victuals'.⁵⁴

5. Naṭṭāḥa, Abū 'Alī bin Ismāʿīl al-Anbārī (نطّاحة) (d. 903) a distinguished poet and man of letters, his book on cooking is *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (73).

6. Ibn Khurdādhbih (ابن خردادبه) (d. 912) boon companion of Abbasid Caliph al-Muʿtamid (d. 892). Of his books: *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* 'cookbook,' *Kitāb al-Ṣharāb* 'book of drinks,' and *Kitāb al-Nudamā' wa 'l-ḥulasā'* 'book of boon companions' (88).

Oddly enough, Ibn al-Nadīm overlooked *Kuṣḥājim* (d. ca 961) a

⁵² (<http://www.alwaraq.net>), 211, 227.

⁵³ Additionally, al-Rāzī has *Kitāb Daf Maḍār al-Aghḍhiya* 'fending off the harms of food,' which al-Warrāq might have found useful.

⁵⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm, 187; al-Qifṭī, *Akḥbār al-ʿUlamā' bi Akḥyār al-Ḥukamā'* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 37; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kaṣḥf al-Ḥunūn 'an Asāmī al-Kutub wa 'l-Funūn* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 711.

prominent gastronomic figure, whose cookbook(s) and verses, many of which were on food and hunting, enjoyed wide circulation.⁵⁵

IV.5 Another source for locating medieval cooks and cookbooks is the augmented Istanbul manuscript of al-Warrāq's cookbook, copied in 1297. It introduces Ghānim bin 'Abdul Raḥmān al-Qurashī (غانم بن عبد الرحمن القرشي), mentioned for his *laqāniq* recipe 'sausage'.⁵⁶ A recipe for *zīrbāja* stew is attributed to Bishr al-Khādim, the personal cook of the gastronomic poet Kushājīm, who wrote poems on his excellent cooking.⁵⁷

About five places in the Istanbul manuscript a cookbook entitled *Kitāb al-Atbikha* 'the book of dishes' is cited. Most of its recipes are uncredited (e.g. fols. 128r, 165r). However, there are instances where names are given such as Abū Dulaf (أبو دلف), the prominent Abbasid figure, poet, and military leader. A stew cooked with fruits is said to be his invention *abda'ahu* أبدعه (fols. 146v) and a dipping sauce *ṣibāgh* is made by him (fol. 218r). A recipe for *tafshīla*, a porridge-like dish with beans and vegetables (fol. 219r), is ascribed to Ibn Bāna (ابن بانة), the famous singer, musician, poet, and boon companion. Like al-Warrāq's cookbook, *Kitāb al-Atbikha* seems to have been a compilation of recipes. At some places where it is mentioned, we come across recipes identical with al-Warrāq's. For instance, the section entitled '*Tafshīlāt* from *Kitāb al-Atbikha*' (fols. 219r–221r) contains four recipes. One of them is identical with al-Warrāq's (Chapter 66). A section on cold chicken dishes in the Istanbul manuscript said to be from *Kitāb al-Atbikha* (fols. 128r–30r) contains five recipes identical with al-Warrāq's, in addition to some new ones. The question of who scooped from whom or whether both al-Warrāq and author/compil-

⁵⁵ Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), in his section on bakers, cooks, and butchers in *Sirr al-Ālamayn* (8), recommends that cooks consult Kushājīm's cookbooks (كتب الطباخ (كشاجم)). Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 1362) mentions him in *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 456.

⁵⁶ As the nickname suggests, he was a descendent of the Arab tribe of Quraysh, and might have been related (son?) to Abū Ghānim al-Qurashī, relative of the Umayyad Caliph Sulaymān bin 'Abd al-Malik (mentioned in al-Warrāq's book, (503)).

⁵⁷ Sulaymā Mahjūb and Durriyya al-Khaṭīb, eds., *Al-Wuṣla ilā 'l-Habīb fī Wasf al-Ṭayyibāt wa 'l-Ṭīb* by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm, 2 vols (Aleppo: Ma'had al-Turāth al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī, 1986) 1: 243.

er of *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* helped themselves to a third source still unknown to us remains inconclusive for now due to lack of information.

IV.6 The anonymous Andalusian thirteenth-century cookbook *Anwāʾ al-Ṣaydala* gives a short list of cookbooks, some of which are already mentioned in al-Warrāq's book. They are Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, Yaḥyā bin Khālīd, and al-Muʿtamid. However, Aḥmad bin al-Muʿtaṣim and ʿAbdullāh bin Ṭalḥa are new names to us (53).⁵⁸ Additionally, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* by Anū Shirwān (Khosrau, d. 579) is mentioned, though it is not clear in this case whether it is a recipe book or a guide for a healthy living (57).

V. Legacy of *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*

Before the publication of the edited text of al-Warrāq's cookbook in 1987, the dominant modern view of the medieval culinary art of the Arabo-Islamic culture, in both the eastern and the western regions, was mostly conveyed by *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, written in 1226 by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan al-Kātib al-Baghdādī (d. 1240).⁵⁹ The manuscript was first discovered and edited by the Iraqi scholar Dāwūd al-Chalabī in 1934,⁶⁰ and translated into English by A. J. Arberry in 1939.⁶¹

⁵⁸ The first is Abbasid Caliph al-Mustaʿīn bi-Allāh (d. 866). Al-Zarkalī mentions that he was politically inactive, and that he earned his living as a copyist before becoming a Caliph (89). It is not certain who ʿAbdullāh bin Ṭalḥa is. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī mentions one Abū Bakr ʿAbdullāh bin Ṭalḥa al-Andalusī, described as *muḥaddith* (transmitter of the Prophet's traditions), who died in Mecca in 1129. See *Muʿjam al-Buldān* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 1832.

⁵⁹ He is no longer “completely unknown” to us, as Arberry says in “A Baghdad Cookery-Book (30). Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 1270), the famous Damascene physician, cites him as an authority for anecdotes related to dignitaries and physicians in Baghdad, Damascus, and Egypt. In four places (98, 240, 268, 269), he says *ḥaddathanī* (he related to me):

(حدثني شمس الدين ابو عبد الله محمد بن الحسن بن محمد الكاتب البغدادي
ابن الكريم قال...)

which shows that he knew him personally. Al-Zarkalī mentions this about him: (1184–1240), he is author of *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, was a secretary (*kātib*), a literary man (*adīb*), and well versed in the Prophet's tradition (*muḥaddith*), he was originally from Baghdad, and lived in Damascus, as well (908).

⁶⁰ Reprint ed. Fakhrī al-Bārūdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1964).

⁶¹ “A Baghdad Cookery Book,” reprinted in *Medieval Arab Cookery* (Blackawton: Prospect Books, 2001). A new translation by Charles Perry came out in 2005, also by Prospect Books.

The collection of 158 recipes, al-Baghdādī admits, essentially reflects his personal taste and preferences. In the Introduction, he says that he wrote the book for his “own use, and for the use of whoever may wish to employ it” (Arberry 33). Nevertheless, his culinary techniques were our sole guide. For instance, based on his recipes, one of the modern generalized notions on preparing medieval Arab dishes is that scenting a cooked pot with a light squirt of rose water was the customary final step in the process of preparing a dish. After reading al-Warrāq’s recipes we discover that that was not necessarily the case. Furthermore, the preliminary technique in preparing meat for stews, called *ta’rīq*, which al-Baghdādī religiously followed in all his meat recipes, gave us the impression that that was the only way to do it.⁶²

Here is a list of the rest of the medieval extant culinary texts, chronologically listed according to date of modern publication:

1. Fifteenth-century cookery pamphlet *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha* was first discovered and edited by Ḥabīb Zayyāt in 1937.⁶³ The work is attributed to the Damascene scholar Ibn al-Mubarrid. It is composed of five and a half pages, comprising 44 recipes, alphabetically arranged and briefly written.

2. The anonymous thirteenth-century *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh fī ‘l-Maghrib wa ‘l-Andalus fī ‘Aṣr al-Muwahidīn*, edited by Huici Miranda, came out in 1965. A new edition was executed by ‘Abd al-Ghanī Abū al-‘Azīm in 2003. Its master manuscript is in a better condition than the one Miranda used. It carries the original title *Anwā‘ al-Ṣaydala fī Alwān al-Aṭ‘ima* and contains 512 recipes.

3. Another edited thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook was published in 1981. Its title is *Fidālat al-Khiwān fī Ṭayyibāt al-Ṭā‘ām wa ‘l-Alwān* authored by Ibn Razīn al-Tujībī.⁶⁴ It has 412 recipes neatly and categorically arranged along 12 parts, each divided into a number of chapters

4. In 1986 *Kitāb al-Wuṣla ilā ‘l-Ḥabīb fī Waṣf al-Ṭayyibāt wa ‘l-Ṭīb* (winning a lover’s heart by delectable dishes and perfumes) attributed

⁶² Literally, *ta’rīq* means ‘sweating.’ Before adding liquid to the stew pot, meat was first briefly fried in rendered sheep’s tail fat. In the process, meat first releases its juices (i.e. sweats), which then evaporate, leaving behind the meat swimming in its fat. This was believed to eliminate undesirable meat odors *zafar*.

⁶³ “Kitāb al-Ṭibākha,” ed. Ḥabīb Zayyāt. English trans. Charles Perry, “Kitāb al-Ṭibākha,” *Petits Propos Culinaires* 21 (1985): 17–22.

⁶⁴ Ed. Muḥammad bin Shaqrūn, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī).

to the Aleppan historian Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 1262) was published.⁶⁵ The Manuscript itself was discussed in “Studies in Arabic Manuscripts Relating to Cookery” by Maxime Rodinson in 1948.⁶⁶ He analyzed it and gave a summary of its contents. The book is a practical organized guide divided into ten chapters dealing with perfume compounds, useful kitchen preparations, and food recipes mostly briefly written.

5. Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq’s tenth-century edited cookbook came out in 1987.

6. The Egyptian anonymous cookbook *Kanz al-Fawāʾid fī Tanwīʿ al-Mawāʾid* was published 1993.⁶⁷ It was written around the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and has 750 recipes unevenly distributed by categories along 23 chapters.

7. An English translation, executed directly from the manuscript of an augmented version of al-Baġhdādī’s thirteenth-century cookbook, was published in 2001. It carries the title *Kūṭāb Wasf al-Aṭʿima al-Muʿtāda*, believed to have been written in the fourteenth century.⁶⁸

8. The augmented portions of the Istanbul Manuscript of al-Warrāq, copied in 1297, are yet to be edited.⁶⁹

This brief survey of the extant medieval cookbooks clearly shows that al-Warrāq’s book, written in the tenth century, is the earliest cookbook to have come down to us. Its wealth of medieval recipes is an obvious merit, but so are its citations of an extensive number of

⁶⁵ Edited by Mahjūb and Khaṭīb. The first volume of the book is dedicated to culinary history of the Arabs.

⁶⁶ The study was originally published in French. English trans. Barbara Inskip, *Medieval Arab Cookery* 93–163.

⁶⁷ Eds. Manuela Marin and David Waines (Beirut: Franz Steiner Stuttgart).

⁶⁸ Charles Perry, trans., *Medieval Arab Cookery* (Blackawton: Prospect Books) 275–465.

⁶⁹ See Section II above. Another important document still in manuscript form is *Minhāj al-Bayān fī mā Yastaʾmiluhu al-Insān* by the famous Abbasid physician Ibn Jazla (d. 1100). It is a medical guide for a healthy living, in which foodstuffs are arranged alphabetically. He wrote it for the Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtaḍī (d. 1094). Nina Garbutt draws attention to it in her article “Ibn Jazlah: The Forgotten ‘Abbāsīd Gastro-nome,” *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 39. 1 (1996): 42–44. Culinary material is yet to be gleaned from this huge document (220 folios, 19 lines a page). It contains “over a hundred recipes, over two hundred definitions of culinary ingredients; and almost sixty definitions of recipes” (44). This document is important because it fills the chronological culinary gap between al-Warrāq’s tenth-century book and the rest of the extant medieval cookbooks, the earliest of which were written in the thirteenth century.

culinary sources none of which has survived the ravages of time.⁷⁰ As such, it indeed stands as a tangible testimony to the vibrant Arabic culinary culture, which we see exemplified only in anecdotes and gastronomic poetry in historical and literary sources. Al-Mas'ūdī in *Murāj al-Dhahab*, for instance, tells of an unusually extravagant dish of fish tongues—150 tongues to be exact—which Ibn al-Mahdī, the Abbasid gourmet prince, prepared for his half brother Ḥārūn al-Rashīd (510). Thanks to al-Warrāq, we now know this exquisite dish was in fact a variety of *samak qarīs* ‘fish aspic’ (Chapter 33).

With the exception of al-Warrāq's volume, the culinary books and manuals mentioned above were essentially cook's books. They were cooking guides written to document a cuisine, be it personal or regional, executed by individuals who were not necessarily professional chefs themselves, but felt strongly about cooking, and had the urge to pass on their experience to others. They come in different lengths, ranging from few pages to full volumes. Some are neatly divided into chapters based on food categories or ingredients such as *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣā ilā 'l-Ḥabīb*, *Kanz al-Fawā'id* and *Fidālat al-Khiwān*, and others show lack of organization, and follow the twists and turns of their creators' whims such as *Anwā' al-Ṣaydala*. Some recipes are coherent and complete while others laconic and sketchy. All the same, as cookbooks coming down to us from the Middle Ages, they are all indisputably valuable gastronomic resources for recipes which, taken together, will help give us a more comprehensive concept of the medieval Arab cuisine in the eastern and western Islamic regions.

Al-Warrāq's cookbook is also unique as the first and only document that covers the haute cuisine of the Abbasid era from the last quarter of the eighth century, through the ninth, and up to the early years of the second half of the tenth century. It also strikes us as the most complete and comprehensive, thoughtfully managed in form and content. Within the course of generally well-written 615 recipes, he incorporates more than one hundred people and mines more than twenty cookbooks written by or for caliphs, princes, physicians, prominent political and literary figures, professionals, and the like, not to mention eighty-six gastronomic poems and scores of amusing anecdotes.

⁷⁰ See Section IV above, on sources. Based on a statement by Muḥammad bin Shaqrūn, editor of *Fidālat al-Khiwān*, an extant copy of the manuscript of Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī's cookbook does exist, and is privately owned (9, n. 2).

To come to the question of the impact of al-Warrāq's volume on subsequent cookbooks in the eastern and western regions of the medieval Islamic world and farther, the issue may be more feasibly carried out perhaps not by hunting for textual similarities, even though such instances do indeed exist. I found several places in the anonymous Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id* that are verbatim 'borrowings' from al-Warrāq's cookbook.⁷¹ A closer look, however, reveals that such parallels are not actual borrowings on the part of the Egyptian writer as much as the fact that both of them drew on the same sources such as specialized manuals on drinking, recipes of dishes for the sick, collections of recipes for dips and condiments, pamphlets on preserving fresh fruits, and guides for personal hygiene. Still, such 'borrowings' are valuable to us because they can be used to help amend the text. Besides, comparing al-Warrāq's corresponding version with the Egyptian one gives us a unique glimpse into al-Warrāq's process of gleaning his material from the copious resources he had in hand, and makes us appreciate his choices even more.

The impact of al-Warrāq's cookbook, thereby, may better be perceived by examining representations of the Baghdadi Abbasid

⁷¹ Here are my citations:

1. The third chapter (p. 12), the fourth (p. 13), and the supplementary passage (p. 266) of the Egyptian book are identical with al-Warrāq's chapters on drinking water (Chapter 110, and the opening section of Chapter 111). The similarities include the titles and contents, with the exception of a few minor stylistic differences.

2. Five of the 24 recipes of the Egyptian book on vegetarian healthy dishes for the sick (Chapter 8, pp. 81–89) are similar to al-Warrāq's recipes in his corresponding Chapter 105, which contains 16 recipes. Al-Warrāq mentions the copy of Ibn Māsawayh, the Nestorian physician (d. 857) as the source for his recipes. The similarities include the title and content, with the exception of a few minor changes, some of which are stylistic.

3. The first of the 17 recipes of the Egyptian book on making prepared mustard (Chapter 15, pp. 173–79) is identical with al-Warrāq's only recipe in the corresponding Chapter 38. The similarities include the title and content, with the exception of a few minor stylistic differences.

4. A passage in the Egyptian cookbook (no. 603, p. 216) on the properties of pickled foods is identical with al-Warrāq's Chapter 24. It even starts with the same misreading of the word *binn* as *laban*.

5. The opening section of Chapter 20 (pp. 226–27) of the Egyptian book on properties of *khilāl* (toothpicks) is identical with al-Warrāq's Chapter 128. The similarities include the title and content, with the exception of a few minor stylistic differences. Whereas al-Warrāq wraps up the short chapter with poems, the Egyptian book gives 17 additional recipes for hand washing preparations.

6. Recipe no. 740 (Chapter 23, p. 259) of the Egyptian book on preserving fresh fruits is identical with al-Warrāq's last recipe in Chapter 95.

cuisine of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, in subsequent medieval cookbooks. The earliest volumes belong to the thirteenth century and the latest to the fifteenth.⁷² What attracts the attention is that the culinary practices in the eastern as well as the western regions of the Islamic world kept to the essentials as we know them from al-Warrāq's book, in foodstuffs as well as culinary techniques. Still, we should allow for regional differences necessitated by the varieties of ingredients, which a given region may offer. A case in point is the cuisine of the western Islamic region, reflected in the two surviving medieval Andalusian cookbooks. We should also take into account the personal preferences of the writers themselves, as in the case of al-Baghdādī. Instances on shared dishes are *tharīd*, *sikbāja*, *Ibrāhīmīyya*, *rummānīyya*, *ḥummāḍīyya*, *zīrbāj*, *safarjaliyya*, *dikabrika*, *summāqīyya*, *mishmishīyya*, *ṭabāḥija*, *muṭajjana*, *kishkiyya*, *Būrānīyya*, *aruzziyya*, *ʿujaj*, *muzawwarāt*, *kawāmikh*, *harīsa*, *jūdhāb*, *sanbūsaj*, *khushkanānaj*, *khabiṣ*, *fālūdhaj*, *zalābiya*, *qaṭāyif*, and *lawzīnaj*.

The details in making such dishes may expectedly vary, but the method largely reflects a shared and a lasting cuisine that traveled westwards as far as Sicily and the Iberian Peninsula, and eastwards as far as India. Of the latter, the cookbook *Nīmatnāma* of Sultan Ghiyath Shāhi of Central India, written in late fifteenth century, is a case in point.⁷³ The Sultan's extravagant menu offers varieties of dishes and foodstuffs, many of which were typical of the Baghdadi cuisine, some acquired new names and others retained the original ones, or almost. Instances of such dishes are the filled pastries *samosa* (*sanbūsaj*),⁷⁴ *ḥarīra*, *shūrbā*, *tharīd*, *kaḥāb*, *būrānī*, *kashka*, *harsīyya* (*harīsa*), *chachpīrak*,⁷⁵ *kāk* (*kaʿk*), and *tanūrī* (*tannūrīyya*).

Many of the traditions of the Abbasid cuisine can still be seen exemplified in the modern Arabo-Islamic dishes. However, in the interim, names of some of the dishes mutated and some New World

⁷² Recipes in Ibn Jazla's eleventh-century *Minhāj al-Bayān* are essentially similar to those we find in al-Warrāq's book. Differences in some of the details do not mark a significant change or point to the 'development' of the Abbasid cuisine, as Nina Garbutt suggests in "Ibn Jazla," 42–43.

⁷³ *The Nīmatnāma Manuscript of the Sultans of Mandu: The Sultan's Book of Delights*, originally written in Urdu. Trans. Norah Titley (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005).

⁷⁴ If different, the medieval Arabic pronunciation of the dish is given in parentheses.

⁷⁵ Today, this dish is known as *shishbarak*, which is savory *sanbūsaj* pastries boiled in broth.

ingredients were incorporated. For instance, stews still top the list of the staple dishes. Today, however, they are more likely to be colored, thickened, and soured with tomato paste than saffron, crushed almond, and a souring agent, as was done in medieval times. Bread is as indispensable as it has always been, baked in the good old *tannūr* and *furn*. Rice, on the other hand, is used more frequently now, at least in the eastern regions of the Arab world. We still make the same old *sanbūsa*,⁷⁶ *kabāb*, *laqāniq* (sausages, *bāstirma* and *numbār*), *mukabbaba* and *maqlūba* (*kufta*), *qaliyya* (fried dish), *tharīd* (bread sopped in broth), *harīsa* (wheat pudding), *kishk*, *maḍīra* (stew with sour milk, *labaniyya*), *rummāniyya* (pomegranate stew, *fasanjūn*), *taḡshīl* (grain and pulse medley, *burma*), *narjisiyya* (egg dishes, *makhlama*), simmered sheep heads, tripe, and trotters (*pācha*), *qibba* (stuffed tripe, *kibbāyāt*), stuffed sheep roasted in the *tannūr* (*qūzī*), varieties of *khabīṣ* and *fālūdḥaj* (condensed puddings, *ḥalāwa*), and *Muhallabiyyāt* (rice and milk puddings, *maḥallabī*). We still enjoy the same *zalābiya mushabbak* (latticed fritters) and *qaṭāyif*. We make *ka'k*, and the dry *khushkanānaj* cookies (*klaycha*). We still relish *mukhallālāt* (pickles, *turshī*), and eggplant still entices us. *Būrāniyyāt*, the luscious eggplant dishes, named after Būrān, daughter-in-law of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, are still around. Although her name is no longer associated with the dishes in her home of origin, Baghdad, it lives in the *būrān* dish of yogurt and eggplant still cooking in countries as far removed from Baghdad as Afghanistan.

As for the cuisine's contribution to the medieval cooking of Christian Western Europe, there is evidence that some of the dishes found their way in name and technique to the tables of the affluent. They naturally underwent some modifications such as substituting sheep-tail fat with rendered fat of bacon. Maxime Rodinson, in his pioneering articles on the subject, says that the earliest mention of such dishes occurred in a Latin cookbook *Liber de Coquina*, written towards the end of the thirteenth-century. They were also included, in varying degrees of modification, in some Italian and French cookbooks written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These dishes are *rummāniyya* (pomegranate stew), *sumāqiyya* (stew soured with sumac), *laymūniyya* (stew soured with lemon juice), and *ma'mūniyya* (condensed almond pudding). In the European books, they were respectively

⁷⁶ If the modern Iraqi versions of the names of dishes are different, they are given in parentheses. Some of them are pronounced or called somewhat differently in other parts of the Arab and Islamic countries.

called romania, somacchia, lomonia, and mamonia. Rodinson explains, "Arab scholarship influenced the development of philosophy and science in Europe, and it is a rule that intellectual influence goes hand-in-glove with a more matter-of-fact emulation of certain practical aspects of daily life."⁷⁷ Regarding the question of the Arab culinary influence via the Crusades, opinions differ. Bernard Rosenberger, for instance, explains that "it was not so much the Crusades as the re-conquest of Spain and Sicily that introduced first the countries of the Mediterranean and later those of Western Europe to classical Muslim foods and tastes."⁷⁸ Another study, nonetheless, finds that the experience of the Crusaders in the Eastern Mediterranean region "was to have a considerable impact on the diet of Western Europe."⁷⁹

PART TWO

VI. *Medieval Baghdad and Food Culture*

Baghdad, a joyful land for the affluent,
For the destitute, an abode of anguish and sorrow.⁸⁰

بغداد أرض لأهل المال طيبة وللمفاليس دار الضنك والضيق

The geographer Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 1229) says that when the second Caliph of the Abbasid family Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr (d. 775) decided to build a new seat for the Caliphate, a place called

⁷⁷ "Romanía and other Arabic Words in Italian," trans. Barbara Inskip, *Medieval Arab Cookery* (Prospect Books) 178. Also by Rodinson, in *Medieval Arab Cookery*: "Ma'mūniyya East and West," trans. Barbara Inskip (183-97), and "Venice, the Spice Trade and Eastern Influences on European Cooking," trans. Paul James (201-15). A more detailed study on the issue is by Toby Peterson, "The Arab Influence on Western European Cooking" *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980): 317-40. She suggests that using "sugar, saffron, and spices...were the three defining parameters of medieval European cooking," in addition to rose water and pomegranate (330).

⁷⁸ "Arab Cuisine and its Contribution to European Culture," *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 208.

⁷⁹ Anne C. Wilson, "The Saracen Connection: Arab Cuisine and the Medieval West," *Petits Propos Culinaires* 7 (March 1981): 13.

⁸⁰ A famous line on Baghdad often quoted in medieval sources. Ibn Khillikān ascribes it to 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Mālikī al-Taḡhlībī al-Baḡhdādī (*Wafayāt al-A'yān*, <http://www.alwaraq.net>) 391. My translation.

Baghdādū attracted his attention. It was a vibrant thriving trading center or *sūq* to which goods and provisions were brought from the four corners of the world by land, river, and sea, as far east as India and China. Although it was referred to as *qarya* ‘village,’ it seemed to have been teeming with life. He also quotes some of Ptolemy’s (d. c. 168) topographical facts on Baghdad. The name Baghdad was said to be of non-Arabic origin and stories differ on its meaning. Some say, for instance, it was composed of *bāgh* ‘orchard’ and *dād* ‘gave.’⁸¹ One of the Arabic names chosen for the city was Dār al-Salām ‘the abode of peace.’⁸² Rapidly the city grew economically, culturally, and intellectually. It was described as *um al-dunya* ‘mother of the world,’ and *surrat al-bilād* ‘navel of the nations.’ The only snag, though, one needed to have money in one’s pockets to enjoy its promised luxuries.

The rapid growth of Baghdad during the Abbasid dynasty created prosperous leisurely classes that demanded the best wealth could offer, which naturally included gourmet cuisine. Indulging in luxuriously prepared foods, cooking, reading and writing about food in prose and poetry, and even arranging for cooking contests—as Caliph al-Ma’mūn used to do⁸³—were commendable pastimes that the ruling dynasties and the affluent enjoyed, sometimes to fault. Al-Wāthiq (d. 847), grandson of Hārūn al-Rashīd, was known for his weakness towards food, especially eggplant. He was known as *al-Akul* ‘the glutton.’ He used to eat forty cooked eggplants in a single sitting.⁸⁴ Expectedly, obesity, one of the inevitable ‘side effects’ of gormandize was to be tackled. An anecdote has it that Hārūn al-Rashīd’s paternal cousin ‘Īsā bin Ja‘far (d. c. 800) accumulated so much fat that Hārūn al-Rashīd was terribly worried about him. The physician’s verdict was that that was due to self-indulgence and easy living, and he managed to cure him with a lie. He told him that he needed to write his will for he was afflicted with an incurable disease and might die within forty days. Grief-stricken ‘Īsā lost so much

⁸¹ One of the stories was that Khosrau (d. 579) gave one of his eunuchs an orchard in this location.

⁸² Or ‘the city of God,’ because peace is one of the names of God. See *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 331. Modern archaeological discoveries support al-Ḥamawī’s observation that part of the site of Baghdad was ruins of an ancient city. Baghdadū was an ancient Babylonian city, dating back to around 2000 BC.

⁸³ See Appendix, s.v. ‘Ibāda.

⁸⁴ Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* (<http://www.walwaraq.net>) 1005.

weight that he was able to cinch his belt five notches tighter.⁸⁵ Ibn Dihqāna (d. 891) was a gourmet and author of a cookbook. He was described as large and overweight. When a Caliph would leave the assembly and come back, the boon companions would stand up but he would fall asleep saying this was because he could not do so. He used to say, “I ate until I got afflicted with chronic diseases. Now I want to eat until I die.”⁸⁶

As for the depressed, food was their solace and diversion such as in the case of the unfortunate Caliph al-Mustakfi (d. 949). His boon companions, at his suggestion, recited gastronomic poems after which the dishes described were cooked and enjoyed. The narrator in al-Mas‘ūdī’s *Murīj al-Dhahab* comments,

Never have I seen Mustakfi so overjoyed, since the day of his accession. To all present, revelers, singers, and musicians, he gave money, causing all the silver and gold with which he stood possessed to be brought out of the treasury, in spite of his straitened circumstances. Never a day like this did I behold, until the day when Aḥmad ibn Buwaih the Dailamite seized him and put out his eyes. (Arberry 29-30)

Flights of extravagance were not always allowed to pass uncriticized. A case in point is the famous platter of delicate and delectable *qarīs*, aspic dish of fish tongues—150 of them—which Ibn al-Mahdī offered to his half brother Hārūn al-Raṣhīd. Al-Raṣhīd chided him, for no dish, he told him, was worth such outrageous expenses. It went down in history as “the fish dish that cost one thousand *dirhams*.”⁸⁷

Food was also a means to butter one’s ladder up to the top. Al-Warrāq, for instance, gives a recipe for *kardanāj* chicken (grilled on a rotating spit), which an official sent as a gift to his superior, governor Mu’nis al-Muẓaffar (d. 933), on a hot summer day (Chapter 90). The dish must have made such a positive impression on al-Muẓaffar that it was immortalized in cookbooks. Food was a means of expressing one’s affection towards loved ones. Al-Amīn sent a basket of cookies to his uncle, Ibn al-Mahdī, who returned the favor with a poem in his praise (Chapter 13). Delicious food can save one’s neck at times. When Caliph al-Muhtadī (d. 870) came to power, he got rid of his predecessor’s men but spared Abū Nūḥ al-Kātib, secretary and

⁸⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a 133.

⁸⁶ al-*Shābushī*, *Al-Diyārāt* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 5.

⁸⁷ *طبق سمك يتكلف الف درهم*, the title of the anecdote al-Mas‘ūdī tells (510). Al-Warrāq gives a tamed down recipe in Chapter 33, which deals with fish dishes.

vizier. His justification was that Abū Nūḥ's mother used to send him presents of *kāmakḥ* 'fermented condiment' as delicious as nougat *nāṭif ma'qūd*, and olives as big as eggs.⁸⁸

Medieval Muslims regarded food not only as a legitimate source of pleasure but also a means for physical regeneration —preventing and curing illnesses. Therefore, there was a great demand for physicians' dietetic guides and cookbooks on *islāḥ al-aṭ'ima* 'remedying foods,' such as *Manāfi' al-Aghḍhiya wa Daf' Maḍārrihā* (benefits of food and avoiding its harms) by al-Rāzī (d. 923) and the books of the Nestorian physician, Ibn Māsawayh (d. 857).⁸⁹ This might explain al-Warrāq's dedication of a good number of chapters to this aspect of food. It was known of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors that they had their meals under the watchful eyes of the famous physician Yūḥannā bin Māsawayh. He would advice them against certain foods and if they did not heed the advice, he would treat them to avert their harm. Al-Mu'taḍid (d. 902) had his most trusted confidant, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakḥsī (d. 899) the eminent scholar, write for him *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* 'cookbook,' divided according to the days and months of the year.⁹⁰

Proficiency in the art of cooking was therefore a common pursuit in which the public participated alongside professional chefs. It was one of the desirable accomplishments of the 'Abbasid man,' especially the aspiring boon companion, who wished to win the favors of his superiors. A cookbook in the mix would definitely be a bonus in his credentials. This also gave rise to a genre of books that dealt with the etiquette *adab* of dining and wining with one's superiors such as *Adab al-Nadīm* by Kūshājīm. The perfect *nadīm* 'boon companion,' for instance, was expected to perfect at least 10 exotic dishes.⁹¹ A number of the Abbasid Caliphs and princes themselves were known for their interest in cooking. Some did it as a recreational activity, of course, but Caliphs al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim, sons of Harūn al-Rashīd, sponsored cooking contests and participated in some of

⁸⁸ Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī *al-Maḥāsīn wa 'l-Masāwī'* (<http://www.walwaraq.net>) 230. See Appendix, s.v. Abū Nūḥ.

⁸⁹ See Section IX below.

⁹⁰ See, for instance, Ibn al-Nadīm 156.

⁹¹ *يحكم من غرائب الطبخ عشرة ألوان* al-Nuwayrī *Nihāyat al-Irab fī Funūn al-Adab* (<http://www.walwaraq.net>) 707.

them.⁹² The most passionate about cooking among the Abbasids was Prince Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, half brother of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. His cookbook enjoyed wide circulation in the medieval Islamic world. Indeed, his culinary skills did prove handy when he had to cook for himself during his fugitive days after his nephew al-Ma'mūn claimed the caliphate.⁹³ Stressing the importance of food hygiene, the anonymous writer of the thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook, *Anwā' al-Ṣaydala* says that many Caliphs and kings had their food cooked under their supervision, and some, driven by necessity, cooked it themselves (53).

All this interest and attention given to food and eating inevitably gave rise to the trend of writing cookbooks and manuals, which was not restricted to professionals, but extended to Caliphs, princes, dignitaries, physicians, and the like. If the Abbasid elite who had cooking tomes in their names did not necessarily write them, Prince Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī did write his own. Al-Warrāq says in his Introduction that he had scouted many culinary sources *kathīrat al-ʿadad* to produce this volume. More than two centuries later, writing from the same region, al-Baghdādī points out in his Introduction to *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* that he had to part with the many culinary books available at the time, and put down his own favorite collection of recipes.⁹⁴ The anonymous author of the thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook *Anwā' al-Ṣaydala* says that many volumes *kutuban kathīra* were written on the subject (53). Another thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook, *Fidālat al-Khiwān*, gives similar information.⁹⁵ These contemporary sources testify that what is extant today is the mere tip of the iceberg of the medieval culinary tradition that flourished hand in hand with the papermaking businesses.

Material prosperity during the Abbasid era created a social class, the nouveau riche, whose desire to emulate the aristocracy might have also played a role in the popularity of cookbooks. They had the means but lacked the knowledge. Cookbooks such as the one al-Warrāq compiled would expectedly be in demand as they described

⁹² According to anecdotes by al-Mas'ūdī 542; and al-Shābushūfī 44. See Appendix, s.v. 'Ibāda.

⁹³ See Appendix for details.

⁹⁴ *اني كنت قد وقفت على عدة كتب مصنفة في صناعة الطبخ*. Arabic edition of Dāwūd al-Chalabī (rept. Fakhrī al-Bārūdī) 10.

⁹⁵ *وقد رأيت كثيراً من الناس الفوا في الطبخ كتباً...* al-Tujībī 30.

the fashionable favorite dishes the elite enjoyed, which can be duplicated in their own kitchens. Perhaps al-Warrāq's commissioner was one of them. As for the general cooking manuals, they were mostly written for the use of the stewards of "the urban bourgeoisie," who had to meet the demands of big households, as well as the "customary obligations of providing hospitality" to guests.⁹⁶

Professionally, cookbooks and apprenticeships were used to prepare cooks in the culinary arts. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), for instance, in his section on bakers, cooks, and butchers, recommends that cooks consult Kuṣḥājīm's cookbooks **كتب الطباخ لكشاجم** if they want to learn good cooking (*Sirr al-ʿĀlamayn* 8).

Needless to say, contrary to the haute cuisine of the affluent *ṭaʿām al-khāṣṣa*, cooking of the masses *ṭaʿām al-ʿamma* was largely an oral tradition, worthy of being documented only when given elaborate lofty touches. A case in point is the *ṭharīd* dish. It can be as simple and cheap as bread sopped in fava beans or chickpeas broth, with or without meat, or as laborious and costly as the meat preparations we encounter in al-Warrāq's Chapters 61 and 83, where more expensive cuts of meat are used, a wider variety of spices is added, and artistic garnishes and presentations are required. However, we can safely assume that the commoners *al-ʿamma* did enjoy good food, in normal circumstances at least. The trendy dishes the affluent enjoyed such as the varieties of stews called *sikbājāt* and *zīrbājāt* were also popular among the rest of the community. This we learn from an anecdote al-Masʿūdī tells on the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). He was once sitting at a place overlooking the Gulf, and happened to smell *sikbāja* stew being prepared by one of the sailors on board of a ship. He liked the aroma so much that he ordered the pot to be brought to him. The pot was returned to the sailor, filled with money, with a message that the Caliph appreciated his food. Later on, whenever the subject was brought up in his assemblies, he would say it was the most delicious *sikbāja* he had ever eaten (al-Masʿūdī 581).

The less privileged classes would definitely confine themselves to what was readily available in the markets such as seasonal vegetables and pulses and cheaper cuts of meat. Spices were added sparingly, and sugar syrup rather than honey was more commonly used for desserts. Purchasing ready-cooked foods from the markets *ṭaʿām al-sūq*

⁹⁶ David Waines, "'Luxury Foods' in Medieval Islamic Societies," *World Archaeology* 34. 3 (2003): 576.

was sometimes even more affordable than cooking at home, due to fuel costs.⁹⁷ This might explain why it was not deemed fit for high-class people to patronize such places. Caliph al-Ma'mūn (d. 813) once went incognito with friends to a cookshop specialized in serving *jūdhāba*.⁹⁸ When he was reminded that the dish was *ṭā'ām al-āmma* 'food for commoners,' he said, "The commoners drink cold water like we do. Should we abandon it for them?"⁹⁹ Generally, cooked foods available in the markets were regarded as inferior in quality to homemade varieties, even though they looked more tempting. An attractive but deceitful person was usually compared to *fālūdhaj al-sūq*.¹⁰⁰ All the same, ready-cooked foods were acceptable options to feed surprise guests. Describing a dish of market-roasted meat *shiwā' sūqī*, a poet says,

When unexpectedly at dinnertime a guest came by,
I bought him meat, sweet and tender, roasted by son of a bee.¹⁰¹

It goes without saying that it was the commoners who suffered most in times of hardships. The medieval historian, al-Dhahabī, movingly describes how during the famine of Baghdad in the year 944, women went out into the streets in groups of tens or twenties crying out, *al-jū'! al-jū'* (hunger hunger) and fell to the ground one after the other and died.¹⁰²

VII. The Abbasid Baghdadi Cuisine as Manifested in *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*

The key to good cooking was freshness of ingredients and hygiene. Al-Warrāq made a point of emphasizing this early on in his book. He asserted that what elevated a dish to the high cuisine status was not the expensive ingredients as much as the utmost care taken to clean the food and the receptacles and tools used in handling it. Al-

⁹⁷ See, for instance, Shirley Guthrie, *Arab Women in the Middle Ages: Private Lives and Public Roles* (London: Saqi Books, 2001) 94, 96.

⁹⁸ It is meat roasted in the *tannūr*, suspended on a pan of sweet bread-pudding (recipes in Chapter 92).

⁹⁹ Ibn Hamdūn, *Al-Tadhkira al-Hamdūniyya* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 1103.

¹⁰⁰ *Fālūdhaj* 'condensed translucent pudding,' purchased from the market. See al-Tha'ālibī *Al-Tamthīl wa 'l-Muhādara* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 46.

¹⁰¹ طراً طارياً عند العشاء فجنته بقرص عضيض من شواء ابن زنبور, al-Tha'ālibī *Yatīmat al-Dahr fī Shu'arā' Ahl al-'Aṣr* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 537. My translation.

¹⁰² *Al-'Ibar fī Khabar man Ghabar* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 133.

Warrāq, in this respect, valued a keen sense of smell. Put a stone in one nostril, he instructed, and smell the washed pot with the other. If they smell the same, the pot passes the test.

Ingredients needed to be handled carefully, particularly meat. Knives and boards for cutting meat were not to be used with vegetables. Otherwise, the cooked dish would acquire an unpleasant greasy odor, called *zuhūma*, a dire stigma in a dish. For the same purpose, the froth *raghwa* of the boiling meat had to be skimmed. In fact, in some of the recipes in which the broth was required to stay clean, clear, and free of any particles such as in *mā' wa milh* (meat cooked in water and salt, Chapter 48) the meat was given an initial brief boil after which it was washed in cold water, wiped, and cooked again (Chapter 48).

Such attention to detail was necessary in the demanding cuisine al-Warrāq describes. In his second chapter on implements and kitchen tools, for example, he gave an extensive list of utensils, including several stirring spoons and ladles because a variety of foods were expected to cook simultaneously. The pestle and mortar used for pounding meat, vegetables, and other ingredients that contain moisture were made of stone. Dry ingredients such as spices, sugar, and salt were pounded in brass mortar. *Nāṭif* 'nougat' was cooked in a rounded pot with three legs to prevent the pot from revolving while beating and whitening the candy away from the fire.

As al-Warrāq stipulated, the kitchen stove *mustawqad* was to be large enough to accommodate more than one pot. Smaller rounded stoves were needed to cook desserts such as *fālūdḥaj* and *khabīs* 'condensed puddings.' Within the course of the recipes in the book, other cooking implements were mentioned such as a trivet called *daykadān*. It was a handy device used to support pots, which needed to be raised above the fire. It was also put above the smoldering coals of the *tannūr* to allow the pots to simmer slowly. The small portable stove *kānūn* 'brazier' was also used, especially on picnics. A porridge dish called *harīsa kānūniyya* was eaten at the same place where it was cooked *تؤكل في المكان* (Chapter 50). Other portable stoves al-Warrāq mentioned were *nāfikh nafsīhi* and *kānūn 'ajlān* (Chapter 59). The first literally means 'a stove which blows its fire by itself,' i.e. it does not need someone to blow it to keep it going. It seems to have been a relatively familiar gadget in the affluent kitchens of medieval times. It was a slow-burning stove that allowed delicate pots like those made of glass and delicate foods like green stew

(إسفذابجة خضراء) to keep on cooking over a prolonged time.¹⁰³ *Kānūn* ‘*ajlān* was another type of slow-burning brazier. It might have been called ‘*ajlān* either because it was made of clay, which, compared with metal, would allow for slow cooking. In this case, the name derives from ‘*ajal* ‘clay.’ There is also the possibility that the name derives from ‘*ijla* ‘bottle of oil’ (Steingass). In this case, we may assume that fuel used for this stove was *zayt al-waqūd* (زيت الوقود) fuel oil, which ignites much faster than coal, and hence the name *kānūn* ‘*ajlān* ‘a brazier that ignites quickly.’¹⁰⁴

On such stoves, most of the Abbasid dishes were cooked and the fuel used was mostly firewood and coal. When firewood was used, the non-smoking varieties were preferred. Otherwise smoke would be blown back to the pot and spoil its flavor. Food was cooked in different degrees of heat. High heat required *waqūd shadīd*; medium heat, *waqūd mu’tadil*; and low heat, *waqūd layyin*. A strong fire was described as having tongues.¹⁰⁵ When the stew got to the last stage, the directions were to stop fueling the fire to allow the food to simmer gently and the fat to separate and rise to the surface.¹⁰⁶ Such directions as removing the fire and letting the pot settle in the remaining heat indicated that the fuel was put in moveable containers.¹⁰⁷ To keep the food clean while cooking and prevent flies from falling into it after it has been cooked, the pots were kept covered with their own lids and the serving bowls were carried to the table covered, too.

Such a demanding and ambitious cuisine prompted the Abbasid cooks to be inventive in devising their own implements and techniques. A water-bath pot was called for to cook a delicate cake batter high in egg content (Chapter 100). It was made by taking a big pot, and arranging in its bottom some cane leaves. The cake pan was put inside it, and water was poured in the big pot. A low-heat fire was started underneath the big pot so that it boiled gently with its tight lid on. When slow cooking was required, as in preparing *mā’ al-sha’īr* ‘barley broth,’ a double boiler was devised by putting the pot with crushed barley and water in another pot that had water in it (Chapter 108).

To prepare simulated bone marrow *mukh* muzawwar, spleen and

¹⁰³ For details, see Glossary, Section 10.1, s.v. *mustawqad*, *kānūn*, *nāfikh* *naḥsihi*.

¹⁰⁴ See Glossary, Section 10.1 for more details on the stove.

¹⁰⁵ *Alsina* (sing. *lisān*), as in the Istanbul MS (fol. 158v).

¹⁰⁶ Described as ‘the pot throws up its fat’ *yaqdhiḥu duhnahu*.

¹⁰⁷ As in Chapter 76, where the fire is removed and replaced with burning coals to allow for slow simmering.

sheep's tail fat were pounded and stuffed in a leaden tube then boiled in liquid. When taken out of the tube, it would look cylindrical like bone marrow. Another way for doing it was to pound shelled and skinned walnut, and mix it with egg white. The mix was put in a cup made of glass and then placed in a pot, which had water in it. Thus, the mix would cook in hot water bath (Chapter 36).

Another inventive device was a steam cooker to prepare *dākibriyān*, which al-Warrāq defines as *shawī al-qidr* 'pot-roasting' (Chapter 87). A rack was made by piercing six holes around a high-sided soapstone pot, half way between the top of the pot and its bottom. Three trimmed sticks of willow wood *khilāf* were inserted through the holes, long enough to stick out of the pot. The holes were sealed from the outside of the pot with dough. Then water was poured to the level just below the sticks. A fatty side of lamb was sprinkled with salt, rubbed with olive oil, and put on the arranged sticks. The pot was then covered, sealed tightly with mud, and put on the fire to cook.

Of the most popular dishes cooked on stoves, meat stews loomed large. Lamb, kid's meat, beef, and poultry were used.¹⁰⁸ There was a great variety of such dishes in al-Warrāq's cookbook, some plain, some sour, and others sweet and sour. Water was added to the pot, with meat and fat, and was skimmed as needed. Within the course of the cooking, other ingredients would be added such as vegetables, spices, herbs, and thickening, sweetening, and souring agents. Of these, spices and herbs—collectively called *abāzīr*—were the most essential ingredients, attentively incorporated into dishes, with an eye on balance and fine taste.¹⁰⁹

When everything was cooked, fuel was cut from underneath the pot, which allowed the pot to simmer gently in the remaining heat. The general instruction was to leave it in this state for an hour *sā'a*, which need not be taken literally. A telling sign that the stew was ready to serve, was when the pot's oils and fats separated and rose up to the surface. This indeed might take a good while.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ In the medieval meat markets, lamb and mutton used to cost more than beef. The latter was deemed harder to digest, and hence fit for the commoners who were physically active and had stomachs strong enough to digest it.

¹⁰⁹ An uninteresting conversation was commonly compared to bland food. One of the popular maxims was *لَا بَدَ لِلْحَدِيثِ مِنْ أَبَازِيرَ* 'no conversation should be without spices.' See al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-Amthāl* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 310.

¹¹⁰ The Arabic expression is *ثم هَذَا الْقَدْرَ عَلَى النَّارِ سَاعَةً لِيَرْتَفَعَ الدَّسَمُ عَلَى وَجْهِهَا* (e.g. Chapter 69).

The stews were usually served hot as the principal component of the medieval meal. They were eaten with bread, or prepared *tharīd* way. Broken pieces of bread were sopped in the broth and the cooked meat was arranged all over the *tharīd* bowl or around the sopped bread. They preferred to arrange the *tharīd* dishes pyramided *muṣaʿnab*.

The ancient *tannūr* was at the center of the baking scene. In the second chapter al-Warrāq gives features of qualifications of the well-built *tannūr* and where best to put it. It was used for baking bread and cookies, and slow simmering of pots and casseroles, called *tannūriyyāt*, like porridges, bean dishes, potpies, and heads and trotters. It was also used to roast meat such as a fatty whole lamb or kid—mostly stuffed, spiced whole sides *janb mubazzar*, big chunks of meat, plump poultry, and fish. They were placed on flat brick tiles arranged on the fire, or securely threaded into skewers and lowered into *tannūr* so that they roast to succulence. When lean or not-so-tender pieces of meat were used, marinating or parboiling was resorted to. A pot with some water was put underneath the roasting meat to receive the dripping juices and fat. Roasting in the *tannūr* was usually referred to as *shawī*, and the roasted meat is *shiwāʾ*.

A sumptuous casserole-like dish, called *jūdhāba*, was baked in the *tannūr* (Chapter 92). It was a sweet preparation, which looked like a bread pudding, layered in a casserole, called *jūdhābadān*. It was placed inside a slow-burning *tannūr* with meat suspended above it. It might be a fatty side of lamb, a plump chicken, or a duck. As the suspended meat slowly roasted, fats and juices would drip into the casserole, resulting in a sweet and salty luscious dish. The basic recipe for the pudding was composed of pieces of white bread sopped in water until they puffed then spread in the pan and drenched in sugar and honey. In some of the recipes, sheets of *ruqāq* 'large and thin bread' were layered with pieces of fruit such as banana, melon, mulberry, or crushed raisins and then drenched in sugar. To serve the dish, the casserole was inverted onto a platter. No similar clear instructions were given in the recipes regarding the accompanying grilled meat—probably too obvious to mention.¹¹¹ One of the ninth-century stories in *Maqāmāt* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadānī tells us that the meat was thinly shaved

¹¹¹ In *Lisān al-ʿArab*, one of the meanings of *jadhāba* is 'cut,' and *jūdhāba* is explained as الطعام الذي يشرح 'thinly sliced food' *muṣharrah*.

and served with the bread pudding.¹¹² *Jūdhāba* was one of the popular dishes purchased from the food markets.

People used to send some of the dishes they prepared at home to the commercial big *tannūr* when more controlled heat or prolonged simmering or roasting was required. For instance, al-Warrāq recommended baking *basīsa* ‘crumbled pie’ in *tannūr khabbāz al-Ruṣāfi* (Chapter 98), which might have been a famous bakery in the eastern side of Baghdad. A whole stuffed kid was to be sent to *tannūr al-rawwās* (Chapter 87), which was the *tannūr* of venders specialized in serving the popular simmered heads and trotters of cows and sheep.¹¹³ The pots were kept in slow-burning *tannūr* overnight to be ready for customers early in the morning.

Another way of preparing meat, and sometimes vegetables like truffles, was grilling them as *kabāb*. The meat was cut into pieces, skewered, and grilled on open fire. It was sometimes pan-grilled. *Mukabbab* designated meat or vegetables prepared this way.¹¹⁴ This was the most basic and perhaps the most ancient technique of cooking meat.¹¹⁵ A more ‘advanced’ grilling method was *kardanāj* ‘grilling on a rotating spit’ mostly used with plump chicken and pullets. A feather was used to baste the revolving chicken with oil or other ingredients such as spices and *murri* (liquid fermented sauce, Chapter 90). It was eaten with dipping sauces *ṣibāgh* and bread.

No food symbolized the leisurely Abbasid urban cuisine more than *ruqāq* bread, large and paper-thin. An anecdote tells how a Bedouin in the city mistook the sheets of bread for fabric.¹¹⁶ It was usually baked on *ṭabaq*, which was a slab of fired-brick or a sheet of metal. However, we learn from al-Warrāq’s recipe that they were also baked in the *tannūr*, one at a time (Chapter 13).

The commercial bakery *furn* was the place to go to for a variety of bread called *khubz al-furn* ‘brick oven bread.’ It was crusty and pithy

¹¹² Ed. Muḥammad Yaḥyā al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Madanī, 1962) *Al-Maqāma al-Baghḍādīyya*, 72. The description is reminiscent of today’s *shāwirma*. The book can also be accessed electronically at <http://www.alwaraq.net>.

¹¹³ In Iraq today, the dish is called *pācha*, and the cook specialized in selling it is *pāchachī*.

¹¹⁴ In other contexts, *mukabbab* means shaped into *kubab* (sing. *kubba*) balls like meatballs.

¹¹⁵ Etymologically, the Arabic word has its origin in the Akkadian, language of the ancient Mesopotamians. ‘Kababu’ meant ‘burn’ or ‘char’ (*American Heritage Dictionary*, Appendix, Semitic Roots, s.v. *kbb*).

¹¹⁶ See Glossary, Section 2, s.v. *ruqāq*.

bread, thick and domed. The commercial *furn* had a flat floor. Fire was lit on one side and the shaped breads were transferred with a peel and put on its hot floor. Another design had a slanting brick wall with pebbles on it. The fire was lit in front of the wall and the shaped breads were put on the hot pebbles.¹¹⁷ Some people preferred to make the dough themselves and have it baked there for a fee, which could be a portion of their dough. Because heat in these ovens was more controlled, some pastries were prepared at home and then sent to bake in the *furn*. One of the options al-Warrāq gives in a recipe for a delicate crumbly pie was to bake it in a *furn* (Chapter 98).

Using *malla* to grill meat was a perfectly acceptable option for high cuisine regardless of its humble Arab-Bedouin origin.¹¹⁸ Meat cooked this way was called *mallīn*. One of the delicious methods for preparing truffles was *mamlūl*. Cut-up truffles or whole unpeeled ones were buried in the hot ashes of *malla*. The first variety was sprinkled with coarse salt and eaten hot. The whole ones were peeled then slightly mashed with salt and pepper (Chapter 46).

Preliminary courses offered before the hot substantial dishes included an array of appetizers collectively called *udm* (sing. *idām*) such as seasoned coarse salt *miḥḥ muṭayyab*, condiments like *kawāmīkh* and *bin* ‘fermented dips’, pickles, fresh herbs, and so on. They were usually served with bread. Cold *bawārid* dishes of meat and vegetables were served with their appropriate dipping sauces *ṣībāgh* to help with their digestion. The sauces were sour-based and often thickened with ground nuts. In the Abbasid popular culture, the cold dishes *bawārid* were nicknamed *barāʾid al-khayr* براند الخير ‘harbingers of good news.’¹¹⁹ Dainty sandwiches, called *bazmāward* and *awsāt*, were also offered, as well as filled pastries of *sanbūsaj*, various kinds of sausages *laqāniq*, and yogurt dishes like *jājaq*. Fresh and tender herbs, called *buqūl al-māʾida* ‘table vegetables,’ such as table leeks, rue, mint, tarragon, thyme, and basil, were used as garnish and appetizers. They were described as ‘ornament of the table.’ However, hearty eaters

¹¹⁷ Aḥmad al-Ḥassan and Donald Hill, *Islamic Technology: An Illustrated History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 219.

¹¹⁸ *Malla* is a pit in which food, such as bread and meat, is buried so that it bakes in the heat of ashes and stones. Cecil Hourani in *Jordan: The Land and the Table* describes meat roasted this way in an orchard outside Amman. He says that the dish “has now been added to the menu of a new and elegant Amman restaurant” (London: Elliott and Thompson, 2006) 39-40. See my comments in Chapter 82; Glossary, Section 2, s.v. *ḡhubz al-malla*, and Section 10.1, s.v. *malla*.

¹¹⁹ al-Ābī, *Nathr al-Durar* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 172.

nicknamed them ‘much ado about nothing’ زحام بلا منفعة (al-Ābī 172). Other dishes deemed unsubstantial, usually cooked in smaller pots and offered as snack food, were fried meat *qalāyā*, dishes of braised poultry and red meat, called *muṭajjanāt* and *ṭabāhijāt*, *mulahwajāt* ‘simple meat dishes cooked in haste,’ and omelets such as *narjisīyyāt*.¹²⁰

Vegetarian dishes, called *muzawwarāt* ‘simulated dishes,’ were served during Lent by Christians and physicians recommended them for the sick (Chapters 46, 105). As their name suggests, the dishes were meant to give the semblance of the original version usually prepared with meat. Indeed, the cooks tried their best to make them taste as if there was meat in them to satisfy the eaters’ craving for meat. Sometimes the main ingredient in the dish is simulated such as making an eggless omelet, drained yogurt without yogurt, making milk from coconut, fish condiments without fish, and so on. Such dishes, perhaps made to meet some dietary restrictions, would certainly exhibit the cook’s resourceful and inventive skills.

In a culinary culture that valued and relished meat, vegetarian dishes were tolerated only when in poor health or fasting. Surely they were welcome as side dishes when presented with a myriad of other goodies such as *kawāmīkh* ‘fermented condiments,’ pickles, yogurt dishes, fresh and salted fish, and grilled pullets.¹²¹ However, when offered by themselves, they were spurned. A poet in protestation said:

How can *muzawwara* my nourishment be?
 Eating *muzawwarāt* is a falsity!
 Vinegar and the trifling vegetable dishes are not for me.
 Let the doctor get out of my way!
 Say in doctors and medicine faith has gone astray.
 Give me! Where is *kabāb*? Where are the fried dishes?
 The succulent roasts and the spiced meat? Bring them on!¹²²

Before sending the dishes to the table, great care was taken to garnish them with a variety of herbs and vegetables, chopped, diced, and sliced. In the recipes most of the dishes were given a final sprinkle

¹²⁰ In al-Tha‘ālibī’s *Lubāb al-Ādāb*, for instance, we come across the sentence *ṭabāhija yutafakkahu bihā* (طباهاجة يتفكه بها) i.e. eaten as a snack (<http://www.alwaraq.net>, 27).

¹²¹ Based on an anecdote in Ibn Ḥamdūn, 223.

¹²² al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, 538. My translation. For a study of *muzawwarāt* dishes in medieval Islam, see Manuela Marin and David Waines, “Muzawwar: Counterfeit Fare for Fasts and Fevers,” *Patterns of Everyday Life*, ed. David Waines (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2002) 303–15.

of finely chopped rue, parsley, mint, cilantro, or basil. Of these, rue was particularly necessary despite its unpleasant taste because it was believed to aid digestion and help with bloating. Cold dishes were given a generous drizzle of olive oil and garnished with peeled cucumber sliced into *dirhams* ‘silver coins,’ ruby-red pomegranate seeds, dyed skinned almonds, chopped eggs, olives, cheese, ground nuts, a dash of black pepper or coarse salt, and the like. Large trays of meat or *ṭharīd* dishes (broken pieces of bread sopped in broth) were sent to the table decorated with colorful thin slices of *bazmāward* (rolled sandwich), sausages of different sizes, *ṭardīn* (thin triangular meat patties), fried filled pastries *sanbūsaj*, chopped egg, and the like so that the dish resembled an orchard flower *zahrāt al-bustān*, bride ‘*arūs*, or ornamented sword *sayf muḥalla* (Chapter 49). Before serving an omelet with eggs sunny-side up a fresh sprig of rue was implanted in the midst of each egg yolk and the wide frying pan was skirted with a large thin bread *ruqāqa* to hide its blackened outside (Chapter 73).

After the main dishes, desserts were usually served.¹²³ Most of them were puddings cooked in pots such as *khabīṣ* and *fālūdḥaj*. *Muḥallabiyya* was rice pudding, sometimes made like custard, with eggs. *Ẓalābiyya* was fried batter dipped in boiled honey. Sometimes the batter was made *furniyya*, which was a yeast cake baked in the *tannūr* then drenched in fresh milk, clarified butter, and sugar. It was also called *zalaqanbaʿ* and *ṣafanj* ‘sponge.’ A popular dessert was *qaṭāyif*, delicate crepes filled with ground nuts and sugar and scented with rose water, musk, and camphor (Chapter 102). Equally popular was *lawẓīnaj* (Chapter 99). The drenched variety called *mugharraḡ* was, more or less, reminiscent of the modern baklava. Extremely thin sheets of bread were baked on *ṭābaḡ*, filled with a mix of ground nuts and sugar, scented and bound with rose water and mastic. Then, they were rolled, stacked, and drenched in syrup and delicate oil of almond or walnut. Of the cookies people used to make, especially for religious feasts and as part of travelers’ victuals, were *khushkanānaj*. They were filled pastries pressed into concave wooden molds carved with geometric shapes. More traditionally, they were shaped into crescents to resemble the crescent moon, which heralds the beginning of such feasts.

¹²³ The medieval physicians gave this ‘sweet’ tradition their nod of approval. Desserts with their hot and rarefying properties *mulattif* were believed to help digest dense foods. See Section IX below, and Glossary, Section 12.1.

Great measures were taken to decorate desserts and cookies. Special molds were used to impress elaborate designs, colored sugar and nuts were sprinkled like confetti on confections to make dessert look like a colorful orchard *bustān*. The most elaborate construction was decorating *khabīs* ‘thick pudding.’ A dome made with honey ‘pulled taffy’ was built on it with a minaret in the middle. Then the structure was decked with colored almonds (Chapter 44).

Of beverages, water was usually served during the meal, but was to be taken sparingly. Sweetened drinks, and wine for those who imbibed it, were consumed after the meal. They were believed to aid digestion. As for the bubbly non-alcoholic beer *fuqqāʿ*, the recommendation was to drink it when the stomach was empty because it caused bloating. The same recommendation applied to fresh fruits because it was believed they digested fast, and hence needed to be purged before having the main meal.¹²⁴

We also come across dishes, which were not usually made for the regular daily meals, collectively called *naql*. An array of dainty foods were served in small portions and offered during drinking sessions, similar to today’s mazza dishes. They were not meant to be filling, but taken to just satisfy one’s hunger, induce a feeling of thirst, and delay intoxication. They were called *naql* because the drinkers alternated between nibbling on them and sipping their wine. Instances of such offerings: salted toasted nuts, raisins and fruits like pomegranates and apples, rock candy *nabāt al-sukkar*, sugar reeds steeped in rose water, tiny sausages, *khushkanānaj* and *kaʿk mujaffaf* ‘dry cookies, and filled savory pastries like *sanbūsaj*. In one of the recipes, directions were to make *sanbūsaj* pastries as small as fava beans and serve them with toothpicks. It also suggested that a large number of these nibbles needed to be made because one cannot have enough of them (Istanbul MS, fols. 58v–59r). Grilled swallows and cured meat *qadīd* were also presented.¹²⁵ One of al-Warrāq’s recipes described how to prepare the cured meat in a fanciful way. The uncooked meat strips were wound around reeds before roasting them lightly in the *tannūr*. They came out as delicate spirals of cured meat that crumbled in the mouth, described as *hashsh* ‘brittle.’ These were served with fried or baked small and thin breads, similar to chips, or thin bread

¹²⁴ On this issue, see Rosa Kuhne Brabant, “Al-Rāzī on When and How to Eat Fruit,” *Patterns of Everyday Life*, 317–27.

¹²⁵ See al-Masʿūdī, 571; al-Tannūkhī *Nishwār al-Muḥādara* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 358.

slathered with *ṭahīn simsim* ‘tahini’ or *binn* ‘fermented condiment,’ and then sliced into strips (Chapter 89).

Generally, successful cooking requires good timing and, more or less, accurate measurements. In al-Warrāq’s recipes, timing was sometimes left to the discretion of the cook, suggested by the handy expression ‘as long as it needs.’ Sometimes a specific duration was given such as *sā’a* ‘an hour,’ a very elastic measure indeed, for it can be literally an hour, a good full hour *sā’a ṣāliḥa*, or not quite an hour *suway’a*. It may also express immediacy and urgency of action to be taken. Drizzling the food with juice, for instance, *sā’at ikhrājīhi* means the moment it is taken out of the pot. Checking on a pot *kull sā’a* ‘every single hour’ does not carry the literal meaning. It actually translates to ‘every now and then.’ We still use this expression in the same sense. Similarly, with *lahza*, which literally is a second, but in a cooking situation, it needs to be taken more practically as ‘briefly.’

As for measuring ingredients, a good number of al-Warrāq’s recipes gave exact measurements, even as small as *qirāṭ* ($\frac{1}{4}$ gram) and *dānaq* ($\frac{1}{2}$ gram), an indication that scales for measuring ingredients were expected in the Abbasid kitchen, even though al-Warrāq does not include it in his list of kitchen equipment. Overall, we are rarely left at a loss as to how much to use in a recipe. Giving parts and ratios, and the approximate ‘handful,’ ‘what the palm and the stretched fingers can hold,’ ‘what the extended and put together three fingers can take,’ and ‘what the nail can carry’ were handy eye-measurements for the general cooking. However, for sensitive ingredients that make or break a dish, exact measurements were given. A combination of spices for instance was usually added to the pot in harmonious proportions. Measurements here were necessary to give the practical cook an idea of the components and proportions of the spice mix, in case he had to double or triple the recipe. The versatile measurement ‘as much as needed,’ was certainly good enough for the experienced cooks.

VIII. *Beginnings of the Abbasid Cuisine*

Identifying the beginnings of the Abbasid Baghdadi cuisine is not an easy task. The region’s long and complex history produced two ambitious civilizations, the Sumerian/Akkadian in Mesopotamia and the Persian. After a series of invasions and counter-invasions, the

ancient Mesopotamian glory was eclipsed in the sixth century BC with the fall of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. The region then fell to foreign powers, mostly Persian—Achamenides, Greeks, Parthians, and Sassanians—up until around 636 AD when the Muslim Arabs dominated the region. Through the family of the Barmacides, the Persians regained political power with the rise of the Abbasid dynasty around 750. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī was mentor and vizier of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, and his son Jaʿfar al-Barmakī was al-Raṣhīd's vizier, closest friend, and brother-in-law. However, the family fell out of favor in 803.

The indigenous Mesopotamians were a mix of Chaldeans, Syriacs, and Arameans, who in medieval times were collectively called Nabaṭ al-ʿIrāq.¹²⁶ They were politically ineffective and survived mostly as farmers in rural areas. Their middle class played an important role in spreading the intellectual and scientific knowledge that spurred the Abbasid cultural boom.

Judging from medieval records, the Muslim scholars were oblivious to most of the ancient Mesopotamian history, and only the indigenous Nabateans and the Persian kings, especially the Sassanians, were the “main constituents in the history of Mesopotamia.”¹²⁷ Therefore, to reconstruct the beginnings of the Abbasid cuisine, we need to go back to the future, to the early 1980's when a translated collection of ancient Babylonian recipes was published. They were inscribed on three cuneiform tablets, around 1700 BC.¹²⁸ David Waines, a leading scholar in medieval Arab Islamic culture, points out the significance of the discovery:

What is more remarkable – if not altogether surprising – about these few recipes is their close family resemblance to the first extant collection of recipes in Arabic [in al-Warrāq's cookbook]....The styles and textures of the recipes, combinations of ingredients, use of condiments and spices and other factors point to a tradition which, if not unbro-

¹²⁶ They were not related to the ancient Nabateans from the area around Petra, collectively called Nabaṭ al-Shām. See Appendix, s.v. Nabaṭī.

¹²⁷ Jaakko Hämeen-Antilla, *The Last Pagans of Iraq: Ibn Waḥshiyya and his Nabatean Agriculture* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) 49.

¹²⁸ The cuneiform tablets, part of the Babylonian collection of Yale University, contain around forty recipes. See Jean Bottéro's translation of the recipes in *Mesopotamian Culinary Texts* (Winnona Lake, IN: Eisenbraun, 1995) 3–21. More or less similar information may be found in Bottéro's *The Oldest Cuisine in the World: Cooking in Mesopotamia* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004) 25–35; “The culinary Tablets at Yale,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107. 1 (1987): 11–19; and “The Most Ancient Recipes of All” in *Patterns of Everyday Life*, 239–46.

ken, at least originated in Mesopotamia, was inherited by the Persian Sassanians who then passed it on, with their own contributions, to be ‘resurrected’ within the Muslim culture of Abbasid Baghdad. The Mesopotamian origins of the Arabic high culinary tradition could not be clearer.¹²⁹

Central to understanding the value of the Babylonian recipes in demonstrating continuity in Iraq’s culinary tradition are their affinities with the Abbasid cuisine. They are best revealed in al-Warrāq’s book due to his care in identifying sources and the very fact that his collection of recipes is extensive in terms of variety and quantity. Continuity of the ancient Iraqi culinary tradition into later ages, especially the Abbasid period, can be seen in several areas, but most prominently in technique and presentation.

Regarding technique, the ancient Babylonian twenty-five stew recipes, inscribed on one of the three tablets, show a basic cooking method that combines meat and vegetables in seasoned and enriched stew. Essentially the same type of stew became a staple dish in the Abbasid cuisine.¹³⁰ The Akkadian word for broth or stew is *mû/mê*, literally, ‘water.’ Tellingly, in al-Warrāq’s collection, we encounter a variety of meat dishes cooked in broth called *mā wa milh*, literally, ‘water and salt’ (Chapter 48). The ancient recipes also reveal that the palate for rendered sheep’s tail fat *alya* in medieval Arab cooking does not necessarily belie the peasant nature of their cookery. It was deemed a delicacy in the entire Near Eastern region regardless of class, ever since ancient times.

In al-Warrāq’s stew recipes, great emphasis is put on removing the froth *raghwa* of the boiling meat to prevent it from developing *zuhūma* ‘unpleasant greasy odors.’ Meat is sometimes parboiled, as in *mā’ wa milh* recipes (Chapter 48). To help produce clean and clear broth, meat is given an initial brief boil after which it is washed in cold water then wiped and cooked again. Evidently, such practices had their ancient roots. The Babylonian recipes reveal the same sensitivity to such unpleasant odors. The recipes of small birds, for instance, give these preparatory instructions: “In a clean cauldron,

¹²⁹ *Patterns of Everyday Life*, xxxiii. Waines explains in a footnote that opinions expressed in his *In a Caliph’s Kitchen* (London: Riyād al-Rayyis, 1989) 11-5, “should be revised in light of the Mesopotamian evidence and its relationship to the Arabic tradition” (xxxiii, n. 46).

¹³⁰ My account of the Babylonian recipes here is a summary of Bottéro’s translation. Parenthetical page numbers refer to his *Mesopotamian Culinary Texts*.

put the [b]irds, gizzards, and entrails. After heating it, remove the meat, and wash well in cold water” (Bottéro 11).

Other similarities are using more than one kind of meat in one dish such as combining beef and poultry. The ancient love for heads, extremities, and innards, as in the Babylonian “goat’s kid broth,” simmered in water and enriched with fat, onion, leeks, garlic, and *kisimmu*,¹³¹ is shown in al-Warrāq’s recipes in Chapter 44.¹³² *Kisimmu* is frequently included in the Babylonian stew recipes to enrich the sauce and give it a pleasant tart flavor. Al-Warrāq’s *kishkiyyāt* dishes use meat, onion, herbs, spices, fat, water, and *kishk* (Chapter 63). When *kisimmu* is not used in the Babylonian recipes, we encounter other thickening agents, namely milk and breadcrumbs, sometimes used separately but often combined in one dish to create a thick and rich sauce. Several of the medieval recipes use milk and breadcrumbs to thicken and enhance the stews, as in *baṣaliyya* ‘onion stew’ (Chapter 76), and *shaljamiyya* ‘turnip stew’ (Chapter 54).

In the Babylonian recipe ‘broth with crumbs,’ the crumbs are added as a final step before taking the pot away from the fire (9), similar to what is done with the popular *tharīd* dish of the Abbasid times (Chapter 83). Again, as with sheep’s tail fat, this clearly shows that the dish was already known in the ancient Near Eastern region, and was not specifically an Arab dish. Still, it was their favorite food.

One of the Babylonian recipes, ‘spleen broth,’ dictates that “bits of roasted *qaiatu*-dough” are added to the pot.¹³³ Perhaps that was man’s first recorded attempt at making pasta or noodles, which by the time of the Abbasids was in full swing, in the shape of noodles such as *itriya* and *rishta*; *lakhshāt* and *tutmāj*, which were thin pieces of pasta boiled in broth; and ravioli-like pieces of pasta made from *sabūsaj* dough. A medieval recipe similar to the Babylonian ‘spleen

¹³¹ Later known as *kishk*. In Akkadian, it is explained as ‘sour milk product’ (*Mesopotamian Culinary Texts* 9). As such, it is similar to the medieval variety called *kishk Turkumānī* made by drying yogurt in the sun then shaping it into balls to be used as needed (al-Baḡhdādī’s fourteenth-century augmented version *Kūtāb Waṣf al-Aḡima* 323). Interestingly, Turkumans in modern northern Iraq call it *kashām*, which is phonologically closer to the Akkadian *kisimmu*. Another way for preparing *kishk* is to knead yogurt with crushed wheat then divide the dough into discs and dry it in the sun (al-Warrāq, Chapter 40). Both methods are followed today.

¹³² And the love continues. In modern Iraq, the dish is called *pācha*.

¹³³ Although the dough is still unidentified, I suspect that *qaiatu* is related to the Akkadian ‘qaṭanu’ (to become thin or fine), from which the Arabic *qīṭān* ‘thin strip’ or ‘cord’ derives.

broth' is called *Nībāṭiyya* 'Nabatean dish,' i.e. indigenous to Iraq. It is chicken stew made with chickpeas, onion, a variety of spices, and three handfuls of *īṭriya* 'noodles' made from white dough (Chapter 72).

Furthermore, both cuisines show a knack for using spices and herbs, in combinations and at different stages in the cooking process. The ancient recipes mention cumin, coriander, and the aromatic wood, which might be cassia. They also include herbs and seasoning vegetables such as leeks, dill, mint, onion, and garlic.

The other two cuneiform tablets establish further affinities between the two cuisines such as the taste for the sour and the sweet-sour, using honey and vinegar, or juice and pulp of sour unripe fruits. In these tablets, some recipes use vinegar, *andahsu* 'prunes,'¹³⁴ and honey. In *The Assyrian Herbal*, a bean stew is mentioned. It uses beans, clean salt, breadcrumbs, kidneys, and apricot.¹³⁵ The medieval dish *mishmishiyya* 'apricot stew' adds apricot to enrich the sauce and give it a delicate sour flavor (Chapter 62).

The two cuisines share the tendency to use in their cooked dishes salty and sour liquid fermented sauces. In the Babylonian bird-pie recipes, the fermented sauce is even added to the dough to enhance its flavor (11–14). In the medieval recipes, it is added in small quantities to many dishes, hot and cold, dry and with sauce. It was believed to aid digestion and enhance flavor. In ancient Mesopotamia, it was called *siqqu*, made from fish, shellfish, and locusts. They were fermented in brine then strained and stored.¹³⁶ By the time of al-Warrāq, the cereal-based fermented sauce became more common. It was called *murri* and *mā kāmakḥ*. Fish-based sauce was also available. In some of the medieval sources, it was called *mānūn*.¹³⁷

The flair for showmanship is clearly exhibited in both cuisines. A case in point is the elaborate Babylonian bird-pies. A baked pie shell is filled with birds simmered in rich and flavorful white sauce. It is fitted with a baked crust made attractive by sprinkling the pan with mint leaves before lining it with the spread dough and baking

¹³⁴ As identified in *The Assyrian Herbal* 129–30. Cf. the word in Arabic, *ijjās*, 'ūjjās.

¹³⁵ Campbell Thompson, hand-written ed. (London: Luzac and Company, 1924) 197. Bean is 'lubu' in Akkadian, cf. Arabic *lūbyā*.

¹³⁶ See Bottéro, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World*, 59–61.

¹³⁷ Literally, 'fish juice,' such as in al-Isrā'īlī, *Kitāb al-Aghdhiya*, facsimile of MS Fāṭiḥ nos. 3604–07 in Sulaymāniyya Library, Istanbul, 4 vols. (Frankfurt: Frankfurt University Press, 1986) 3: 250. In Akkadian, *nūn* is fish.

it. Thus covered it is carried to the royal table (11–15). A recipe in al-Warrāq’s cookbook called *tannūrīyya* (i.e. baked in the *tannūr*) shows a striking resemblance to this ancient dish. A pan with high sides is lined with a thin layer of dough and filled with cooked chicken and other ingredients. After the top is covered with a flattened layer of dough, the pie is lowered into the *tannūr* to bake (Chapter 91).

When classifying medieval dishes, one often comes across the notion that porridge and pulse dishes, such as *harīsa* and *hintīyya* made with crushed wheat and ‘*adasīyya*’ ‘lentil dish,’ belong to the realm of the humble pre-Islamic Arab cuisine. The Babylonian recipes show that such dishes were enjoyed by all ever since ancient times. The porridges in these ancient recipes were served as “accompaniments to the meat.” Besides wheat, ‘shelled and ground lentil’ or ‘fine quality green wheat’ were used (14).¹³⁸ All these varieties have their counterparts in al-Warrāq’s collection (Chapters 50, 52, 64).

The Babylonian recipes highlight the ancient people’s love for accompanying relishes. A remark at the end of one of the recipes reads, “When everything is cooked, remove the meat from the fire, and before the broth cools [?], serve it accompanied by garlic, greens and vinegar” (12). It is quite likely that these ingredients were not served separately but rather crushed and mixed into sauces. If so, then it can be said that the practice continued. The Abbasid cuisine dictates that *ṣībāgh* (vinegar-based sauces and dips) need to be served with foods such as porridges and fried and grilled dishes of fish and chicken to aid digestion (Chapters 34 and 35).

Although the Babylonian recipes enable us to see continuity in the Abbasid cuisine, they at the same time render the issue of ‘origin’ somewhat inconclusive. As the recipe collection shows, this ancient haute cuisine had assimilated other regional and foreign traditions. We find this trend in the recipe for ‘broth Assyrian style’ from Assyria in northern Mesopotamia, and the recipe for ‘Elamite broth’ from Elam, southwest Iran.¹³⁹

The ‘passing on’ of the Mesopotamian cuisine to the Baghdadi Abbasid kitchen took place through two venues, direct and indirect. In the latter, the Persians, inheritors of the once prosperous Sassanian

¹³⁸ Green wheat was known as *farīk* in medieval times, and still is.

¹³⁹ Recipes in Bottéro, *Mesopotamian Culinary Texts*, 9–10.

dynasty, played a major role.¹⁴⁰ The direct venue was through the contemporary indigenous Nabateans. Of the two, the Persian influence understandably gets the most attention partly due to the Persians' political weight, especially during the early Abbasid period. For instance, one of the famous Persian figures al-Warrāq cites in his book is Yaḥya bin Khālīd al-Barmakī (d. 805), mentor and vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The Persian impact is present in names of dishes, mostly ending with *-āj* such as *sikbāj*, *narbāj*, *zīrbāj*, food items, culinary terms, kitchen utensils, and the like. It was the time when doing things the Persian way became the denominator of fashion and a guarantee of social acceptance and favoritism. Al-Warrāq tells an interesting anecdote on the birth of a dish, called *kushtābiyya* (Chapter 85). One of the Persian kings used to take an Arab cook with him while on the road. Whenever the king came back to his camp, he used to say to the cook, “*kusht biyā*” (bring the meat). The cook would usually have prepared for him meat slices grilled or boiled, served with a dip. One day the king came and the cook had sliced the meat but had not lighted the fire yet. So he improvised. He put the meat in a frying pan, poured fat on it, sprinkled it with a little water and salt, chopped onion for it, and added some ground spices. He covered the pot with an inverted leaden bowl—to trap in moisture—and lighted a strong fire underneath the pot. It was cooked fast, and it came out lusciously drowned in its moisture and fat. The king liked it, and it became his favorite dish. Therefore, the Arab cook called it *kushtābiyya*, and it became a famous dish.

¹⁴⁰ Extant knowledge of the cuisine of the Persian empires is mostly drawn from hints in Greek sources, which suggest luxurious and elaborate dishes and delicacies. According to Herodotus, the Persians used to serve a great number of side dishes, one after the other. See Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, “Persian Food Stereotypes and Political Identity,” *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995) 292.

Of the ancient Achaemenian gastronomic achievement, we have no tangible proof. Of the later Sassanian dynasty (226-636), the cookbook of Anū Shīrwān was mentioned in the thirteenth-century anonymous Andalusian cookbook *Anwāʾ al-Ṣay-dala* (57), which seems to have been a guide for a healthy and fine living rather than a recipe book. There is also mention of the Book of King Khosrau and his Page (fourth century). Before being knighted, the page was tested by the king on culinary matters. He recommended the delicate dessert *pālūtak* (*fālūdḥaq*) made with apple and quince juice. Another favorite delicacy he mentioned was *lawzenak* (*lawzīnāq*) for summer and winter (Rodinson, “Studies in Arabic Manuscripts,” 152, notes 2 and 3). Interestingly, *lawzīnak* points to some ancient Persian borrowing—almond in Persian is *bādam* and *lawz* is more akin to the Akkadian *lūzu*.

The ancient Mesopotamian culinary knowledge was also ‘passed on’ to the Abbasids directly through the contemporary Nabateans themselves, the indigenous inheritors of the ancient Mesopotamian cuisine, even though most of them were not actively aware of this heritage. They were the farmers who provided most of the produce, some of which was specifically called *Nabaṭī* such as varieties of leeks, thyme, cabbage, mastic, and mulberry. They were the ones who carried on the business of making the indispensable fermented sauces and liquids—*kawāmīkh* and *murrī*. In ancient Mesopotamia, it was made with fish and locusts. By the time of the Abbasids, it was mostly cereal-based. The most widely used fermented liquid sauce was called *murrī Nabaṭī*, many of al-Warrāq’s recipes use it. The Nabateans were the specialists who made *ṣiḥnāt* of fish or locusts and *rabīṭhā*, which were condiments made with small fish, shrimp, or locusts (Chapter 40). Although they were no lords or high-class people, the Nabateans had connections with the members of the ruling Abbasid family. They catered to the needs of their kitchen pantries and their appetites. In *Al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*, Ibn Ḥamdūn tells how one day Caliph al-Ma’mūn told his brother Abū Ishāq (al-Mu‘taṣim) he was craving *kawāmīkh* (condiments and appetizers). When Abū Ishāq told him that he knew of a Nabatean who excelled in making them, the Caliph asked to be brought from him whatever he had ready of these. The Nabatean promptly sent eighty servant boys carrying on their heads trays laden with all kinds of *kawāmīkh*, *mukḥallalāt* ‘pickles,’ *shawāriḥ* ‘drained yogurt,’ fresh and salted fish, cold dishes of pullets, *muzawwarāt* ‘vegetarian dishes,’ and the like (223).

As for Nabatean recipes, al-Warrāq incorporates several in his collection. The staple *tannūr* bread is called *khubz al-mā’ al-Nabaṭī* (Chapter 13).¹⁴¹ A side dish of vegetarian *ṭharīd* called *khall wa zayt Nabaṭī* was made with crumbled bread sopped in sweet and sour vinegar sauce, garnished with cucumber pulp, onion, mint, and parsley, and drizzled with olive oil (Chapter 47). A chicken dish cooked with noodles *iṭriya* is called *Nibāṭiyya*. The recipe belongs to Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, the famous Abbasid singer (Chapter 72).

Due to the low standing of the majority of the Nabateans, socially, economically, and politically, their contribution was often passed unacknowledged, which led to the rise of some medieval Mesopotamian

¹⁴¹ Literally, ‘water bread.’ In Iraq, *tannūr* bread is still called *khubuz may*, which is basic bread made with flour, yeast, salt, and water.

‘nationalistic’ voices, represented by tenth-century Ibn Waḥshiyya in his book *Al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* (farming practices of the Nabateans).¹⁴² He was a contemporary Chaldean himself, who in his introduction to the book claimed that it was an Arabic translation of ancient Babylonian sources dealing with their advanced knowledge on farming, originally written in Syriac *Suryāniyya qadīma*. He said he translated it in 904 and dictated it to a copyist in 930 to make known the useful knowledge it contained and give credit where it was due.¹⁴³ Ibn Waḥshiyya expressed his resentment towards the unjust disregard his fellow Nabateans fell into ever since they lost their political power. He said the occupiers reaped the fruits of their knowledge, which they have been accumulating over thousands of years.

In one of his comments on turnip *saḷjam*, he gives a recipe for *mā’ al-saḷjam al-ḥāmīd* ‘sour turnip juice,’ which uses peeled and diced turnip, turnip juice, and baked sour bread. The bread is whipped into the turnip mix, while it is still hot until it dissolves completely. Herbs like rue, mint, and parsley are added. The mix is left until it matures and sours.¹⁴⁴ Ibn Waḥshiyya says it is eaten with bread and its juice is made into a digestive drink. He also says the sour turnip juice is used in meat dishes to make the sauce deliciously sour.¹⁴⁵ Part of his comment on this Nabatean sour turnip juice is worth quoting in full:

This liquid extracted from turnips as described by the Nabateans is often made by the Persians in Fāris, Ray, and Aṣḥān. They make the juice and call it *shalmābā* (شلمابه), which means turnip juice in Arabic. They drink it like *fuqqā’* (unfermented beer) and cook it with meat to sour it, the way they sour *sikbāj* with vinegar and other similar dishes.

I believe the Persians learnt it from the Nabateans, who used to make it before them. When the Persians conquered them, occupied their lands, and seized their properties, they took their books and inherited their knowledge. They took from them such dishes [as sour

¹⁴² On the issue of Mesopotamian medieval nationalism, see Hämeen-Anttila, 33–45.

¹⁴³ *Al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya*, 3 vols., ed. Tawfiq Fahd (Damascus: al-Ma’had al-‘Ilmī al-Farānsī li ‘l-Dirāsāt al-‘Arabiyya, 1995) 1: 5, 7, 546–48.

¹⁴⁴ A turnip relish, called *al-maqra*, in al-Warrāq’s cookbook is somewhat similar to this recipe (Chapter 40).

¹⁴⁵ It is my hunch that today’s Iraqi dish *ḥāmuḍ shalgham* (sour turnip soup) has a strong affinity with this ancient *mā’ al-saḷjam al-ḥāmīd* (sour turnip liquid). The souring agents, now, are mostly lemon juice or tamarind.

turnip juice] and gave them Persian names and called them their own. Now this recipe for making turnip juice in this book proves right what I have just said, that the Nabateans were the first to make it. There are many similar cases to be found in the Nabatean books on cooking various foods and beneficial drinks.

Now do not get me wrong, son,¹⁴⁶ I am not saying this to vilify the Persians or be disrespectful to them, they are the wisest and fairest of nations. The truth has to be told however, and we owe it to those whom we know to have the precedence to make their achievement known.¹⁴⁷

The Abbasids' own Arab culinary heritage supplemented the Mesopotamian and Persian influences. Although the Arabs were commonly described as simple and austere people due to harsh and dry physical environment, they knew luxury, as al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869) assures us, where the land was more productive and means more abundant. He concluded from their poetry that they knew fine white flour *ḥuwwārā*, fruits, roasted meat *shiwā'*, and stew *maraq*. They knew *muraqqaq* (fine, thin sheets of bread), *ṣināb* (dipping sauce made with mustard and raisins), and strained honey. 'Abdullāh bin Jud'an, one of the affluent and most generous masters of the famous tribe of Quraysh during the pre-Islamic era, was said to be the inventor of the famous dessert *fālūdhaq* described as wheat starch mixed with honey (لباب البر يلبك بالشهاد (سرطراط) to indicate the pleasure and ease one experiences during chewing and swallowing it (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, s.v. سرط). Of their other foods, *tharīd*, bread sopped in broth, was the master of dishes, and *ḥays*, dates mixed with clarified butter and breadcrumbs, which was mostly travelers' fare. They valued bread and favored meat to dates.¹⁴⁸ *Ẓalābiya* was said to be mentioned in old Arabic poetry (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, s.v. زلب) and the famous *sikbāja* (beef stew soured with vinegar) was said to have been known to pre-Islamic Arabs.¹⁴⁹ *Lisān al-'Arab* gives its Arabic name, *ṣa'faṣa* (صفصة) or *ṣafṣafa* (صفصة).

¹⁴⁶ He addresses his scribe and student, Abū Ṭālib Aḥmad bin Ḥusayn al-Zayyāt.

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Waḥshiyya, 1: 545–46. My translation.

¹⁴⁸ *Al-Bukhālā'*, ed. Ṭāha al-Ḥājirī (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1963) 229–31. Also available electronically at <http://www.alwaraq.net>.

¹⁴⁹ For instance, see Garbutt, "Ibn Jazlah," 44, n. 5.

Finally, a cuisine in whose language the epithet *gharīb* (exotic, unusual) was a high complement and whose society valued boon companions *nudamā'* by the number of exotic dishes *gharā'ib al-ṭabīkh* they mastered,¹⁵⁰ incorporating some foreign unfamiliar elements into its already rich repertoire was a good thing. This was made possible by active trade and Baghdad's cosmopolitan nature during the Abbasid period. From near and far, slave girls were brought, and the excellent cooks among them were valuable commodities. A remarkable example was Bid'a, slave girl of Prince Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī (d. 839), famous for her *sikbāja* stew, desserts, and cold dishes. She was of Byzantine origin *ṣafrā' muwallada*.

PART THREE

IX. *The Medieval Galenic Humoral Theory and the Concept of Remedying Food (إصلاح الأغذية)*

True to its title, al-Warrāq's *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* offers ways and means to ensure the diner's well-being, expressed in the phrase *iṣlāḥ al-aghdhīya al-ma'kūlāt* (إصلاح الاغذية المأكولات). *Iṣlāḥ* in the general sense is fixing something to make it good. In medieval books on dietetics, the concept usually conveyed the idea of preparing foods in such a way as to render them healthy and beneficial. In other words, the ingredients were adjusted until the dish attained the desired properties to complement or counterbalance those of the eater so that harmony and balance were attained. For instance, mutton was manipulated as follows: it was cooked with vinegar as in *sikbāj* when rarefying and cooling effects were sought.¹⁵¹ However, it was cooked with *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) when rarefying effects and speedy digestion were needed. When the aim was only to cool down the dish's properties, it was cooked with yogurt, *kishk*, sumac, or pomegranate.¹⁵² Therefore, to be able to

¹⁵⁰ At least ten, we are told (al-Nuwayrī 707).

¹⁵¹ Rarefying *mulattif* is having the humoral properties and power to thin down digesting dense foods and facilitate their absorption and purging.

¹⁵² See, for instance, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 922), *Manāfi' al-Aghdhīya wa Daḡ' Maḍārrihā* 'the benefits of food and averting its harms' (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm) 97. The Egyptian physician al-'Isrā'īlī (d. 933) dedicated a considerable portion of his *Kitāb al-Aghdhīya* to this issue. For a discussion of al-Rāzī and dietary laws, see David Waines, "The Gourmet's Physician: Abū Bakr al-Rāzī," *UR* 3 (1985): 41-47.

adjust the properties of food to avoid any harm it might incur upon its eater, one needs to familiarize oneself with the natural properties and powers of foodstuffs and dishes, as well as those of the eater.

As a compiler of a cookbook, al-Warrāq was expected to delight his readers with recipes of delicious foods and tell them how to maintain or restore their health through proper diet, which he duly did. Chapter 6 touches on the four human humors, and the recommended foods for each type. He discusses the humoral properties and powers of foods *ṭabāyīʿ* in Chapters 7–20, 22, and 24–26. Chapter 27 is about regulating the meals according to the seasons of the year, Chapter 28, the recommended dishes for different ailments, Chapter 29, the benefits of exercise before the meal, and Chapter 30, avoiding the harms of food. After all these informative and cautionary chapters, cooking begins. He resumes the subject of well-being in the last part of the book. Recipes for the sick are in Chapters 105–109. Digestives and medicinal comforting drinks, pastes, conserves *murabbayāt*, and condensed juices *rubb* are in Chapters 122–126. The last chapter deals with the benefits of sleep on the digestive system. The augmented Istanbul manuscript carries an additional title that highlights this aspect in the book:

كتاب الوصلة الى الحبيب ليغتنى به عن جهد/علاج الطبيب

(*The Book of Winning a Lover's Heart and Sparing him the Need for a Doctor*)

All the aforementioned chapters assume an educated lay knowledge on the part of the readers, regarding the contemporary pervading trends of the Galenic humoral theories,¹⁵³ which are obsolete today. To approach the mindset of al-Warrāq and his readers, we need to know the principles underlying such dietetic and medical doctrines, and familiarize ourselves with its jargon.¹⁵⁴ Here are the basic principles, which I drew directly from Arabic classical medieval sources:¹⁵⁵

1. The four elements (*arkān* أركان) of which everything in this world

¹⁵³ Claudius Galen (d. c. 201), called Jālīnaws in Arabic.

¹⁵⁴ David Waines wrote a comprehensive study on this subject in “Dietetics in Medieval Islamic Culture,” *Medical History* 43 (1999): 228–40.

¹⁵⁵ The principal sources are Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), *Al-Qānūn fi 'l-Ṭibb* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 2–17; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 940), 1001–17; al-Rāzī (d. 922) *Manāfi' al-Aghdhiya wa Daf Maḍārrihā*.

is composed, animate and inanimate: fire, air, water, and earth. Fire and air are light, water and earth are heavy.

Each of these elements possesses its own innate quality (may be called property, temperament, or nature). In Arabic, it is called *mizāj* مزاج (pl. *amzija* أمزجة) and *ṭabʿ* طبع (pl. *ṭabāyʿ* طبائع). There are four basic properties: hot (حار), cold (بارد), dry (يابس), and moist (رطب). The properties of the four elements are as follows:

- 1.1. Earth is cold and dry. A given entity is described as having *ardīyya* (from earth *ard*)
- 1.2. Water is cold and moist. A given entity is described as having *māʾīyya* (from water *māʾ*)
- 1.3. Air is hot and moist. A given entity is described as having *hawāʾīyya* (from air *hawāʾ*)
- 1.4. Fire is hot and dry. A given entity is described as having *nārīyya* (from fire *nār*)

This theory is applied in cooking to produce the best results. For instance, iron pans, which are cold in nature, are recommended for frying fish, which has cold properties. The cold properties of pan and fish will be counterbalanced by the hot properties of fire and the frying oil.

2. Each entity in nature is composed of a specific combination of these elements, which in a normal and healthy state is deemed proper and unique to it. Compared with other entities in nature, human beings are, relatively speaking, the most temperate (balanced). This state is called *mizāj muʿtadil* (مزاج معتدل).

However, balance (*ʾiʿtidāl* اعتدال) in the human body does not mean that these properties are equally divided in quantity. Rather, it means that the body has its proper proportions, which may be within a wide range that spans perfect balance (50/50), plausible only theoretically, and the points where the human temperance/balance starts to lean towards excess or deficiency. The state of having excess or deficiency in properties is described as having unbalanced properties *mizāj ḡhayr muʿtadil* (مزاج غير معتدل), which is no longer healthy and needs to be adjusted to its normal state. This can be partly achieved by having the right kinds of food. For instance, people with excessively cold temperaments can make up for deficiency in heat by having foods with hot properties like sweet dishes. Similarly, foods

with cold properties can be manipulated by adding to them a hot spice like black pepper to make them more temperate.

3. Saying that the human body is temperate does not mean that all body parts are the same. The bones in their normal state, for instance, are predominantly cold and dry in qualities. Yet, they are regarded as temperate *mu'tadil* because it is their nature to be dry and cold. Relatively speaking, the skin is more temperate than the rest of the body, and the index finger is the most temperate part in it. The proof is its sensitivity to all properties, hot, cold, moist, and dry. By analogy, it is like a just and temperate judge that can detect any deviation.

4. With regard to age and gender, children and young people are moderately hot, whereas old people are cold because there is more of the earth element in them. Growing children are excessively moist because they need moisture for growth. By comparison, old people are dry. Children and young people are the same with regard to the amount of fire in them, whereas air and water are more in children. Women are smaller than men because they are colder, and they have more fluid excretions because their bodies are prone towards humidity.

5. The notion of the four humors *akhlāt* أخلاط (sing. *khalt* خلط): *Akhlāt* are the elemental fluids in the body, sometimes referred to as *ruṭubāt khaltīyya* (رطوبات خلطية) humoral fluids. They are *damm* (blood), *balgham* (phlegm), *ṣafrā'* (yellow bile), and *sawdā'* (black bile) generated by the digested food in the stomach and liver.

The humor can be good *khalt maḥmūd* (خلط محمود) or *ruṭūba khaltīyya maḥmūda* (رطوبة خلطية محمودة), sometimes referred to as *kaymūs jayyid* (كيموس جيد) or *kaymūs maḥmūd* (كيموس محمود).¹⁵⁶ These good humors will eventually be assimilated into the body.

On the other hand, humors can be bad and noxious. A bad humor *khalt radī'* (خلط رديء) or *ruṭūba khaltīyya faḍliyya* (رطوبة خلطية فضلية) is sometimes referred to as *kaymūs radī'* (كيموس رديء) or *kaymūs ghayr maḥmūd* (كيموس غير محمود). These cannot possibly turn into good humors and need to be expelled or purged from the

¹⁵⁶ *Kaymūs* is the humoral substance that food generates after it is digested in the stomach and liver.

body (*yunfaḍ*). Purging *naḥl* or *istiḥḥāḥ* may happen naturally such as diarrhea, perspiration and unprovoked vomiting. Purging can also be done through induced means, such as using a feather to provoke vomiting, using laxatives, bloodletting *ḥaḍ*, and cupping *ḥijāma*.

6. Characteristics of the four humors *akhlāt*:

Bodily heat is one of the factors that helps digest food and generate the humors *akhlāt*. In medieval terms, the digesting process is like cooking: moderate heat generates good quality blood that is capable of nourishing the body with some harmless by-products of *ṣafrā* 'yellow bile' and *sawdā* 'black bile.' Over-heating generates bad yellow bile *mirra ṣafrā*, excessive heat generates bad black bile *mirra sawdā*. Lack of heat generates phlegm *balgham*, excessive deficiency in heat may also generate black bile *sawdā* because excessive cold freezes and solidifies liquids.

Blood *damm* (hot and moist in properties). It is the best and the healthiest of all humors. It is moist and hot in qualities *ṭab*. Normal blood *ṭabīṭ* (طبيعي) is red,¹⁵⁷ does not smell of putridity, and is sweet. Abnormal/unnatural blood *ghayr ṭabīṭ* occurs because of two possibilities: blood deviates from its good elements *mizāj ṣāliḥ* not because something was mixed with it, but because it, of itself, changes its properties. For instance, it becomes colder or hotter than it ought to. The other possibility is that the blood gets putrid when bad humors are mixed with it. These bad humors can either come from the outside, or they could be self-generated when a portion of the blood changes into yellow or black bile, and remains with the good blood, thus spoiling it altogether.

Phlegm *balgham* (cold and moist in properties). In its normal state, it is unripe blood due to lack of heat and can turn into blood with enough heat. It is sweetish in taste. Compared with the body, blood, and bile, it is cold. The most common abnormal type of phlegm is mucus *mikhḥāt*, which is usually expelled from the body.

Yellow bile *al-ṣafrā* (hot and dry in properties).¹⁵⁸ Normal bile is the froth of blood. It is bright red, thin in consistency, and sharp in taste. The hotter it is the redder it is. When it is generated in the

¹⁵⁷ When describing the different humors, the term normal *ṭabīṭ* means the body is going to use it for its normal functions. Abnormal *ghayr ṭabīṭ* (غير طبيعي) means it needs to be purged as an excretion *faḍl*. See Glossary, Section 12.1.

¹⁵⁸ Ibn Sīnā calls normal and healthy yellow bile *ṣafrā*, and harmful yellow bile, *mirra ṣafrā*.

liver, it divides into two portions. One part joins with the blood and goes into the blood stream to benefit the body, where certain organs need some yellow bile such as the lungs. It also works as a blood thinner to let it flow into the narrowest of veins. The rest, which the blood does not need, is filtered into the gall bladder, where it nourishes the bladder. It also cleanses the bowels of the sticky phlegm and sediments by breaking them down, which facilitates purging them from the body. Yellow bile stings the seat muscle and urges the person to go to the toilet. This explains why colic happens when there is some sort of blockage between the gall bladder and the intestines.

Abnormal yellow bile *safrā' fadliyya* is generated when it is mixed with other substances such as phlegm, which mostly happens in the liver. This is quite common. When it is mixed with thin phlegm it is called *mirra safrā'* مرة صفراء 'bad yellow bile,' when it is mixed with thick phlegm it is called *mirra muḥliyya* مرة محية, i.e. similar to *muḥ* 'egg yolk.'

A less common variety of abnormal bile occurs when it 'burns,' which results in *safrā' muḥtariqa* 'burnt bile.' This happens when bile burns by itself due to extreme heat, resulting in burnt black sediments.

Black bile *al-sawdā'* (cold and dry in properties).¹⁵⁹ Normal *sawdā'* is the dregs and sediments of good blood. It is sweetish-acrid in taste. When generated in the liver, it goes two ways: part of it goes to the blood stream and nourishes the sections that need some *sawdā'* such as the bones. It also gives blood the needed thickness to prevent it from disintegrating altogether. The other part, which the blood does not need, goes to the spleen to feed it. It also goes up to the upper opening of the stomach, tickles it with its sourness to arouse and whet the appetite.

Abnormal *sawdā'*, called *sawdā' fadliyya* and *mirra sawdā'* مرة سوداء 'bad black bile' is bad and bitter in taste. It is no longer sediments or dregs, but ashes *ramād* generated by further burning *ihṭirāq* of the yellow bile. This happens when the thin parts in the blood evaporate and disintegrate due to extreme heat, leaving behind the burnt sediments. It is only blood that has such sediments because phlegm is

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Sīnā calls normal and healthy black bile *sawdā'* and harmful black bile, *mirra sawdā'*.

too mucilaginous to allow for sediments and *al-ṣafrā* ‘yellow bile’ is too thin and flows too fast to allow for settling of sediments.

Abnormal *sawdā*’ can also result when excessive cold turns phlegm into frozen solidified sediments, and in this case it is called *sawdā*’ *balghamiyya* ‘phlegmatic black bile.’

7. The basis for the treatment of the humoral unbalance is that each humor has two of the four properties: blood is hot and moist. Yellow bile is hot and dry. Black bile is cold and dry. Phlegm is cold and moist. Each person has his own unique blend of humors that render him *mu’tadil al-mizāj* ‘temperate,’ and hence healthy.

It is important to know the nature of one’s body in order to feed it with food with the proper qualities, as this will help generate healthy humors to maintain good health. In sickness, one has to counterbalance the disease with the opposite effects: fever, for instance, causes the body’s humors to lean towards the hot and the dry. Moist and cold foods are needed to correct the humoral unbalance. The same rules apply to medicinal preparations taken to correct unbalance in humors.

Spices in general are regarded as hot and mostly dry, and each spice is designated a degree—four in all, the fourth being the strongest. Pepper, for instance is hot and dry in the fourth degree, and cinnamon is hot in the second degree and dry in the first degree.¹⁶⁰

8. Digestion: Food digestion is discussed in terms of cooking, which starts with chewing, being aided by the natural heat *ḥarāra gharīziyya* of saliva. When food gets to the stomach, it further ‘cooks’ with the help of the natural heat of the stomach and the surrounding organs and membranes. The strongest part in the stomach is its lowest section where the most thorough digestion takes place. The weakest part is its upper section.

In the process, the food first turns into *kaylūs* (chyme), which is a white and smooth substance, like smooth barley soup *kishk al-sha’ir*. Then it goes to the liver. There, it further ‘cooks’ and develops into the four humoral fluids *akhlāt* or *kaymūs*, which are blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile.

The process of digesting food is like cooking. Perfect heat results in perfectly cooked dishes. A dish might remain undercooked *fujj* due to lack of heat. Sometimes due to moderate over-heating, a dish is

¹⁶⁰ al-‘Isrā’īlī explains this ancient system of categorizing ingredients, 1: 62–85.

overcooked, but still edible. However, excessive heat causes food to overcook, burn, and spoil. According to this analogy, the perfectly cooked food is pure blood at its best, which leaves the liver to the rest of the body to nourish it, discarding water it does not need any more to the kidneys so that it may be dispelled through the urinary tract. Well-cooked blood is the result of consuming balanced foods and drinks.

Cooking produces froth, analogous to the froth of blood, called *ṣafrā* 'yellow bile,' which is light and thin. This is normal and harmless. However, when heat is excessive, it causes burning *ihṭirāq*, which is neither healthy nor good. Like burnt food, the humors *kaymūs* will be spoiled. Abnormal harmful yellow bile is caused by too much heat, especially in the liver. The resulting burnt thin froth is bad yellow bile *ṣafrā' radī'a*, also called *mirra ṣafrā'*, caused by overindulging in foods that are hot in properties, low in density *laṭīf*, sweet, fatty, or pungent.

Cooking produces sediments, analogous to the sediments of blood, called *sawdā* 'black bile,' which is heavy and dense. This is normal and harmless. However, when heat is excessive, it causes burning *ihṭirāq*, which is neither healthy nor good, because the humors *kaymūs* will be spoiled. The burnt sediments are bad black bile *sawdā' radī'a*, also called *mirra sawdā'*. Foods that are very dense and dry contribute to it, and if they are hot in properties, they will even be more so, resulting in sediments that do not flow or disintegrate and cause blockages *sudud*. *Sawdā* 'black bile' is caused by too hot a liver, too weak a spleen, excessive coldness, prolonged congestions or blockages *sudud*, or prolonged sickness that causes the humors to burn. If too much black bile is generated between the stomach and the liver, there will be deficiency in blood and humors.

The undercooked humor, called *balgham* 'phlegm,' is unripe blood. Potentially it can turn into good blood if it is given enough heat, and does not stay for long in this state. It is caused by eating foods that are dense (*ghalīz*), moist, mucilaginous *lazīja*, and cold.

9. Practical applications of the principles of the humoral theory and the digesting process:¹⁶¹

A person should have varieties of foods that suit his nature. For instance, if his body is dominated by heat (*mahrūr*) and thereby has a hot liver that produces yellow bile fast, the recommended foods for him are

¹⁶¹ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, 1008–10.

those slow to digest, coarse, and dense (*ghalīz*). They will help slow down the process of generating yellow bile. Beef is good for him but not chicken because it is light *latīf* and hence digests fast. The opposite should be done with a person dominated by cold humors (*mabrūd*).

The best time to have a meal: Cold weather facilitates good food digestion because the body's heat goes deep in the body where the abdomen is. Hot weather brings the body's heat to the surface leaving the stomach without enough 'fuel.' That is why people in ancient times favored the evening meal because the weather gets cooler and the person sleeps after the meal.

Physical activity before the meal is good because it creates heat in the body especially in the stomach, which will allow the food to 'cook' well. That is why workers and farmers can digest dense foods such as coarse bread and beef. By contrast sedentary people should have light and easy to digest food because their digestive system is not so strong, due to lack of heat.

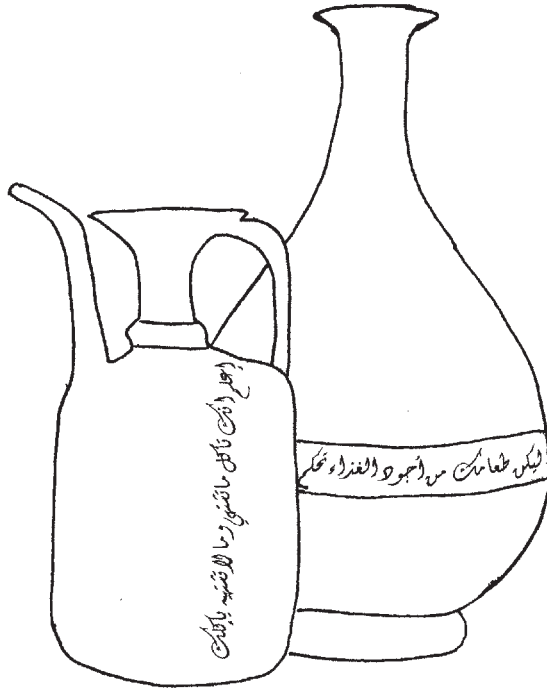
Drinking a lot of liquids with a meal prevents the food from contacting the walls of the stomach, which results in indigestion. Therefore, water should be taken sparingly.

Resting and sleeping after the meal facilitates good digestion because during sleep the body's heat centers in the abdomen where the 'cooking' is. By contrast, if a person moves after a meal, his food goes through the system not fully digested. This will result in generating bad humors which will be dispersed in the veins, causing blockages in the body and ailments in the liver and kidneys.

To make sure all foods in the stomach will be fully digested, they have to be taken in the following order, keeping in mind that good digestion happens in the lowest part of the stomach: If a person combines two kinds of food, one soft and laxative (*yulayyin*) and the other dense and constipating (*yahbus*), having the soft food first will allow it to leave the stomach undeterred before the arrival of the other food. However, if the opposite happens, the dense food will stand in the way of the soft food and prevent it from leaving the stomach when it is fully digested. This will cause it to spoil, and with it, all the other foods in the stomach. The outcome is indigestion.

The same rule applies when combining an easy and fast to digest food with a slow to digest variety: the slow to digest food should be eaten first to allow it to occupy the lowest part of the stomach, which is the strongest part. When easy to digest food follows, it will occupy the upper half of the stomach, which is weaker. As a result, both foods will have the time to digest well simultaneously.

Based on the above factors, one needs to know the nature of one's body and the consumed foods to facilitate digestion and avoid their harms.¹⁶²



¹⁶² See also Glossary, Section 12.1.

كتاب الطبخ وإصلاح الأغذية المأكولات وطيبة
الأطعمة المصنوعات
مما استخرج من كتب الطب والفاظ الأطباء
وأهل اللب

تأليف

أبي محمد المظفر بن نصر بن سيار الوراق

The Book of Cookery
Preparing Salubrious Foods and Delectable Dishes
Extracted from Medical Books
and Told by Proficient Cooks and the Wise

by

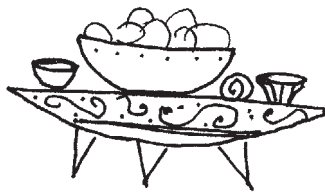
Abū Muḥammad al-Muẓaffar Ibn Naṣr
Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq

(3v) In the Name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful
I stand in need of your assistance, God

All praise is due to Allāh, the Powerful, the King, the Almighty, the Invisible, the Creator of day and night and the orbiting spheres, the Restorer of the land, the Bountiful. He is detached from all opposites and exalted above female companions and sons. There is no power and strength but in God, the Sublime, the Mighty, the Forgiving, and the Merciful. May God bless the chosen and honest Muhammad, and bless his chosen nation. May peace be upon them all.

You asked of me, may God bestow longevity upon you, to write a book on dishes cooked for kings, caliphs, lords, and dignitaries, and here it is, may God bestow longevity upon you, an illustrious and fine collection of whatever benefits the body and fends off any harm that foods might induce.¹ It includes as well, all varieties of roasted (*mashwiyya*) and stewed (*matbūkha*) meats that have been scalded (*masmūṭa*) and skinned (*mastūkha*),² and cold dishes of poultry and river fish.

I browsed, may God support you, through the books of the ancient philosophers and the eloquent physicians' accounts. They were written long ago and were just too many. Since I am certain you prefer brief and simple explanations to boring long-winded discourses, I have included only the most prevalent aspects of food, and have documented what has already been established as authentic cooking. I also avoided overburdening the volume with too many peculiarities, my intention being to give meaningful and comprehensive descriptions, and steer away from redundancy. This will save you the trouble of going through the books of ancient philosophers regarding restorative foods (*ma'kūlāt muqawwiya*) and making digestive drinks



¹ I fill in a lacuna here from Istanbul MS (fol. 6v).

² I fill in a lacuna here from Istanbul MS (fol. 6v).

(*mashrūbāt mulattifa*).³ **(5r)** You will neither need to consult books on beverages and wines, nor go through the volumes compiled on medicinal electuaries (*juwārishnāt*) and pastes (*maʿjūnāt*).

At the outset of this book, I mentioned a number of factors that might cause the food to spoil, and gave instructions on how to avoid them. I also mentioned cooking utensils, pointing out the proper ones to use for a given task, and the ones to avoid as they spoil the food and cause it to change. Besides, I discussed the essential spices and aromatics that no dish should be without and suggested some tips to get rid of burning or greasy odors in the cooking pots. Next, I mentioned the dishes that agree with the eaters' humoral qualities (*tabāyīʿ*) and temperaments (*mizājāt*) and the humoral powers (*qiwā*) of food, which include all kinds of meat and poultry along with their particular parts and organs.

Then I described the humoral qualities of foods cooked in liquid (*matbūkhā*), roasted (*mashwiyya*), and cut up into chunks and grilled (*mukabbaba*), as well as desserts (*halwā*). I also mentioned varieties of fish followed by species of eggs and the properties of grains, their elements, humoral qualities and components, and described baked breads and drinks prepared with *sawīq*.⁴ In addition, I included the humoral properties of cooked vegetables and the varieties served raw at the table. Next, the qualities and benefits of dairy products like milk (*halīb*) and the sour products (*hāmīd*), yogurt (*rāyib*), and buttermilk (*makhīd*) followed by dried spices and herbs (*abāzīr yābisa*) used to season the dishes, and the aromatics (*tīb*) and fruits tossed into the cooking pots.

Next, I mentioned the qualities of mustard, making vinegar infused with squill (*ʿunṣul*), and ways for seasoning salt (*taṭyīb al-milḥ*) followed by the properties of rolled up sandwiches (*baẓmāward*), **(5v)** different kinds of stuffed sausages, fermented condiments (*kawāmīkh*), pickles, various kinds of olives, and dips and sauces (*ṣibāgh*). I also recommended fruits to eat and physical exercises to perform be-

³ Literally, *mulattifa* is rarefying, having the power to decrease density in matter. The drinks have the medicinal benefit of thinning down dense foods in the stomach to facilitate their digestion such as *sakanajabīn* (drink made with honey and vinegar syrup). See Glossary, Sections 12.1 and 12.2, and dairy drinks in Chapter 117, below.

⁴ A refreshing and nourishing drink, made with toasted and ground grains, sugar, and water.

fore having a meal, and mentioned some medications that avert any harmful effects food might have on the eater.

I then described how to make poultry dishes, both cold (*bawārid*) and braised (*muṭajjan*), and cold dishes of fish with their sauces (*ṣibāghāt*) and dishes of fish and poultry soured in vinegar (*mamqūr*). Next, I mentioned making different kinds of dairy products, condiments (*kawāmīkh*), cheese, boiled meat and vegetables (*ṣalāyiq*), cold dishes of vegetables and meat, and simmered extremities (*aṭrāf*).⁵ I then described the different varieties of dishes, the sweet, the sour, the cold, and the hot, arranged in the order they are presented followed by desserts offered after the meal.

Next I mentioned serving water at the table,⁶ the benefits of drinking wine (*mudām*), its harmful effects on the body, and precautionary measures to be taken when drinking. I also pointed out the humoral properties of *fuqqāʿ* (alcohol-free beer) and how to make it, and the properties of intoxicating drinks (*sharāb muskir*) and recommended means to avoid their harmful effects on the body, in case they have any. Recipes for making non-alcoholic drinks follow as well as medicinal pastes (*maʿjūn*) and their benefits, simple honey (*ʿasal sādhaq*) and prepared jasmine oil (*zanbaq muʿālaj*).⁷

To conclude the book, I mentioned *maḥlab* and *uṣḥnān* used for washing the hands,⁸ pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of applying them in cleaning the mouth and teeth. I also mentioned the properties of *idhkhīr*,⁹ *suʿd*,¹⁰ and the excellent *bunk*,¹¹ and described how to prepare *maḥlab* and toast *bunk* (*taḥmīṣ*). Furthermore, I gave the etiquette (*adab*) of washing the hands when food is ready to serve and after eating it to get rid of the grease (*ghamar*). I also

⁵ *Aṭrāf* includes trotters and shanks.

⁶ This is mentioned in Istanbul MS only (fol. 7v).

⁷ I replace here *rabīq* (?) in the edited text with *zanbaq* (jasmine oil known to have many medicinal benefits) based on the Istanbul MS (fol. 8r). See Glossary, Sections 12.2 and 13. Anyway this ingredient and the preceding ‘simple honey’ seem to have been added just for the sake of rhyme *saʿ*.

⁸ *Maḥlab* is the aromatic kernel of small black cherry pits and *uṣḥnān* is alkali powder used as soap. See Glossary, Sections 9 and 13.

⁹ Sweet-smelling grass, a variety of esparto grass, also called halfa grass. See Glossary, Section 13.

¹⁰ A variety of cyperus, a grass-like rhizomatous plant. See Glossary, Section 13.

¹¹ The aromatic crushed roasted coffee beans and their husk. See Glossary, Section 13.

included regulations for sleeping after the meal and mentioned how sleep may benefit the body.

The book is divided into chapters with descriptive headings (**6r**) so that you can make the utmost use of it and find in it all the information you requested of me. I hope it proves to be up to the task, as I indeed hope that my efforts in writing it are up to the level of my high esteem for you. I also included stories of bygone days and various popular verses relevant to foods and dishes mentioned in the chapters.

May God
direct us with His sound guidance and
support us in making our decisions.
There is no power and strength
save in the Almighty God.

ترجمة أبواب الكتاب

CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK¹

1. What causes the cooked food to spoil, have greasy odors, or vitiate.
2. Utensils (*adawāt*) used in cooking, making desserts, and baking bread.
3. Spices (*abzār*) and aromatics (*‘itr*) used to perfume the cooking pot.
4. Tastes of Food.
5. Remedies for burnt foods.
6. Foods recommended for the young and the elderly.
7. Beginning the subject of humoral powers of food (*qiwā al-ghidhā*).²
8. Humoral powers (*qiwā*) of different kinds of meat and how it benefits the body.
9. Humoral powers of organ meat (*a‘dā*), extremities (*aṭrāf*), and innards (*buṭūn*).
10. Components and humoral properties (*tabāyī*) of dishes cooked in liquid (*maṭbūkhā*),³ fried (*maqlūwra*), and roasted (*mashwiyya*).
11. Humoral properties of fish and fishing methods using nets.
12. Humoral properties of eggs derived from chicken, ducks, and francolin.



¹ Some of the chapter headings given here may vary slightly from those in the main text itself (editors' note 3, n.1).

² See Glossary, Section 12.1, s.v. *qiwā*.

³ I follow here the Istanbul MS (fol. 8v), which uses *alwān* (dishes) instead of *a‘dā* (organ meat). The chapter in the text uses *alwān*, too.

13. Humoral properties of grains and bread made from wheat and rice.
14. Humoral properties of seasonal vegetables (*baql al-zamān*) used in making various dishes.
15. Humoral properties of milk and cheese.
16. Benefits of dairy products (*albān*) in curing physical disorders.
17. Humoral properties of vegetable oils (*adhān*) used in cooking dishes
18. Humoral properties of spices (*abāzīr*) used in seasoning dishes.
19. The most popular aromatics (*tīb*) used in cooking.
20. Humoral properties of fruits used in cooking.⁴
21. Making vinegar and seasoning salt (*ṭayīb al-milḥ*) for table use.
22. Humoral properties of cold dishes.
23. Making sandwiches, rolled up (*bazmāward*) and stuffed (*awsāt*).
24. Humoral properties of dips and sauces (*ṣibāghāt*) made for fresh and salted fish.⁵
25. Humoral properties of various condiments (*kawāmīkh*), olives, and pickles.⁶
26. Seasonal fruits and fruits served before the meal.
27. Regulating food consumption according to the seasons of the year.
28. Foods that aid an ailing stomach.
29. Physical activities (*riyāda*) before having a meal.
30. Precautionary measures taken to ward off anticipated harm caused by some foods.
31. Cold poultry dishes (*bawārid*) served before the hot food.
32. Making *muṭajjanāt* (braised dishes) with fattened poultry.
33. Making cold dishes (*bawārid*) of fresh fish (*samak ṭarī*) and salted sea fish (*māliḥ baḥrī*).
34. Making dips and sauces (*ṣibāgh*) for roasted fish (*asmāk mash-wiyyāt*).
35. Making dips and sauces (*ṣibāgh*) for pullets grilled on a rotating spit (*farārīj kardanājāt*).

⁴ I follow here Istanbul MS reading of *thumūr* (fruits) instead of *tumūr* (dates) in the edited version because it is more inclusive (fol. 9r).

⁵ I follow here Istanbul MS reading of *ṣibāghāt* (dips) instead of *ṣināʿāt* (making) in the edited version because it is more relevant to the text (fol. 9v).

⁶ According to the arrangement of chapters in the text itself, the order of Chapters 24 and 25 is reversed here (editors' comment, 3, n.4).

36. Making large and small sausages (*mabāʿir* and *laqāniq*) and stuffed pastries (*sanbūsjāt*).
37. Making fish and poultry preserved by sousing in vinegar (*mamqūr*).
38. Making mustard [sauce], mild (*latīf*), pungent (*hādd*), and hot (*hīrrīf*).
39. Making yogurt (*albān*), drained yogurt (*shawārīz*), and cheese (*qjbān*).
40. Making fermented condiments (*kawāmīkh*), pickles (*mukhallalāt*), olives (*zayātīn*), and small fish relish (*ṣaḥnāyāt*).
41. *Ahlām* (meat soused and preserved in vinegar) made with mutton (*dān*) and veal (*ʿijl*).
42. Making cold dishes (*bawārid*) with game meat (*laḥm al-waḥsh*) and mutton (*dān*).
43. Boiled dishes (*ṣalāyiq*), their varieties, names, and properties.
44. Making boiled dishes (*ṣilāqāt*) of extremities (*aṭrāf*) of kids and sheep.
45. Making cold dishes (*bawārid*) of vegetables and roots.
46. Simulated dishes (*taʿām muzawwar*) Christians eat during Lent.⁷
47. Making dishes of ‘vinegar and olive oil’ (*khal wa zayt*) using broken and crumbled bread.
48. Making dishes of meat simmered in water and salt (*māʾ wa milḥ*) with sauce (*ṣibāgh*) made with raw mustard seeds (*khardal fuḥj*).
49. Making beef stews soured with vinegar (*sikbājāt*), bread sopped in broth (*tharāyid*), and bread softened in fat (*mulabbaqāt*).
50. Making porridges (*harāyis*) of rice (*aruzziyyāt*) and wheat (*hintiyyāt*).
51. Making simple rice porridges with milk (*aruzziyyāt mulabbanāt sādḥajāt*).
52. Making wheat dishes with milk (*hintiyyāt mulabbanāt*).⁸
53. Making dishes of spinach (*isbanākhiyyāt*) and cabbage (*kurunbiyyāt*).
54. Making dishes of radish (*fujliyyāt*) and turnip (*shaljamiyyāt*).

⁷ They are meatless dishes which give the semblance of the original versions, and hence the name. Similar varieties are made for the sick because they are deemed light and healthy.

⁸ In Istanbul MS (fol. 11r) it is written as *muthallathāt* (dishes with three kinds of grains). In the chapter itself, the word used is also *muthallathāt*.

55. Making medleys (*makhḷūṭāt*) of rice and beans (*lūbyāyāt*).
56. Making *ḏikabrikāt* (delicately soured meat stews) and Kūfī plain dishes (*sawāḏhiy*).⁹
57. Making *z̤irbājāt* (delicate bird stews) and *Ibrāhīmiyyāt*.¹⁰
58. Making sour stews with citron pulp (*ḥummāḏiyyāt*) and with pomegranate (*rummāniyyāt*).
59. Making *isfīḏḥbājāt* (white stews),¹¹ both *Ṣughḏiyyāt*,¹² and *mukḥaḏḏarāt* (green).
60. Making vegetable dishes, simple (*sawāḏhiy*) and elaborate (*muzayyanāt*).
61. Making *ṭharīd* (bread sopped in broth) with chickpeas (*ḥimmaṣ*) and sprouted fava beans (*bāqillī manbūt*).
62. Making stews soured with juice of unripe grapes (*ḥiṣrimiyyāt*) and stews cooked with orchard produce (*bustāniyyāt*).
63. Making *kishkiyyāt* stews,¹³ both *Mawṣiliyyāt* and *Bābakiyyāt*.¹⁴
64. Making dishes of yellow lentil (*adasiyyāt ṣufr*) and grass pea (*jullubāniyyāt*).
65. Making bean dishes (*lubyāyāt*) and grass pea dishes (*jullubāniyyāt*).
66. Making *tafshīl* (porridge-like dish) with beans and vegetables.
67. Making stews with pomegranate (*nārbājāt*), both sweetened and soured.
68. Making stews soured with sumac (*summāqiyyāt*) and *Hārūniyyāt*.¹⁵
69. Making stews with sour milk (*maḏāyir*), both condensed (*ma'qūdāt*) and with orach (*qataf*).
70. Making dishes cooked with yogurt whey (*maṣliyyāt*) and dishes cooked with yogurt cheese (*qanbarīsāt*).
71. Making *ma'shuqāt* (meat dishes with reduced sauce) and *narjisīyyāt* (omelets with sunny-side-up eggs).

⁹ Named after Kūfa, a city south of Baghdad.

¹⁰ Named after Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, the Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839).

¹¹ Plain and simple stews. The name is derived from Persian *isfid-bā*.

¹² Named after Badḥān al-Ṣughdī. Ṣughd is a district in Samarqand famous for its fruit orchards. See the chapter for the story behind this dish.

¹³ Cooked with *kishk*, dough made of bulgur and yogurt, dried, and used as needed.

¹⁴ The first variety is named after Mosul, a city in northern Iraq. The second, after Ardashīr Bābak, the Persian king (d. 241).

¹⁵ Named after the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Raṣhīd of Baghdad (809).

72. Making Nabatean poultry dishes (*Nibāṭiyyāt*).¹⁶
73. Making summer and winter *narjisīyyāt* (omelets with eggs sunny-side up).
74. Making *maghmūmāt* (potpies), both plain and soured with vinegar.
75. Making fast meat dishes (*mulahwajāt*).
76. Making onion dishes (*baṣaliyyāt*) and *Hāshimiyyāt*.¹⁷
77. Making dishes with camel meat (*jazūriyyāt*) and dishes flavored with *bīn* (fermented sauce of rotted bread).
78. Making dishes with pounded meat (*maqlawīyyāt* and *madqūqāt*).
79. Making omelet discs (*ʿujaj mudawwarāt*) and scrambled egg dishes (*mukhallaltāt*).
80. Making *anjudhāniyyāt* and *Kīsraviyyāt*.¹⁸
81. Making *lakhshāt* (pasta dishes) with their dipping sauces (*ṣibāghāt*) and dishes cooked with dried buttermilk (*rakhbīn*).¹⁹
82. Making *mallīn* of chicken and fatty meat.²⁰
83. Making *ṭharāyid* (bread sopped in broth), *Shāmī* (Levantine) and *mulabbāq* (softened and enriched with fat).
84. Making fried dishes (*qalāyā*) with meat and sheep's tail fat (*alya*).
85. Making *kushtābiyyāt* (succulent fried meat) seasoned with spices and wine.
86. Making *ṭabāhiyāt* (sliced and braised meat of quadrupeds), both with sauce (*raṭb*) and without sauce (*yābis*).
87. Recipes for roasting meat in the domed clay oven (*al-shawī fī 'l-tannūr*) and pot-roasting (*shay al-qidr*).
88. Roasting stuffed kids and lamb.
89. Roasting sliced meat (*shay al-sharāyih*), fresh and cured.
90. Poultry grilled on a rotating spit (*kardhabāj*).
91. Recipes for *tannūriyyāt* (dishes baked in the *tannūr*) and potpies (*maghmūmāt*).

¹⁶ The Nabateans were the indigenous people of Iraq. See Appendix, s.v. Nabatī.

¹⁷ *Ṭharīd* dish (bread sopped in broth) named after Hāshim bin 'Abd Manāf, great grandfather of Prophet Muḥammad.

¹⁸ The first is made with *anjudhān* (leaves of asafetida plant). The second is named after the Persian king K̲hosrau.

¹⁹ Similar to today's *jamūd* used in making the Jordanian traditional dish *man-saf*.

²⁰ See the chapter for details.

92. *Ḥudhābāt* baked under roasting meat, plain and sweetened.²¹
93. Making *fāḥudhājāt* (golden and translucent condensed puddings), thick (*ma'qūda*) and chewy (*mu'allaka*).
94. Making *khabīs* (moist condensed puddings) with clarified butter and sweet, enhanced oil (*zayt 'adhb*).
95. Making *khabīs* (condensed puddings) of dates, apples, and carrots.
96. Making *khabīs* (condensed puddings) with walnuts, sugar, and skinned almonds.
97. Making uncooked *khabīs maftūt* (crumbly condensed puddings).
98. Making *shahmiyyāt* (pastries with tallow) and *muhallabiyyāt* (milk puddings).
99. Making almond confections (*lawzīnaq*), both dry (*yābis*) and drenched (*mugharraq*).
100. Making *zalābiyyāt* (fried fritters), both plain (*sādhāq*) and latticed (*mushabbak*).
101. Making *khushkanānj* (dry cookies) and *abū-Ishāqī* shaped like crescents.
102. Making *qatāyif* (crepes), with sugar, almonds, walnuts, and pine nuts.
103. Making decorations and ornamentations (*tazāyīn*) for desserts.
104. Making exquisite varieties of *nāṭif* (nougat).

That concludes the chapters on cooked dishes and desserts. The following chapters deal with dishes that have curative properties:

105. Healthy vegetarian dishes (*muzaawarāt al-buqūl*) for the nourishment of the sick.
106. Stews and meat juice (*mā' al-laḥm*) for the nourishment of the ailing body.
107. *Iḥsā'* (light, smooth soups) and *ḥarīrāt* (silk-smooth soups) for cold-related maladies.
108. Making grain stews for the sick.
109. Nourishing fish dishes of *shabbūt* and *bunnī* (types of river fish) for people with jaundice.

²¹ A dish of meat roasted in the *tannūr* while suspended over a pudding-like preparation.

Beverages (*dhikr al-mashrūb*):

110. Measures taken when drinking water cooled in *muzammala*,²² or chilled with crushed ice (*thalj maḍrūb*).
111. Qualities of air-cooled water.
112. Benefits of drinking *fūqqāʿ* (alcohol-free beer)
113. Making excellent *fūqqāʿ*, plain and flavored.
114. Humoral properties of wines (*anbidha*) and other beverages.
115. Harmful effects of wine on people with physical infirmities and how to avoid them.
116. Non-alcoholic drinks (*ghayr muskir*) and humoral properties of plain and flavored varieties.
117. Making drinks from milk of camels, cows, and sheep.
118. Making thirst-quenching drinks.
119. Making date wine (*dadhī*) and grape wine.
120. Making meads (*anbidha ʿasaliyya*) and raisin wines (*anbidha zabībīyya*).
121. Making wines from sugar and from *fānīd* (chewy sugar-candy).
122. Making drinks from *qarʿ* (gourd), *jawz* (walnut),²³ *rāsan*,²⁴ and capers.
123. Making beverages from fresh fruits (*fawākih raṭba*).
124. Making aromatic medicinal drinks (*mayba*).
125. Making conserves (*murabbayyāt*) and electuaries (*juwārishnāt*).
126. Making condensed juices (*arbāb*) from tree crops.
127. Humoral properties of *ushnān* (alkali powder) and *suʿd* (cyperus) used for washing the hands.
128. Humoral properties of toothpicks (*khilāl*) and making them from willow wood and twigs of willow trees (*ṣafṣāf* and *khilāf*)
129. Making *ushnān* (alkali powder) and *mahlab*,²⁵ and toasting scented *bunk*.²⁶

²² A water-cooling device made of large green-enameled vessel usually insulated by wrapping it in sackcloth. For better insulation during the summer, straw is stuffed between the sackcloth and the outside of the glazed vessel. Water naturally cooled during the night is stored in such vessels to keep it cool during the day.

²³ In the recipe itself, the ingredient used is *jazar* carrots.

²⁴ Elecampane, a sweet-smelling plant, the roots of which are used medicinally. It is also called *zanjabīl al-Shām* (Levantine ginger).

²⁵ The aromatic kernel of small black cherry pits.

²⁶ The aromatic, toasted crushed coffee beans and husk. See Glossary, Section 13.

130. Decorums (*adab*) of washing the hands before and after eating.
131. Manners observed (*adab*) when commoners eat with their superiors and kings.
132. Benefits of sleep and regimen for sleeping after a meal.

These make up the
one hundred and thirty-two chapters of the book.²⁷

Here ends the Introduction.
Praise be to God.



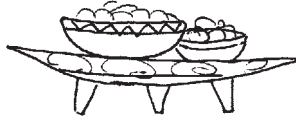
²⁷ Al-Warrāq mentions the total cardinal number of the chapters because, in his list, he uses the *abjad* arrangement of the Arabic alphabet in which each letter has a numeral value ranging from one to one thousand.

فِي فساد الطبخ و تَغْيِيرِهِ وَ زُهْمَةٍ وَ تَغْيِيرِهِ

WHAT CAUSES THE COOKED FOOD TO SPOIL, HAVE GREASY ODORS, OR VITIATE

Food might spoil, develop greasy odors, or change for many reasons, one of which is failure to smear the pot with clay after using it, and failure to wash it before smearing it with clay. The best thing to do is to wash the used pot and smear it with clay. Then wash it again to get rid of the first coating of clay and smear it again with clay. Set the pot aside overnight. In the following day when you need to use it, you will notice that a film of grease has formed on the clay. It is this remaining grease that causes the cooked food to spoil and develop greasy odors. The other reason could be careless handling of the meat such as not washing it thoroughly to get rid of the blood or not washing it after the butcher's handling of it. It may be neglecting to discard the nodules (*ghudad*),¹ blood vessels (*'urūq*),² spinal cord (*nukhā'*),³ and the *istidhaj* (إستيدج) which is the thin membrane that covers the meat like a skin.⁴ So, watch for these things and do not be negligent in this regard, God willing.

Other practices that cause the cooked food to develop a greasy odor may be washing the meat in water already used for washing other ingredients, or washing it in salted or impure water (10r) or in



¹ Such as the glands, lymph nodes and any stiff growths in the meat, tallow, or between the skin and the meat. They were believed to be harmful for the eater because they were susceptible to infections. See, for instance, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī *Muʿjam al-Udabā'* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 783.

² Especially the arteries due to their muscular elastic nature. If not removed, they will remain as chewy particles in an otherwise cooked meat.

³ Added in Istanbul MS (fol. 15r).

⁴ The word is written as *isfidaj* (إسفیدج) in Istanbul MS (fol. 15r). Al-Warrāq's explanation is our only clue to the meaning of the word.

greasy utensils. Cutting onion, leeks, carrots, eggplant, and all other vegetables with the same knife used for cutting meat would also spoil the cooked dish, so you need to know this. Have a special knife for cutting the meat and another one for cutting the vegetables.

Another practice that may alter the taste of the dish and cause food to spoil is to keep on adding fresh batches of water to the pot while it is cooking. It is much better and more sanitary to add the required amount of water all at one time, especially when using soapstone pots (*birām*). Washing the meat with hot water will also spoil it because it gives it a greasy odor by coagulating the blood and locking in dirt. It is better to use cold water in this case. Additionally, neglecting to taste the salt to check for bitterness before adding it to the cooking pot, or carelessly using unrefined and acrid oil (زيت غليظ خانوق) without bothering to taste it before pouring it into the pot, will also spoil the taste of the stew. Also, avoid using putrid fermented sauce (*murri mukarrij*) and vinegar that is foul-smelling (*abkhar*), expired (*munqaṭi*),⁵ or wormy (*mudawwid*). Excessively salty or moldy (*muqaṭṭin*) juice of sour unripe grapes is not good either. Old spices (اتت علميا المدة) lose their flavors and pungency. Therefore, they should not be used in cooking because they will spoil the food.

Sometimes when liquid cooking in a pot reduces by evaporation, particles of chopped onion or any other vegetables might remain sticking to the inner side of the pot. They will eventually burn (10v) and may fall back into the pot or mix with the rest of the ingredients if extra liquid is added to the cooking pot. Should this happen the dish would be spoiled, so one needs to avoid this, God willing. Also, refrain from fueling the fire with damp wood, which produces a lot of smoke. If smoke is blown towards the pot, it will mix with the food and spoil its taste. Therefore, the best food is usually cooked on coal fire.

Another practice to be shunned is melting animal fat (*shahm*) in a separate pot then pouring it over the food in the pot, which has already finished cooking and is put away from the heat. This will give the dish an unpleasant, greasy odor and alter its flavor. Cooks in weddings and feasts usually do this and often spoil the best of dishes this way. Another reason that causes food to spoil is to use too much fuel in cooking *aruzziyyāt*, *‘adasiiyyāt*, and *lūbyāyāt*.⁶ The food will stick to the bottom of

⁵ In Istanbul MS (fil. 15v), the word is (المقطع) molded with white specs.

⁶ Dishes of rice, lentil, and beans, respectively.

the pot and scorch, which would definitely ruin its taste and aroma.

So long as cooks take such precautionary measures, their food will always be perfect and safe from ruin, God willing.

It is told that a group of men used to get together for a game of chess until midday. For the rest of the day they would socialize at the house of whoever was the host at the time. It happened once that one of the sultan's chefs stopped by and was invited to join the group, which he did. From then on he started coming on the days when he was free of duty. Once, the chess-group host asked him to prepare for them a meal similar to what he usually did for the sultan and his choice fell on *sikbāj*.⁷ The sultan's chef asked the host, "Who is your cook?" The host said his boy servant does the cooking and called for him. The chef asked the servant, "How do you cook *sikbāj*?" So the boy described the procedure to him (4r) and the chef said, "Go and bring me the pot you use in cooking the dish." The boy did, and the chef asked him to wash it with clay, which he did repeatedly. Each time he washed the pot, the chef would sniff at it and demand the boy to wash it one more time. He then told him to wash it with parsley, which he did. The chef sniffed at it again and said, "Yes, it is clean now, go and cook *sikbāj* in it the way you usually do every day." Having said that, the chef resumed his chess game. The host was under the impression the chef would at some point add his own spices to the dish but he never budged. When the table was spread and *sikbāj* was served, they all marveled at its beauty and excellent aroma. It was noticeably different from what they had been served before and they were curious to know the reason. The chef said, "Do you think that dishes cooked in the sultan's kitchen are any different from the familiar ones? The ingredients used there are none other than vinegar, greens, meat, eggplant, gourd, saffron, and the like. Indeed, meticulous cleanliness of the ingredients and the pots is all that it takes. Pots can only be deemed clean when they are carefully washed before and after cooking, as I have explained."

The cook might have to replace his Meccan soapstone pots with new ones quite often.⁸ The best ones are wide with low sides, free of any breaks or cracks, and polished smooth. Indeed, keep in mind that broken pots that have been patched or fixed (*muḍabbaba*) or cracked ones will never be free of greasy odors even though extraordinary care

⁷ Beef stew soured with vinegar.

⁸ *Qidr birām Makkiyya*, from the city of Mecca in the Arabian Peninsula.

is taken in washing them.⁹ The cooked food will acquire greasy odors so long as the cook uses pots, lids, or stirring and ladling utensils that are not thoroughly washed. The pot is not necessarily rendered clean if, when sniffed, it smells of clay, gypsum, or even some pleasant odors, (4v) for these smells could be just temporarily covering up some greasy odors, which would spoil the cooking food as soon as the pot boils. Therefore, if you want to make sure that the washed pot is thoroughly clean, put a pebble in one nostril and sniff at the pot with the other. If the pot smells like the pebble, it is clean. However, if the smells are dissimilar, wash the pot again until it passes the test.

Additionally the cook should remove any nodules (*ghudad*) in the meat,¹⁰ and beware of being neglectful in this regard. [Hārūn] al-Rashīd and whoever followed his practices used to beat the cook when they found him negligent of this but would not do so if they saw a fly in the food.¹¹ The fly, they would say, might have accidentally fallen into the food after the cook had finished cooking it. Food needs to be protected from flies before and after ladling it. Otherwise, they may fall into it, which would be a repulsive thing to see. Therefore, the pot needs to be kept covered with its own lid (*ghitā'*) after it has finished cooking. Likewise, the serving bowl is to be carried with a *mikkaba* covering it.¹²

Speaking of flies, Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥakīm recited to me these verses composed by another poet:¹³

An obnoxious parasite, the more you chase it away, the more persistent it gets.

Complaining to the spider I went and her vow was catching it she will never quit.

I do whatever pleases it, but still it gives me trouble. I am afflicted, what can I do?

Even if swords were to converge against it, it would give them the slip,

Whereas the likes of it would have deftly been asunder torn.

⁹ *Mudabbab* (مضطب) descriptive of a pot fixed by supporting it with a metal band *dabba*.

¹⁰ See n.1 above.

¹¹ The famous Abbasid caliph of Baghdad (d. 809). See Appendix.

¹² The bowl mentioned here is *ṣuḥayfa*, enough for a single serving; and *mikabba* is a domed cover used to protect the served food.

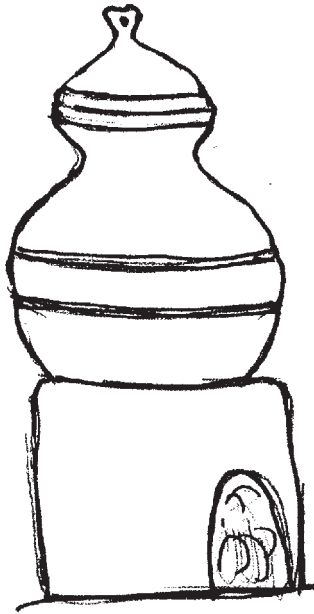
¹³ He is a well-known *muḥaddith* (transmitter of the Prophet's tradition). Apparently al-Warrāq had a personal contact with him because he says *anṣhadanī* 'he recited to me.' See Appendix.

He also recited to me verses on flies of his own composition:

A parasite, obnoxious, persistent, annoying bore.

It has a grudge against all creatures, and is intent on vexing them
all.

....¹⁴



¹⁴ Possibly, one sheet is missing from the Oxford MS because there is only one line of the poem and immediately after there is an incomplete sentence about omelets, which no doubt belongs to Chapter 2 (editors' comment, 10, n. 39). Istanbul MS does not help here, for almost all poetry is deleted from the copy. Still, it is useful in that it fills in the lacuna at the opening of the second chapter.

CHAPTER 2

ما يَخْزَنُهُ الطَّبَاخُ مِنَ الْأَدْوَاةِ لِلطَّبْخِ وَالْحَلْوَى وَالْأَخْبَازِ الْمَخْبُوزَةِ

UTENSILS USED IN COOKING, MAKING DESSERTS, AND BAKING BREAD¹

I have already mentioned what might cause food to spoil. I will discuss here what utensils to use for the best cooking results.

Cooking clean and excellent dishes is only possible if the cook is proficient in handling utensils in an adequately-equipped kitchen. Otherwise, if utensils are lacking, the cook, for instance, might have to use a tool used for a sweet dish to stir a sour one. Alternatively, he might cut onion with the meat knife or use big pots in cooking dishes usually prepared in small pots. In this case, some particles might cling to the sides of the big pot then burn and fall back into the pot, which would definitely ruin the whole dish. Similarly, due to the lack of big pots, he might cook the same dish in two or three smaller ones, which would surely spoil the food and exhaust the cook who has to tend to two or three pots at a time instead of one.

Therefore, I start by mentioning the essential cooking utensils for the benefit of cooks who like to keep their food clean and enable them to make appetizingly fragrant dishes. If the cook forgets any of these culinary basics, he can always consult this book and find the information he needs stated at the proper place.

Soapstone pots (*qudūr birām*) are the best for meat dishes. The best porridges (*harāyīs*) are made in tin-lined copper pots (*qudūr nuḥās mu'annaka*). Earthenware pots (*qudūr fakḥḥkḥār*) and tin-lined pots are suitable for making *jūdhābāt*,² and the best of *tannūriyyāt* are cooked in soapstone pots.³ Condensed puddings (*ḥakwā*) are to be cooked in

¹ I use here the Istanbul MS (fols. 17r–v) to fill in the opening part of the chapter missing from the edited text.

² A kind of bread pudding baked in the *tannūr* under a suspended roasting chunk of meat.

³ *Tannūriyyāt* are dishes baked or simmered in the *tannūr*.

brass cauldrons,⁴ and beverages in soapstone cauldrons (*tanājīr birām*). The most suitable frying pans for *zalābiya* (fried fritters) are brass ones and for frying fish, iron frying pans (*maqālī ḥadīd*).⁵ (11r) Soapstone frying pans (*maqālī birām*) are to be used for *narjisiyyāt* and flat omelets (*‘ujaj mabsūtāt*).⁶ Rounded soapstone pots (*quḍūr birām mudawwarāt*) are the best for stir-fried dishes (*maqlawīyyāt*).⁷

Properties of Kitchen Utensils:

Copper is female and hot, iron is male and dry. Tin (*ānuk*) is cold but not so dry, soapstone is cold and dry. Brass (*isfaydhūra*) is slightly hot but excessively dry while clay is cold and dry. Walnut wood is hot and dry, jujube wood (*‘unnāb*) is hot and moist, and willow wood (*khashab ṣafṣāf*) is cold and dry.

Soapstone pots are used for cooking meat and soups (*shūrbāt*) because they are slow to heat,⁸ smooth from the inside, and easy to clean. Besides, they taste good and whatever flavors they absorb, they give back, unaltered and untransformed. If the same food is cooked in an iron pot and is left to stand for an hour or so, the rusting iron will ruin the food. That is why such pots should not be used. Copper pots have the same disadvantage unless they are lined with tin. Even so, tin easily draws greasy odors, which are hard to get rid of although the pot may be washed a hundred times.

Porridges (*harāyis*) are cooked in tin-lined copper pots because such foods are usually beaten vigorously and stirred for a long time until they thicken. Stone pots will never stand all this beating as they might break in the process.

Iron frying pans are used for frying fish because both of them are cold and fire and oil are hot. Mixing the two will result in a happy medium of balanced properties. Besides, iron heats fast even on moderate heat, which brings oil to a boiling temperature in no time. Iron also helps crisp the fried fish skin, the most delicious part in fish.

Brass frying pans (*isfaydhūra*) are used for frying *zalābiya* (fried fritters)

⁴ *Tanājīr isfadhrawīyya*, a Persian name for white copper (brass). See Glossary, Section 10.1.

⁵ I resume here to the edited text.

⁶ *Narjisiyyāt* are meat dishes with sunny-side-up eggs.

⁷ The rounded pots are similar to woks. For differences between *maqlawīyyāt* and *qalāyā*, see Chapters 78 and 84, respectively.

⁸ A general name for soup. The Arabic is *ḥasū* (حسو) or *ḥasā’* (حساء). This is one of the earliest citations of the term *shūrbā* in medieval sources. See entry in Glossary, Section 6.

because (11v) they are made in a variety of ways. Besides, sometimes bakers' borax (*būraq*) is added to *zalābiya* dough and if copper or iron pans are used in frying them, borax will react with the metal, which will spoil the pastry. Added to this, the fritters need to be deep-fried slowly on low heat (وقيد لّين خفيف). For the same reason, brass pots are used in making condensed puddings (*khābīs* and *fālūdḥaj*), usually cooked with large amounts of oil.

Earthenware pots are used for baking *jawādhīb* in the *tannūr* because they are thin and they themselves have already been cooked in fire.⁹ When they go back to it, they will retain their own original properties. Besides, such pots do not spoil the baked dishes. Copper, on the other hand, changes its properties in the *tannūr* and, more often than not, it causes food to burn or stick to the pot. This explains why *jawādhīb* of cookshops are of inferior quality.¹⁰ They are made in un-tinned copper pots, which react with the cooking food and spoil the flavor of the dish.

Thus explained Ya'qūb al-Kindī in his *Implements and Utensils* (*Al-Ālāt wa 'l-Adawāt*),¹¹ put down here in the same order he described and classified them in his book. May Allāh favor us with his guidance.

Tools Needed in the Kitchen for Cooking and Roasting:¹²

Big pots for *sikbājāt* (beef stews soured with vinegar), *ḥintīyyāt* (wheat porridges), *ṣilāqāt* (boiled foods), *tannūriyyāt* (dishes simmered in the *tannūr*), and all kinds of grains.

Medium pots for *zīrbājāt* (delicate bird stews), *isfīdhbājāt* (white stews), and similar delicate dishes (*alwān liṭāf*).

Small pots for *qalāya* (fried dishes), *ṭabāḥiyāt* (braised meat), and other similar dishes prepared in small quantities (*alwān ṣighār*).

Iron frying pan for fish.

Skewers (*saḡḡīd*) for roasting.

Several *jūdhābadānāt*.¹³

⁹ *Jawādhīb* are pudding-like preparations baked in the *tannūr* with large chunks of meat suspended above them to get all the drippings.

¹⁰ *Jawādhīb al-sūq* i.e. purchased from the marketplace.

¹¹ The famous Abbasid physician and philosopher (d. 873).

¹² In the manuscript, items mentioned in each of the following sections are given in one paragraph. I present them here in a list form for easier reading.

¹³ Big, wide, and somewhat shallow pans for baking *jūdhāba*, pudding-like preparation baked in the *tannūr* with a chunk of meat suspended above it.

A large copper pot (*nugra*) to heat water for washing pots, *ghadhār*,¹⁴ *sakārīj*,¹⁵ and *jāmāt* (platters).

Soapstone frying pans for *narjisiyyāt* and ‘*ujaj*’ (egg dishes).

A copper stuffer (*miḥashsha*) for large and small sausages. (12r)

A big knife for disjointing meat, a cleaver (*sātūr*) for breaking bones, a knife for cutting onion and vegetables, and a whetstone (*mustahid*) for sharpening blunt knives.

A number of wooden stirring utensils (*dakshābāt*), preferably made from willow wood (*khashab al-safṣāf*) because these are the best. Each kind of dish should have its own *dakshāb* and ladle (*mighrafa*).

A wooden slotted spoon for skimming froth from the pots, and a slotted spoon made of willow wood (*khilāf*) for *mā’ wa milḥ*.¹⁶

A flat oblong (*mustaṭīl*) wooden beater (*midrāb*) for porridge (*harīsa*).

A towel (*mindīl*) to wipe-dry the earthenware bowls after washing them.

Pot lids, used after the cooking is done.

Metal mortar and pestle (*hāwan*) for grinding [dry] spices and a stone mortar and pestle (*jāwan ḥajar*) for pounding meat and vegetables.

A wooden low table (*khūwān*) for cutting the meat.

The stove (*mustawqad*) should be built as a rectangular trapezoid (*mustaṭīl munḥarif*) for easier access and better control of the fire burning in it. It should have outlets to drive out smoke and let in fresh air. A good stove should measure half a man’s height.¹⁷

Glass jars (*barānī zujāj*) are the best for storing pounded spices (*abāzīr madqūqa*),¹⁸ second best are willow wood containers (*abzārdānāt*). The worst for storing spices are leather drawstring sacks (*kharāyiṭ al-julūd*). You need to remember this, God willing.

¹⁴ Green-glazed earthenware bowls, big enough for five people.

¹⁵ Small bowls used for serving condiments (sing. *sukkurja*).

¹⁶ Literally, ‘water and salt,’ a simple dish of meat cooked in broth. See Chapter 48.

¹⁷ Al-Warrāq is describing the big variety of stoves built in kitchens, big enough to accommodate several pots at a time. Small portable *mustawqadāt* were used for cooking the thick puddings and similar desserts because they needed a lot of stirring and beating.

¹⁸ *Barānī* are wide-mouthed jars (sing. *barniyya*).

Utensils Needed for Making Bread:

A board (*lawh*) for flattening dough into discs (*taqrīs*).

Two rolling pins, a small one for regular bread (*raghīf*) and a big one for large thin breads (*ruqāq*). The best rolling pins are made from jujube wood because they are smooth and free of splinters.

Goose feathers for pricking (*taryīsh*) the [flattened bread].

A large bowl (*jafna*) made from walnut wood for making the dough.

A rectangular bowl (*miḥlab*) made from sycomore wood (*khashab al-jummayz*) for keeping yeast.¹⁹

An iron scraper (*miḥākk*) for cleaning the dough bowl after using up the dough.

A piece of canvas cloth (*mindīl kardawānī*) (12v) for covering the fermenting portioned bread.

A hook (*sinnāra*) for picking up bread in case it falls into the floor of the *tannūr*.

A pair of long tongs (*saffūd mukallab*) for baking *fatīt* (crumbly cookies, similar to crackers).

Iron poker (*miḥrāk*) for raking the *tannūr* fire.

A [sturdy] piece of cloth that can stand heat and moisture for wiping the inside of the *tannūr*.

A lid for the *tannūr*.

A sieve made of hair for sifting flour.²⁰

A measuring container for scooping flour.²¹

The best location for the *tannūr* is the eastern side of the kitchen because it will be in the opposite direction of the wind.²² The best

¹⁹ I here fill in this small detail—made from sycomore wood—from Istanbul MS (fol. 20v). For information on the tree, see Glossary, Section 8.

²⁰ *Munkhul shaʿr*, a fine meshed sieve made perhaps from goat hair.

²¹ *Mikyāl*, a vessel made of wood or iron used to measure dry ingredients like grains.

²² I amend here (شرف) ‘elevated places’ to (شرق) ‘east,’ based on Istanbul MS (fol. 20v). *Tannūr* is usually built outside the kitchen in an open space because it needs the wind to circulate the air and keep the fire going. This is also necessary because it produces a lot of smoke.

Building kitchens and stoves on the eastern side of the house was an ancient architectural tradition in the Middle East. The wind usually blowing from west to east will drive the smoke and cooking smells away from the kitchen and the house. See Phyllis Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) 37.

tannūr is built with a big interior and walls of medium thickness. The bottom vent hole of the oven (*‘ayn al-tannūr*) is to face west so that when you need to keep it open, it will be in the way of the blowing winds, so know this.

Utensils Confectioners Need for Making Desserts:

A large brass pot (*tinjūr isfaydhūra*) for cooking thick puddings (*khabīs* and *fālūdḥaj*).

A big copper pot (*nuqra*) for nougat (*nāṭif*).

A frying pan for *zalābiya* (fried fritters) and *mushabbakāt* (latticed fried fritters).

An iron ladle for scooping *khabīs*.

An iron slotted spoon for skimming froth off [boiling honey].

An iron tine (*shawka*) for taking *zalābiya* out of the frying pan.

A paddle-like iron spatula (*iṣṭām*) for stirring the condensed pudding (*fālūdḥaj*) while thickening it on fire.

A wooden stirring utensil (*dakshāb*) shaped like the *iṣṭām* (paddle-like iron spatula) for beating nougat (*nāṭif*).

A rolling pin for nougat (*nāṭif*) and a wooden board or a marble slab for flattening it.

An iron *tābaq* (large flat pan) for baking [the thin sheets of dough for] *lawzīnaj* (almond confection), *qatāyif* (crepes), and *bafrīnaj* (walnut confection).²³ *Qatāyif* may be baked on a marble slab, too.

A decorating tool (*minqāsh*) for *ḥalāqīm* (tubular pastry similar to cannoli) and other kinds of cookies (*aqrās*).

A wooden concave mold for shaping *khushkanānaj* cookies.²⁴

A sieve made of hair for sifting ground rice, sugar, almond, and other similar ingredients.

A Persian reed for stirring honey and sugar in the cauldron [when making *fālūdḥaj*] before stirring it with *iṣṭām* when it thickens.²⁵ **(13r)**

²³ The name is one of a number of renderings of this dessert, more commonly known as *jawzīnaj*. In Chapter 104, the name occurs as *‘afrītaj* (Oxford MS), and *tafrīnaj* (Helsinki MS). The name occurs as *nafrīnaj* in other medieval sources, such as al-Tha’alibī *Fiqh al-Lughā* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 69; and al-Suyūṭī *Al-Muzḥir* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 86. *‘Afzīnaj* (عفزينج) derives from *‘afz*, an unusual name for walnut.

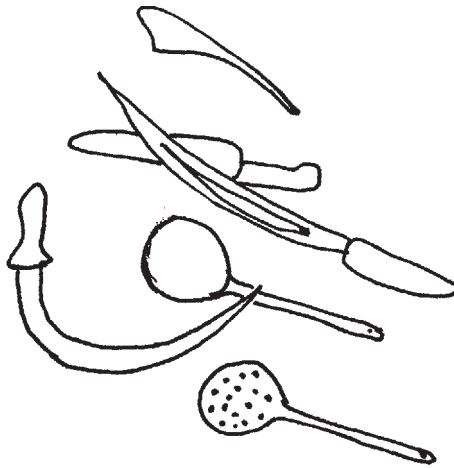
²⁴ قالب شبيه بالحق a mold (*qālab*) similar to a small rounded bowl (*ḥuqq*).

²⁵ The reed is thick, long, and sturdy. It was usually brought from India to make spears (Ibn Sīnā 352).

Professional confectioners (*aṣḥāb al-ḥalwā*) sometimes use molds (*qawālīb*) made of wood or some other materials with engravings of fish, birds, fruits, cattle (*ʿuqad*), images (*tamāthūl*), and other ornamental designs. They are made like stamps (*rashm*) to be impressed on the face of confections made for weddings and public and private feasts (*simāṭāt*, *daʿwāt*) and the like.

The best *mustawqadāt* (stoves) used for cooking all kinds of *ḥalwā* (condensed puddings) are the rounded ones to match the rounded bottoms of the cauldrons (*tinjūr*), pans (*maqlā*), and other vessels used in cooking them.²⁶

As for *nāṭif* (nougat), pots with rounded bottoms and three straight legs (*thalāthat athāfi muntaṣibāt*) are required. Otherwise, the pot will keep on turning around when beating and whitening the candy on a wooden board [away from the fire], so keep this in mind.



²⁶ Al-Warrāq describes here the small varieties of stoves. They were lower in height than the regular stoves to enable the cook to stir and beat the dessert at length without putting much strain on the shoulders.

فِي ذِكْرِ مَا يَطْبَخُ بِهِ الْقَدَرُ مِنَ اللَّبَنِ وَالْعَطَرِ

SPICES AND AROMATICS USED TO PERFUME THE COOKING POT

Mentioned here are seasonings added to the cooking pots of all kinds of stews and grains, served as *ṭharīd* and otherwise. Listed also are the essential spices, herbs, vegetables, aromatics, dairy products, and other similar ingredients that have to be added to the cooking food. I am doing this here for fear the cooks should overlook any of these if they do not have them briefly put together at the beginning of the book and mentioned in a more detailed manner in the rest of the chapters.

Of aromatics added (*‘itr*):

Musk (*misk*), ambergris (*‘anbar*), rose water (*mā’ ward*), saffron (*za’farān*), cassia (*dār šīnī*), galangal (*khūlanjān*), spikenard (*sunbul*), cloves (*qaran-ful*), mastic (*maṣṭakā*), nutmeg (*jawz bawwa*), black cardamom (*qāqulla*), mace (*basbāsa*), and green cardamom (*hāl*).¹

Of dried fruits:

Almond, walnut, pistachio, hazelnut, pine nut, coconut, jujube (*‘unnāb*), raisins, and dates.

Of fresh fruits:

Sour pomegranate, sweet pomegranate, sour apple, rhubarb (*rībās*), (13v) unripe grapes, black plums (*ijjās aswad*), banana, Levantine apple, melon, and apricot.

Of sweeteners:

Sugar,² bees’ honey (*‘asal al-naḥl*), red sugar,³ and honey (*‘asal*) made from sugar or any other sweeteners.⁴

Of fermented condiments (*kawāmīkh*):

¹ For spices and herbs mentioned in this chapter, see Glossary, Section 9.

² Istanbul MS (fol. 22r) is more specific on kinds of sugar. It enlists *al-sukkarān* (the two sugars): *ṭabarzad* (refined, white cane sugar) and *Sulaymānī* (hard sugar-candy).

³ *Sukkar aḥmar*, unrefined, crystallized brown cane sugar. See Glossary, Section 5.

⁴ The word *‘asal* designates honey and all kinds of cooked thick syrups. See Glossary, Section 5.

Binn,⁵ *murrī*,⁶ which cooks sometimes call *mā' kāmakh* (liquid fermented sauce), olives, and fermented sauce of olives (*murrī al-zaytūn*).⁷

Of grains (*hubūb*) [and legumes]:⁸

Chickpeas, green and sprouted fava beans, wheat grains, rice, grass pea (*jullubān*), lentil, beans (*lūbyā*), and mung beans (*māsh*).

Of herbs and vegetables (*buqūl*):

Onion, garlic, onion juice (*mā' al-baṣal*), garlic juice (*mā' al-thūm*), parsley (*karafs*), watercress (*jirjir*), Levantine leeks (*kurrāth Shāmī*),⁹ table leeks (*qirt*),¹⁰ radish (*fijl*), chard (*silq*), cilantro (*kisfara raṭba*), rue (*sadhāb*), *na'na'* (cultivated mint), pungent leeks (*kurrāth ḥirrif*), gourd (*qar'*), orach (*qataf*), asparagus (*hilyawn*), citron leaves, dill, purslane (*farfaḥīn*), eggplant, carrot, turnip, cabbage, spinach, elecampane (*rāsan*), small purslane (*farfīn ṣaghūr*),¹¹ thyme (*ṣa'tar*), and cauliflower florets.¹²

Of spices and seasonings (*abāzīr*):

Peppercorns (*fulful*),¹³ coriander (*kisfara yābisa*), cumin (*kammūn*), caraway (*karawā*), ginger (*zanjabīl*), long pepper (*dār fulful*), lovage (*kāsham*), resin of asafetida root (*hitlīt*), asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*), salt, oil, vinegar, sour juice of unripe grapes (*mā' ḥiṣrim*).

Of dairy products:¹⁴

Whey (*maṣl*), dried buttermilk (*rakhbīn*),¹⁵ milk (*laban ḥalīb*), butter (*zubb*),

⁵ Fermented sauce of rotted bread, for recipe see Chapter 40.

⁶ Fermented sauce of rotted bread. For recipe, see Glossary, Section 3, s.v. *murrī Nabatī*.

⁷ This variety of fermented condiment is not mentioned anywhere else in this book or any other medieval sources.

⁸ The word *hubūb* in Arabic designates legumes and grains.

⁹ A variety grown for its bulbs rather than leaves.

¹⁰ A wild variety of cultivated table leeks grown for its tender and brittle leaves. See Glossary, Section 9, s.v. *kurrāth*.

¹¹ I use here the herb as enlisted in Istanbul MS (fol.22r) since *farfīn* by itself is another name for *farfaḥīn*, mentioned earlier in the list.

¹² In the edited text, it is *mufarradat al-bayḍ*, which is ambiguous. Istanbul MS (fol. 22r) replaces it with *kisbara tariyya* (cilantro), and *kurrāth ḥirrif* (pungent leeks). The only vegetable-related eggs (*bayḍ*) are cauliflower florets, called *bayḍ al-qunnabīṭ*. See *kurunb* in Glossary, Section 14.1.

¹³ Both white and black peppercorns were known. However, the white corns were deemed superior to the black.

¹⁴ I amend here the edited text by adding the subject heading provided in Istanbul MS (fol. 22r).

¹⁵ Similar to today's *jamīd* used in making the Jordanian traditional dish *man-saf*.

yogurt cheese (*qanbarīs*), ricotta cheese (*qarīsha*), clotted cream (*būrāf*).¹⁶

Of wines (*sharāb*):

Cooked wine (*khamr maṭbūkh*), raisin wine (*zabībī*), mead (*‘asālī*), sun-fermented wine (*shamsī/mushammas*), and grape wine (*jumhūrī*).¹⁷ (14r)

Of food colors (*aṣbāgh*) for desserts:¹⁸

Lapis lazuli (*lāzaward*), saffron (*zāfarān*), *zunjufr*,¹⁹ *sayraqūn*,²⁰ *isfidāj* (ceruse),²¹ and indigo (*nīl*).

To obtain green, mix saffron with lapis lazuli. Alternatively, you can make green by using the juice of fresh greens, chard and the like. Two different greens may be obtained, pistachio green (*fustuqī*), and chard green (*silqī*). To obtain sky blue, mix ceruse with lapis lazuli or indigo with ceruse.²² To obtain pink (*aḥmar fāqir*),²³ use juice of *bustān abrawīz*,²⁴ or gum lac (*luk*). To obtain deep yellow (*fāqī‘al-ṣufra*), mix saffron with gum lac or juice of *bustān abrawīz*.

¹⁶ Other varieties from Istanbul MS (fol. 22v): *shīrāz* (thick drained yogurt of *māst* which is yogurt made with rennet), and *al-rāyib* (yogurt made without rennet).

¹⁷ See Glossary, Section 1 for varieties of wine.

¹⁸ For information on coloring ingredients, see Glossary, Section 12.4.

¹⁹ Red mineral used for dyeing deep red.

²⁰ Cinnabar, also known as vermilion, a chemical dye obtained by burning lead and reddening it with sulfur. See al-Bīrūnī, *Kītāb al-Ṣaydana*, hand-written, ed. and trans. Ḥakīm Muḥammad Sa‘īd (Karachi: Hamdard National foundation, 1973) 42.

²¹ A chemical product. Medieval women used it as a whitening agent in facial make-up. It is still used in rural Iraq where it is called *sibdāj*.

²² I slightly amend the text with the help of Istanbul MS (fol. 22v).

²³ Literally, ‘anemic red.’ Istanbul MS (22v) calls it *muwarrad* (pink).

²⁴ Also called *bustān abrūz/qrūz*, and *ḥayy al-‘ālam*, houseleek. See Glossary, Section 12.4.

مِزَاجَةُ الطَّاهِي لِلْوَعْدِ وَالْمَسَاهِي

TASTES OF FOOD

The tastes of foods are eight: *ḥulw* (sweet), *ḥāmiḍ* (sour), *māliḥ* (salty), *dasim* (greasy), *tāfiḥ* (insipid)—also called *baṣḥ*¹ (unpalatable)—*ḥirīf* (pungent), *murr* (bitter), and *sanikh* (rancid).¹ Each of these tastes has its own distinct qualitative powers. The closest taste to man's nature is the sweet, which is moderately hot by temperament. Foods that are not sweet have less power to nourish the body than the sweet ones.²

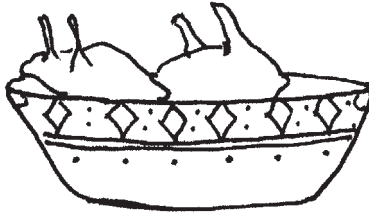
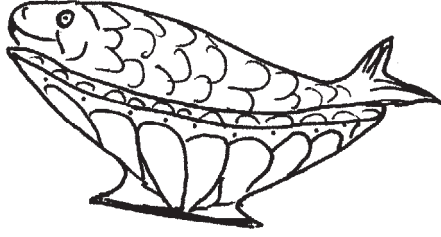
Sour is cold, low in density (*latīf*), and pungent (*ḥadīd*). Greasy has power in it, as well as low density (*latāfa*) because it is more akin to the power of the element of air. Salty is hot in properties and astringent (*qābiḍ*) because it is more akin to the power of the element of earth. Insidid, which is unpalatable and cold, is similar in its power to that of the essence of the earth. Pungent is hot and low in density (**14v**), and in properties, it is as dry as fire. Bitter is hot, low in density, and pungent. There is also a certain amount of the earth's astringency in it. Sweet is hot, low in density, and is almost perfectly balanced in qualities. Rancid is more akin to the element of water, which is moist and cold. It is rank and spoiled.

Properties of objects are described in terms of earth, air, water, and fire because all the trees and foods are composed of these four elements. In some of these objects only one element is predominant. Others are predominated by three elements combined. Still others combine all four of them, so know this. Therefore, bitter is hot because it is more related to heat and the earth [which is dry]. Sour is cold and low in density (*latīf*). The unpalatable taste (*baṣḥ*) is high in density (*ghalīz*) and coarse (*khashin*), for it is more related in coldness to the power of the earth. Sweet is low in density (*latīf*) because it is related to air, which is light. The taste that is neither

¹ The word designates foods, such as butter and meat, which have changed in smell and are no longer fresh.

² Chapters 4-30 are based on the medieval Galenic humoral theory. See Introduction, Section IX.

sweet nor bitter and is far from being agreeable is called *sanikh* (rancid). You need to understand all these facts taken from Galen's *Book of Familiar Foods* (كتاب الأغذية المستعملة).³



³ Claudius Galen (d. c. 201), called Jālīnaws in Arabic. See Appendix.

ما ينزهب بالاحمرار من القدر المطبوخ

REMEDIES FOR BURNT FOODS

If *aruzziyya* burns,¹ add rue to the pot. It will rid the dish of its burnt taste, God willing.

If bean and lentil dishes scorch, burn a piece of wool underneath the pot. Its smoke will drive away the stench.

If the cooking pots smell unpleasantly greasy (*zahm*), throw into them one or two whole walnuts, and keep them there for a while (*sā'a*).² The walnuts will absorb the greasy odors. To prove this, take out the walnut and break it open. Its greasy odor will be so repugnantly powerful that you will not tolerate its smell. (15r)

You can get rid of the stench of any burnt food by placing the pot on urine (*bawl*).³ However, a better way for doing it is to pour the contents of the burnt pot into another one then scrape out the burnt food. This is what is usually done in such extreme cases.



¹ Rice porridge cooked with meat and milk.

² Literally, 'one hour.'

³ Urine was also used for medicinal purposes. For details see *bawl* in Glossary, 12.1

ما يوافقه السباغ والسيوخ من الولاك الطبخ

FOODS RECOMMENDED FOR THE YOUNG AND THE ELDERLY

A person whose dominant humor is blood and is having excess of it may eat fatty kid's meat cooked in vinegar, pullets, larks, or any other similar birds that are cooked in juice of pomegranate, mulberry juice, or sour unripe grapes. He can also have *sikbāj* (beef stew soured with vinegar), or tender meat flavored with a small amount of garlic, fresh fish with vinegar, *kawāmīkh* (fermented condiments), fatty meat cooked with sumac and any other similar dishes. Of fruits, he may have sour pomegranate and pears. Of desserts, he can have the cold and cooling varieties.

A person whose dominant humor is yellow bile may eat *kishkiyya*,¹ *zīrbāj* (delicate bird stew), roasted kid's meat, fresh fish, *sikbāj* (beef stew soured with vinegar), *ḥisrīmiyya* (stew soured with sour grape juice), *rībāsiyya* (stew soured with rhubarb), *rummāniyya* (stew soured with pomegranate), *sumāqiyya* (stew soured with sumac), or any other similar dishes. Of vegetables, he can have lettuce, endive (*hindibā*'), purslane (*baqla ḥamqā*'), and other similar varieties. Of dessert, he can have those made with *ṭabarzad* (white refined sugar) and almond oil, *lawzīnaj* (almond confection), and other similar varieties.

A person whose dominant humor is black bile and is having excess of it may eat fat lamb, *kabāb* (grilled pieces of meat), *ṭabāhijāt* (braised dishes of red meat), roasted young pigeons, and meat of *zīrbāja* (delicate bird stew). *Kawāmīkh* (fermented condiments) are also good for him. Of fruits let him have fresh dates, pomegranate, and citron (*utruj*) with the peel.² Of vegetables, let him eat leeks, onion, and radish (15v). Of dessert, thick pudding of dates (*ʿašīda*) cooked with

¹ A dish made with *kishk*, dried dough of yogurt and bulgur.

² This sentence is an addition from Istanbul MS (fol. 24r).

clarified butter (*samn*).³ Any other desserts prepared with red sugar (*sukkar aḥmar*) and red honey (*ʿasal aḥmar*) are also good.⁴

A person whose dominant humor is phlegm and is having excess of it may eat roasted meat (*shūwāʾ*) with mustard and bread with honey. He may have *anjudhāniyya* (stew cooked with asafetida leaves) with mustard, as well as *isfidhbājāt* (white stews), *aruzziyyāt* (rice porridges), and *liftiyyāt* (turnip stews). Any food eaten with mustard is good for him. Of fruits, he may have the dried varieties like walnuts, figs, and dates.

تَقْدِيرُ الطَّعَامِ فِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ مِنَ الْأَيَّامِ

Regulating the Daily Meals

A table studded with gems was found in the coffers of **Khosrau**.⁵ On it was inscribed in gold, “Let your food be the best you can get to keep your body strong and fit. Know that you eat what you crave and what you do not crave will eat you. Therefore, do not eat to your fill, nor should you starve yourself.”

ʿUmar bin Hubayra once said,⁶ “Having a meal early in the day has three benefits: it sweetens the morning breath, quenches the agitated bile, and helps you feel full, so you would not crave other people’s food.” Al-Maʾmūn used to eat three meals in two days.⁷ He would have a meal at noon. In the following day, a meal in the morning (*ghadāt*) and another one in the evening (*ʿashī*). He also recommend having the first meal (*ghadāt*) early in the morning. In the summertime for three reasons: pleasant cool breeze, cold water, and less flies. In winter the nights are long and the digestive system would have ample time to work on whatever there is in it and purge it before the morning.

³ *ʿAṣīda* may be a savory dish when prepared as a thick soup cooked with flour, fat, and water.

⁴ Red sugar is unrefined, crystallized brown cane sugar. Redness in honey was a sign of excellence in quality. Since people with black bile have cold and dry humors, red honey and red sugar are good for them because they have more moisture and heat in them than other varieties of sweeteners. See Glossary, Section 5.

⁵ A Persian king (d. 579).

⁶ Governor of Iraq during the Umayyad rule (d. 728).

⁷ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 833).

God has ordained that Paradise dwellers be served the *ghadā* and ‘*ashā*, “they shall have their sustenance therein in the morning and the evening.”⁸ Abū al-‘Abbās al-Adīb recited to me verses to that effect:⁹

(16r) God Almighty promised, in his Paradise believers will nourished be.

Twice will they be blessed with the best of food, in the morning and the eve.



⁸ *Qur'ān* (Chapter 19, verse 62).

⁹ I amend the name *Arīb* to *Adīb*. Al-Warrāq will cite the same poet later in Chapter 50 below, using the name *Adīb*. See Appendix.

البدء في ذكر قوى الغذاء

BEGINNING THE SUBJECT OF HUMORAL POWERS OF FOOD¹

Sweet food (*ḥulw*) is hot but not excessively so. However, it will give enormous heat to those who have it all the time or when the body is already susceptible to it, as in the case of people with fevers or those with hot temperaments (*amziḡa ḥārra*). Addiction to sweets increases yellow bile and blood, which would trigger dormant diseases related to them. It will generate black bile and swelling of the liver and spleen, especially if the body is predisposed for such ailments. It also loosens the bowels and slackens the stomach. It is good for the chest and lungs, nourishes the body, and increases sperm.

Sour food (*ḥāmiḍ*) is cold, but not excessively so. It curbs the yellow bile and blood. It constipates if the stomach and bowels are purged but it causes diarrhea if there is a lot of phlegm in the digestive system. It cools down the body which results in weakening the digestive power, especially that of the liver. It also harms the nervous system and dries up the body. On the other hand, it boosts the innate appetite.

Greasy food (*dasim*) slackens the stomach and loosens the bowels. It has a heating effect, especially on feverish people and those with hot livers and stomachs. It moistens and softens the body, increases phlegm, dulls the faculty of thinking, and induces excessive sleep.

Astringent food (*qābiḍ*) cools and dries up the body and decreases flesh and blood if taken in excess. More often than not, it strengthens the stomach, constipates the bowels, (16v), and generates black blood.

Bitter food (*murr*) has a heating effect that greatly dehydrates, and causes the blood to burn and spoil quite fast. It also increases yellow bile.

¹ For details on the humoral theory, see Glossary, Section 12.1, s.v. *qiwā*, and Introduction, Section IX. Apparently al-Warrāq overlooked a principal category, namely, salty food (*al-mālīḥ*). It is hot and dry and has the power to purge and cleanse, but it induces thirst.

Pungent food (*ḥirrīf*) generates more heat than bitter food. Therefore, it agitates heat in the body and ignites it quickly, which first engenders yellow bile that deteriorates into black bile.

Insipid food (*tafiḥ*). Most of it is nourishing for it leans more towards temperance. Some kinds have a moderate heating effect, whereas others, a moderate cooling effect. When the cooling property is coupled with a lot of moisture, this food will have a hydrating effect. If the cooling property is coupled with a dry consistency, the food will have a dehydrating effect.

If any of these tastes is so predominant in a given food that one can little distinguish the other tastes, then its effects upon the eater will be as mentioned above.



فِي قُوَى اللَّحْمِ مِنْ سَائِرِ الْحَيَوَانَاتِ وَمَا يَنْفَعُ مِنْهُ وَيَضُرُّ الْإِنْسَانَ

HUMORAL POWERS OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF MEAT, AND WHAT BENEFITS AND HARMS THE BODY

Meat is the most powerful of all foods. It nourishes and fortifies the body. However, those who have it in excess will be prone to bouts of satiety (*imtilā'*) and need to be relieved by having frequent blood-letting (*fāṣd*). Especially so if they are addicted to wine as well.

Meat of aged animals and embryos extracted from animals' wombs are bad. They have no benefits. The more tender and moist the animal is, the better its meat is. The older the animal is, the dryer its meat becomes, and the more heat it generates. Therefore, it is not recommended for people suffering from fever or satiety (*imtilā'*). Red [lean] meat is more nourishing than fat meat. It strengthens the stomach more than fat meat does. Tough meat is more suited for people who perform hard physical activities,¹ whereas tender meat is (17r) for the opposite [people].²

Kid's meat (*lahm al-jedī*):

It is balanced in properties (*mu'tadil*) and perfect in every respect.³ It generates balanced blood. However, it is not suitable for people who perform hard physical activities. As for those who lead sedentary lives, they should choose no other meat because it is not so weak as to cause the body to lose its strength. Neither is it too nourishing or too coarse as to cause satiety or generate dense blood. What it actually generates is a happy medium between thin and dense blood.

¹ *Lahm ghalīz* (meat high in density) such as beef.

² *Lahm laṭīf* (meat low in density) such as kid's meat.

³ I amend here *بري من كل دم* (free of any blood) to *بري من كل دم* (faultless, perfect) based on context. It is easy to mistake one for the other because the dots were not always applied to the letters.

Lamb (*laḥm al-ḥamal*):

Compared with kid's meat, it is tougher, stronger, hotter, and produces more excretions. It is next in excellence to kid's meat.

Goat meat (*laḥm al-mā'iz*):

Compared with mutton (*dān*), it is colder and produces less excretions. With regard to humoral power, it is weaker and less nourishing. Therefore, it is not recommended for people with cold temperaments or those prone to cold-related diseases. Such people should eat mutton, instead. Goat meat is more suitable for people with hot temperaments, and those prone to heat-related diseases.

Beef (*laḥm al-baqar*):

It is coarse and nourishing but generates foul-smelling (*muntin*) dense blood.⁴ Therefore, it is only suitable for people who are physically active. People susceptible to illnesses related to black bile should avoid it.

Horse meat (*laḥm al-faras*):

It is coarse and usually generates dense blood which will eventually deteriorate to black bile.

Camel meat (*laḥm al-jazūr*):

It is extremely hot and generates dense blood.

The [above] three kinds of meat [beef, horse, and camel] are only good for people who are physically active. At any rate, of the three beef is the best.

Antelope meat (*laḥm al-ẓibā*):

It is the best of game meat and the blood it generates (**17v**) has little excretions. It is dry and leans more towards black bile.

Ibex meat (*laḥm al-ṭiyūs al-jabaliyya*):

It is tougher and closer to black bile [than the above]. In this respect, it is similar to meat of stag (*ayyal*) and wild ass (*ḥimār al-waḥsh*). Besides, it is considerably hot. Generally, all kinds of game meat produce blood high in black bile (*damm sawdāwī*), especially meat of rabbits (*arānib*), which generates black bile (*sawdā*).

⁴ I here fill in a missing line from Istanbul MS (fol. 26v).

Namaksūd (cured meat):⁵

It is putrefying (*muʿaffīn*). Compared with other meats, it is less humid and hotter. It spoils the blood.

Poultry (*laḥm al-ṭayr*):

Meat of grouse (*laḥm al-ṭayhū*) is the lightest. It is the best for those who need to eat rarefying foods.⁶ Francolin (*durrāj*) is similar to grouse. It produces little excretions and does not generate much heat. Pullets (*farārī*) are similar to them in this respect. Pheasants (*tadry*) are similar to chicken (*dajāj*), which is higher in density (*aghlaẓ*). It generates good blood and increases semen. Meat of partridge (*qabaj*) is higher in density than all the above. It constipates and is remarkably nourishing. Meat of larks (*qanābir*) helps control diarrhea. Meat of sparrows (*aṣāfir*) is hot and highly aphrodisiac. Meat of young domesticated fowl (*firākh*) has similar sexually stimulating effects. It is extremely hot and thereby generates the kind of blood that launches the body into fevers.

Duck meat (*laḥm al-butt*) produces more excretions than any other bird meat and is the least digestible. It is less nourishing than chicken. Meat of sand grouse (*qaṭā*) and all mountain birds (*tuyūr jabaliyya*) is the hottest. It tends to generate blood. Generally, wild birds with odorous meat should never be eaten. The same rule applies to aquatic birds (*ṭayr al-māʾ*).

Meat of ostrich (*niʿāma*) is extremely moist and slow to digest. The gizzards are less dense than the meat itself and more beneficial. (18r) The meat, nonetheless, tastes wonderful in *harāyis* (porridges). Satiety due to having too much of this meat may cause serious ailments from which the sick person may never recover. A delicious way for using this meat is to cook it *fijliyya* (radish stew) with lots of cheese.

Meat of crane (*kurkī*) is extremely tough (*ʿadīl*). It tastes good only if you let blood coagulate in the blood vessels themselves and pull them out. The best part of the crane is its gizzard.

The cranes have an amazing trait known in no other animals except the mountain goats (*waʿl*). They take care of their parents when they grow old.

⁵ For details on this meat, see Glossary, 11.1.

⁶ Foods that help lower density of excretions (*mulattīfa*).

The poet Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥasan once reproached his undutiful son saying:⁷

To me you should be like a crane, as I am to you like a bat.⁸
If kindness you do not offer when I need it, how would you hope the
bridge to cross?⁹



⁷ Known as Kuṣḥājīm (d. c. 961). See Appendix. These verses can be found in al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 211; and al-Dumayrī *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 6290. The first line occurs as **إِتْخِذْ فِيَّ خَلَّةَ الْكَرَاكِي** **أَتُخِذْ فِيكَ خَلَّةَ الْوُطُوطِ**.

⁸ Although bats in Arabic lore are notorious for being weaklings and cowards, as parents they are admirably kind to their small ones. They carry them wherever they fly, and the mother even breastfeeds them while flying (al-Qalqashandī 227).

⁹ The reference here is to the *ṣirāt*, the hazardous bridge set across hell. The true believers have to cross it in order to get to their destination, Paradise.

فِي قُوَى الْأَعْضَاءِ وَالْأَطْرَافِ وَسَائِرِ الْبُحُورِ وَالْأَحْجُوَانِ

HUMORAL POWERS OF ORGAN MEAT, EXTREMITIES, AND INNARDS

Heads (*ra's*/pl. *ru'ūs*) are very nourishing. However, since they generate a lot of heat they should only be eaten in cold weather. More often than not they cause fever and colic, but they nourish and strengthen the body.

Brain (*damāgh*) is cold and nauseating and coats the lining of the stomach (*mulatṭīkh*).¹ It has to be eaten on an empty stomach unless the person is planning to have induced vomiting (*'ilāq*). It better suits people with hot temperaments and is to be avoided by those susceptible to cold-related diseases.

Bone marrow (*mukh*) is moderately balanced with regard to heat and cold, although it tends to lean more towards heat. It increases semen and slackens the stomach.

Udders (*dar'*) are cold and high in density, very nourishing, and slow to digest. They are good for people with hot stomachs (**18v**). However, they need to be cooked as *sikbāj* (stew soured with vinegar).

Liver (*kabad*) is hot, very nourishing, heavy, and slow to digest.

Kidneys (*kilā*) are slow to digest, do not generate good blood, and are not nourishing.

Spleen (*ṭiḥāl*) is slow to digest, generates bad nutrients and blood high in black bile (*damm aswad*). It smears the stomach and cloyes the appetite quickly.

Innards (*buṭūn*) are hard to digest and have little nutritious benefits.² They are cold and thereby generate phlegmatic blood.

Heart (*qalb*) is hot, highly dense, difficult to digest, and has insignificant nutritional value.

¹ This will prevent other digesting foods from contacting the walls of the stomach, which results in poor digestion.

² Innards usually include organs and bowels in the abdomen. However, it is sometimes used to refer to the intestines and tripe as seems to be the case here.

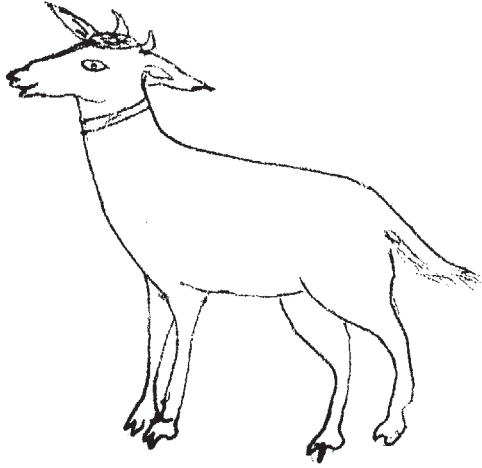
Lung (*riyya*) is difficult to digest and is of little nutritional value. It produces cold excretions and generates viscous blood.

Lean meat (*laḥm aḥmar*) generates dry blood with little excretions. It is more nutritious than **fatty meat** (*laḥm samīn*), which generates blood high in moisture and is less nutritious than marbled meat.

Marbled meat (*laḥm mujazza'*) generates moderate blood but it also has some unhealthy heat in it, which generates yellow bile.

Skin (*jild*/pl. *julūd*) generates cold blood extremely high in viscousness (*huzūja*), which will inevitably lead to obstructions (*sudud*).

Trotters generate even colder and more viscid blood. The fore legs (*maqādīm*) produce lighter blood than the hind legs (*mawākhīr*), which are heavier and colder.³



³ I amend here the last statement in the edited text with the help of Istanbul MS (fol. 28r).

فِي تَرْكِيبِ اللَّحُومِ الْمَطْبُوخَةِ وَصِنَائِعِهَا وَالْمَقْلُوءِ وَالْمَسْوِيَّةِ وَطَبَائِعِهَا

COMPONENTS AND HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF DISHES COOKED IN LIQUID (*MAṬBŪKHA*), FRIED (*MAQLUWWA*), AND ROASTED (*MASHWĪYA*)

Kabāb (grilled cut up meat) is remarkably nourishing.¹ It strengthens the body and energizes it quite fast. It is recommended for those who have just lost blood. It is slow to digest and almost never digests thoroughly. *Kabāb* should be eaten on an empty stomach and no other dishes should be consumed with it. Nothing, or very little if necessary, (19r) should be eaten or drunk after having it until an hour has elapsed.

Fried fatty meat is hard and slow to digest but has great nourishing properties. In any case, it is heavier on the digestion than meat cut up and grilled on the fire (*mukabbab*). Frying it in olive oil (*zayt*) would make it relatively lighter.

Muṭajjana (braised poultry) is nutritionally poor in quality and quantity. It is beneficial to people who suffer from acidic belching. As a rule, all kinds of *qalāyā* (fried dishes) and *muṭajjanāt* offer poor-quality nutrition. However, having them with dishes cooked in liquid (*amrāq*) and those with *ṭhard* (bread sopped in broth) is recommended for eaters who complain of excessive moisture (*ruṭūbāt*) and wish to dry up their bodies (*tajfīf*) and lower their density (*talṭīf*).

Al-shawī (roasted meat) is high in density and can only be savored by people with strong stomachs. It constipates (*yumsik*), especially if it is not fatty or when *jawādhīb* are not served before or along with it.² It often causes colic (*qawlān*), especially if it is eaten with lots of vegetables (*baql*) or plenty of water is taken with it.

Sikbāj (beef stew soured with vinegar) is cold and curbs yellow bile

¹ There is a difference in terminology between *kabāb* prepared by skewering cut up meat and grilling it on open fire, and *shūwā'* or *shawī*, which involves roasting whole birds or whole sides of animals in the *tannūr* (domed clay oven)

² A pudding-like preparation baked in the *tannūr* with a chunk of meat suspended above it.

and blood. It is recommended for people with hot livers, who suffer from obstructions and jaundice (*yaraqān*). It is also good for those who had their blood let out (*muftaṣidīn*). However, those who have just taken medicines internally should not eat it. It is bad for people with neurological infirmities as well as people with thin and weak physique, who need to fortify their bodies. Generally, *sikbāj* has the advantage of drying up the body and lowering its density (*taltīf*). It also checks (*yaʿqil*) bowel movements.

Hişrimiyya (stew with sour juice of unripe grapes) is cold. It curbs yellow bile and blood and constipates. However, unlike *sikbāj* stew, it does not have the power to unblock obstructions or lower density in the body. In this respect, **rībāsiyya** (rhubarb stew), **rummāniyya** (pomegranate stew), and **summāqiyya** (sumac stew) are similar to it.

All these dishes benefit the body if consumed in the summer, particularly when vegetables such as gourd, purslane (*baqla ḥamqāʾ*), and small and smooth cucumber (*khiyār*) are added to them. However, they are all bad for people with raw chests (*khushūna*).

(19v) **Zīrbāj** (delicate bird stew) is cold and high in density (*ghalīza*) and remarkably nourishing. It is suitable for people who have excess in hot properties (*mahrūrīn*) and thin people. However, it is not recommended for those suffering from phlegmatic diseases.³ People having recurrent intense fevers will benefit from it.

Maşliyya (stew cooked with yogurt whey) is similar to it [*zīrbāj*].

Kishkiyya is similar to *hişrimiyya* in properties,⁴ but causes bloating (*naṣkh*) and winds (*riyāh*).

Isfidhbāj (white stew) is generally hot. Therefore, it is a winter dish, which nourishes and energizes the body more than any other cooked food. Its qualities might differ depending on how much less or more hot spices (*tawābil ḥarra*) are used in preparing it. It increases sperm, strengthens and hydrates the body, and gives it a healthy hue. However, if eaten in the summer, it causes indigestion, heats up the body, and inflicts it with fever.

Aruzziyyāt (rice porridges) and **liftiyyāt** (turnip stews) are good for phlegmatic people because they are moderately hot.

ʿAdasiyya (lentil dish) engenders a lot of winds. It is bloating and

³ The lines from this point down to *ʿzalābiya* are missing from the edited text due to a technical mishap, as Kaj Öhrnberg explained via personal communication. The three manuscripts have this passage.

⁴ *Kishkiyya* is stew cooked with *kishk*, dried dough of crushed wheat and yogurt. *Hişrimiyya* is stew soured with juice of unripe grapes.

purges the blood (*jāliya*). Its properties are not altogether commendable because it causes fevers, winds, and joint-aches.

Of desserts (*ḥalwā*):

Fālūdhaj (condensed translucent starch pudding) is remarkably nourishing but lingers in the digestive system for a long time. Addiction to it leads to blockages in the liver. Nevertheless, it is good for the throat, lungs, and a body fatigued due to purging of excretions.⁵ People with headaches, colic, and cold-related diseases should avoid it. **Khabīṣ** (condensed pudding) is lighter than *fālūdhaj* and less nourishing. It causes less liver blockages. **Bahattā** is extremely nourishing and energizing.⁶ It increases blood and sperm.⁷ **Zalābiya** generates heat and causes thirst and shortness of breath (*ḥashā*). **Lawjīnaj** (almond confection) is similar to *zalābiya* but much lighter. **Nāṭif** (nougat) made with honey is hot, dry, dense, slow to digest, and causes obstructions. **Fānīdh** (chewy candy) is hot. It soothes sore throats and softens the bowels and the bladder. (20r) It heats up the kidneys and benefits the chest.

All sweets increase the blood and sperm and nourish the body. However, they are bad for the liver and spleen. They are good for the throat and lungs and help build up marrow and the brain. Desserts made with sugar generate less heat than those made with honey. Almond oil is the best for making desserts.

⁵ *Istifrāgh*. It happens through natural means such as bleeding, vomiting, and diarrhea.

⁶ A smooth variety of rice pudding made with rice flour, milk, sugar, and fat. It is more commonly known as *muhallabiyya*.

⁷ At this point, the edited text resumes.

CHAPTER 11

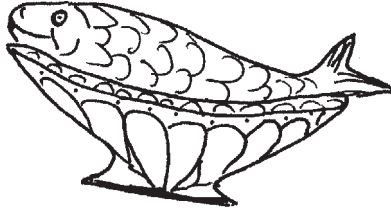
فِي طَبَايِعِ الْأَسْمَاكِ وَصِفَةِ صَيْرِهَا بِالتَّبَاكِ

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF FISH, AND FISHING METHODS USING NETS

Fresh fish (*samak ṭarī*) in any of its varieties is cold and moist, hard to digest, and slow to go through the stomach. It causes intense thirst and generates phlegmatic blood. It also hydrates the body and increases semen. It is bad for the colon and for people susceptible to cold-related sicknesses. However, it is beneficial to people with hot temperaments and yellow bile. It is a highly dense food, which lingers in the stomach. It induces extreme thirst and generates unhealthy viscidities in the body, which leads to a variety of sicknesses.

The best fish is *hāzbā*,¹ *bunnī*,² and other similar varieties. Avoid fish that is slimy (*lazij*), too fatty, does not smell good (*sahik*), or deteriorates quickly. Also avoid fish caught in reed thickets, stagnant waters, places infested with rotten garbage, or muddy or weedy places. Excessively huge fish are also to be shunned.

Salted dried fish (*samak māliḥ*) should only be taken on days when the eater plans to have induced vomiting (*‘ilāj*). Otherwise, it is to be eaten sparingly along with some rich greasy foods. It can also be eaten by itself or soured in vinegar (*mamqūr*) to help stimulate the appetite a little.



¹ Prickly little river fish. See F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be Met with in Persian Literature* (New Delhi: Mushiram Manoharlal Publishres, 2000).

² It is still a highly esteemed river fish in Iraq.

Fried fish is lighter than roasted fish. It is less harmful because the frying oil makes it less dense, (20v) which somewhat improves its properties. As for *qarīs* (fish aspic),³ it lacks the two benefits of [frying and roasting fish]. [Cooking it as *qarīs*] causes it to lose its cooling effects upon the body. It cannot rarefy (*ylatṭif*) and break down densities (*yuaṭṭi*). Nor does it facilitate its digestion or help alleviate thirst [fish usually causes].

The best fish is caught in fast-flowing rivers with high-level water, fully exposed to the sun, with pebbly beds, not shadowed by trees, or enclosed by mountains. Therefore, fish caught in the river Tigris is better than those caught in the Euphrates, and fish caught in the Euphrates is superior to the Nile fish.

The worst fish is caught in wide, low-level riverbeds (*baṭāyih*); reed thickets (*ājām*); and stagnant waters, which the Arabs call *al-dāyma*.⁴ In fact, there are prohibitions against urinating in such water areas because impurities of any sort would eventually disintegrate into the water. For this reason, fish caught in such areas are to be shunned because the water is putrid and infested with algae (*ṭuḥḥub*). Small fish growing in such places would feed on these impurities, which would make their flesh even moister. When eaten, they will rapidly transform into dense humors (*kaymūs ghalīẓ*).⁵ Therefore, the more water flows in aquatic areas the more impurities are purged. The water will be sweet and pure and whatever the fish feed on will be clean, which will make their meat healthier and more delicious. Deep river basins with pebbly beds are the best places for catching fish because garbage and impurities are quickly discharged before the fish have the chance to feed on them. Fish caught at the gates of levees and river dams are safe to eat.⁶ Fishing by throwing nets (*shībāk*) into rivers at night would result in bounteous catches because of the night flow (*madd*), which causes higher water level. Another reason is that fish sleep at night, according to Aristotle.⁷ The catch would be even more bountiful during moonlit nights because, (21r) according to astrologers, the water flow corresponds with the moon's journey

³ A sour cold dish of gelled fish (recipe in Chapter 33). It is sometimes written as *qarīs* and in Istanbul MS (fol. 30r) it is *qarīsh*.

⁴ Permanent water areas, which do not flow and hence stagnate.

⁵ *Kaymūs* is the humoral substance that food generates after being digested in the stomach and liver. See Introduction, Section IX.

⁶ *Abwāb*, *sukūr*, and *shadhīrwānāt*.

⁷ Nick-named *Ṣāhib al-Mantiq* (man of eloquence).

from the low east to the zenithal point in the sky. At night fish are caught in clear and clean water areas using nets, skin receptacles (*ziq*), and lances (*hirāb*). Another method is to enclose the targeted area and catch the fish using hooks (*shuṣ*).

Poets composed extensively on fish and means for catching it. To end this chapter, I include here the best of what was written on the subject. The following poem is by ‘Alī bin ‘Abbās bin al-Rūmī:⁸

A fish party has been hard to get of late, but with you being nigh ‘tis
no problem now I guess.
You, whose face with such radiance glows that the darkest of the nights
dispels.
I know, and I hope am not mistaken, you dwell in a palace, the fish
abode overlooks.
There in your courtyard daughters of the Tigris, in battles doomed
forever captives.
Twisting and turning like sparkling plates of armor, or at times like
counterfeit coins.
White and bright like ingots or better, with fat loaded like small skins
of ghee (*‘ukak*),
[Their fryers have no need for oil. With their spattering oil they fu-
migate the grillers]⁹
A pleasure to the eyes. Their marrow as luscious as pulling-open draw-
strings of pants.
The famished eagle-eyed convalescent watches them, perturbed and
ill at ease.
Now let the fisherman catch of fish what we need and with them our
friendship catch.
Commendations by the likes of me are not lightly to be taken and ask-
ing a favor of the likes of you is not to be forsaken.

Here is another poem on catching fish by Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥusayn:¹⁰

What a glorious river, over-brimming, bountiful, submerging, sweet,
and flowing.
(20v) Teeming with the choicest of choice fish,¹¹ *zajr*, *shabbūt*, and
bunnī,¹²

⁸ The famous Abbasid poet of Baghdad (d. c. 896). See Appendix, s.v. Ibn al-Rūmī.

⁹ I add this line based on the version of the poem cited by Ibn Abī ‘Awn, *Al-Tashbīhāt* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 61.

¹⁰ Also known as Kushājīm (d. 961).

¹¹ *Hītān* sing *hūt* is another name for fish more commonly used in the western Islamic region even today. Nowadays it mostly designates ‘whale.’

¹² Famous fish species in Iraq.

Like fresh dates of orchards or lusciously contoured arms of beauties.
 Clad in God-given suits like armors of horses of knights.
 They look at you through eyes of rubies, with purple bodies imbued.
 Early with the earliest crows I came, with my young obliging friends
 conjoined.
 Courteous and valiant, with glories of Anū Shirwān well con-
 versed.¹³
 Forever with wine their cups and bladders replenish, nor do they from
 slave-girl singers abstain.
 With lidless pupils the fishes stare, with cloaks draped from head to
 tail,
 Looking like a pack of snakes, at once provoking gazers with promises
 and privation.
 Catches of the water more rewarding are to the famished hunters,
 Than preys of trained predators with ears drawn back or ferocious
 falcons and eagles.
 The youths are most content with catch of the river, for it both needs
 meets, thirst and hunger.

Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Ṣanawbarī has this to say on catching fish
 with hook (*shus*) and net (*shabaka*):¹⁴

Of the best and only tools my friends and I got ready,
 Creations of a blacksmith, which by far surpass claws of *ṣurad*.¹⁵
 Better still, like armor's chain links whose tips are hooks attached.
 The snakes' fangs they resemble or sharp claws of birds of prey,
 Securely tied to ends of lines, fine and strong,
 (22r) The lines were fastened to tips of reeds, hard and solid.
 Carrying them, we steered to untrodden paths, beneath a cool solitary
 willow shade.
 By the riverbank securely shielded, I enjoined my pals their lines set
 loose.
 Soon after throwing and pulling the lines, a cry was heard, "The fish
 are coming!"
 At which we sent all at once a thousand eyes, only to get the same
 number back.
 A thousand fish, as white as hale, coated with silver coins no one can
 spend.
 Such is God's bounty fluctuating between ebb and flow. Thanks are
 due to Him, the Guardian, Eternal, and One.

¹³ Khosrau, the Sassanian king famous for his reforms (d. 579). See Appendix, s.v. Kisrā.

¹⁴ He was one of the court poets of Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī in Damascus. Most of his poetry was dedicated to nature (d. 946).

¹⁵ A big bird with a big head known for catching swallows. Folklore has it that it was the first bird to fast for God (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. **صرد**).

Another poet described fish:

Like *mahā* (wild cow) are *zajūr*,¹⁶ so white and slender, delicate and tender.

As pure and delicate as folded white folios, jocular and charming.

Like birds, in water they swoop, wearing embroidered garments of shell.



¹⁶ A kind of river fish.

فِي طَبْعِ بَيْضِ الدَّرَجِاجِ وَالْبَطِّ وَالْفَرَّاجِ

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF EGGS DERIVED FROM CHICKEN, DUCKS, AND FRANCOLIN¹

The most suitable eggs for human consumption are those of chicken and pheasants (*tadrūj*). Next are eggs of ducks, but the nutrition they provide is poor in quality. As for other varieties of eggs such as those of sparrows (*‘aṣāfir*) and birds (*ṭuyūr*), they are more likely to be taken as medicine.

Eggs of pheasants (*tadrāj*) and chicken are aphrodisiac and increase sperm considerably. Eggs of geese (*iwazz*) are heavy on the digestion and do not smell good (*sahik*). Eggs of chicken and pheasants, on the other hand, are balanced in properties.

Egg yolk is moderately hot and is a good source of nourishment. Egg white is (22v) cold, viscid, and hard to digest. Eggs, boiled (*ṣalīq*) and scrambled (*mushattar*) are nourishing but are slow to digest and take longer to go through the digestive system.² Soft-cooked eggs (*raqīq*) nourish the body remarkably fast.³ Eggs cooked in stews (*maṭbūkh*) are less harmful than boiled eggs and faster to digest.

Eggs are good for sore throats and raw lungs. The blood they generate is balanced and good. Indeed, so much so, that they may sometimes substitute for meat. People whose bodies are dominated by moisture (*maṭṭūbīn*) should eat eggs less often, so know this, God willing.



¹ In the Oxford and Istanbul MSS (fol. 30r), the bird is *durrāj* (francolin). In Helsinki MS it is *tadrāj*, a variation on *tadrūj* (pheasant) to rhyme with *dajāj* (chicken).

² *Mushattar* is an unusual word describing eggs. My interpretation is based on the meaning 'torn to pieces' (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. شَتَر). Both boiled and scrambled eggs are hard set.

³ Eggs prepared this way are called *nūmbarishit*. See Glossary, Section 11.2.

فِي طَبِيعِ الْمَجْبُوبِ وَالْمَخْبُوزِ مِنَ الْمَخْتَلَةِ وَاللَّارِزِ

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF GRAINS (*HUBŪB*)¹ AND BREAD MADE FROM WHEAT AND RICE

Wheat (*ḥinṭa*) is closer in properties to heat. The most nourishing varieties are the heavy and fully-grown ones. Wheat is the most suitable grain for human consumption. The blood it generates is more balanced than that produced by any other grains.

Rice (*aruẓẓ*) is closer to moderation with regard to heat and cold. It is not recommended for people suffering from colic because it constipates. It is very nourishing and cooking it with lots of fat will facilitate its digestion. When cooked with milk and sweetened with sugar, rice is wonderfully nourishing, healthful, and helps increase blood, so know this.

Fava beans (*bāqillī*) are closer to moderation, leaning more towards the cold properties. However, they are extremely gaseous. They cause obstructions and feelings of heaviness in the head and aches in the body. Unsalted fava beans and their broth have a soothing effect on sore throats. However, they cause constipation if eaten with vinegar and hence are bad for people with colic. Fresh fava beans stimulate raw humors (*akhlāt nayya*) and increase phlegm in the stomach and intestines,² thus stirring up in them lots of gases.

(23r) Chickpeas (*himmaṣ*) are hot, gaseous, diuretic, and increase sperm. Fresh chickpeas create a great amount of excretions in the stomach and bowels. Fried chickpeas and fava beans are less gaseous.

Lentils (*ʿads*) are cold and dry. They engender blood high in black bile, dry up the body, and curb coitus. They soothe the agitated blood, extinguish it, and cool it down. Addiction to lentils might cause darkening of the eyesight and sicknesses related to black-bile disorders (*amrād sawdāwiyya*). Fried lentils are less gaseous.

¹ The Arabic *ḥubūb* includes grains and legumes.

² The process of digestion in the stomach and liver is always discussed in terms of cooking. See Introduction, Section IX.

Mung beans (*māsh*) are cold and dry. They are lighter than lentils and are not as gaseous. However, they are less nourishing than lentil.

Grass pea (*jullubān*) is cold and dry. It is a poor source of nourishment, promotes bad blood, and is harmful to the nerves.

Beans (*lūbyā*) are hot and moist and the red varieties are the hottest. They stimulate dense humors that are bad for the stomach.

Sorghum (*dhura*) is cold and dry. It is a poor source of nourishment and constipates.

Bread made with wheat:

Wheat bread agrees with almost everybody, particularly varieties made with a generous amount of yeast and salt and allowed to fully ferment and bake well. Such breads are lighter and digest faster. *Jizmāzaj* (thin bread with tamarisk seeds) and *ruqāq* (very thin bread) are by comparison less nourishing and digest much faster.³ Bread baked in *malla* (pit with hot ashes and stones), *tābaq* (large flat pan), and any other similar varieties that do not ferment or bake well are hard to digest and cause stomachaches. Only people used to strenuous labor can eat them more often.

Itriya (dried noodles), *khushkanānāj* (dry cookies), *qaṭāyif* (crepes), *sanbūsaḡ* (filled pastries), and any other stuffed pastries (*ahshūya*), they have qualities similar to those of unleavened breads (*faṭīr*). Varieties made with almond oil or milk, although denser and harder to digest, are more nourishing. Compared with wheat bread, *khubz al-sha'ir* (barley bread) is cold and a poor source of nourishment. It aggravates (23v) colon-winds (*riyāḥ al-qawlanj*) and other cold-related sicknesses and constipates.

Breads made with the grains mentioned above have the same qualities as those of the grains from which they are made. *Khubz al-aruzz* (rice bread) is less bloating than wheat bread and hotter. *Sawīq* made with wheat quenches heat and thirst.⁴ Therefore, it is recommended for people with hot livers. It is especially good when made with lots of chilled water and sugar after *sawīq* mixture has been rinsed in

³ Light foods digest too fast for the system to absorb them.

⁴ *Sawīq* is a refreshing drink made with finely crushed toasted seeds and sweetened with sugar.

hot water [to rid it of its hot properties]. *Sawīq* of barley has even more cooling properties than *sawīq* of wheat. On the other hand, the latter is far more nourishing, sweeter, and softer.

MAKING *KHUBZ* (FLAT BREAD) AND *RUQĀQ*
(VERY THIN BREAD)

**A recipe for Nabatean water bread (*Khūbz al-mā'*
al-Nabaṭī):⁵**

Take 1 *makkūk* (7½ pounds) good quality *samīdh* flour and sift it in a big wooden bowl (*jafna*).⁶ Mix with it 3 *ūqiyyas* (3 ounces) yeast,⁷ and add 30 *dirhams* (3 ounces) salt that has been dissolved in water and strained.⁸

Knead the mixture into very firm dough, as firm as stone (*hajar*) and press it well.⁹ Continue pressing it while rubbing the bottom of the dough 120 times with water in doses of 5 *dirhams* (1 tablespoon) each until it develops a consistency which is a little firmer than that of the *zalābiya* dough.¹⁰ Cover the dough and let it ferment. With the help of some oil of hulled sesame seeds (*shayraj muqashshar*) divide dough into portions and shape them like *farānī*.¹¹

Light the *tannūr* and wait until the fire starts to smolder gently. Wipe clean the inside of the oven [with a piece of cloth]. Rub each portion of the dough with 2 *dirhams* (1 teaspoon) sesame oil or *zayt anfāq* (olive oil extracted from unripe olives) then flatten it by hand and stick it to the inside of the smoldering oven (*tannūr hādī*). This recipe will make 15 pieces of bread.¹²

⁵ Nabateans are the indigenous people of Iraq (see Appendix, s.v. Nabaṭī). *Tannūr* bread, as described here, is still called *khūbz may* (water bread) in modern Iraq.

⁶ Fine wheat flour high in starch, bran-free, and low in gluten. See Glossary, Section 2.

⁷ Yeast used in medieval recipes was usually a piece of fermented dough saved from the previous day's baking.

⁸ They needed to do this to purify the salt of any sand and dirt that might have mingled with it.

⁹ The verb used for the pressing action is *yudās* (*dāsa*) more commonly used when things are pressed by feet. Probably the most practical way to press dough described as hard as a stone is to do it by feet.

¹⁰ Dough of fried fritters similar in consistency to batter of pancakes.

¹¹ *Fumī* (sing.) is round and domed thick bread similar to a flattish ball. It is usually baked in the *furn* (brick oven).

¹² In Istanbul MS, the recipe yields 25 breads (fol. 32r).

When you are done sticking all the portions in the *tannūr*, cover it with its lid for a short while. As soon as the breads are set (*jamuda*),¹³ sprinkle them lightly with water, about ½ *kūz* (½ cup), and return the lid as it was before. Wait for a short while,¹⁴ then remove the cover, and open up the bottom vent hole (*‘ayn al-tannūr*) to expose the breads to more heat. (24r) As soon as they brown (*ihmarra*), take them out. Scrape their backs with a knife and wipe them with a small amount of water. Stack the breads, enclose them in a damp piece of cloth, and set them aside for an hour or so.

Serve this bread whenever you need it, it will be the best, God willing.

A recipe for bread called *khubz al-qanānī* (bottle bread):

Make soft dough similar in consistency to *zalābiya* dough,¹⁵ using as much as needed of good quality, fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran-free) [and water].

Pour a little pure olive oil (*zayt naqī*) or sesame oil into wide-mouthed heatproof thin bottles and sprinkle the inside with rose water. Pour the batter into the bottles until they are almost full. Place the filled bottles on flat tiles (*qarāmīd*) spread in the bottom of the *tannūr*, and let them bake in medium heat (*mu‘tadila*) until done. To test for doneness, insert a toothpick (*khilāl*) into the baking dough. If it comes out clean, it is done.

When you take out the bottles and break them, the breads will come out looking like bottles, God willing.

[To serve] moisten the breads, if you like, with refined sweetened milk perfumed with mastic and rose water, or with milk and honey, or eat it plain, God willing.

Making *khubz ma‘rūk* (pressed and rubbed bread):

Take 1 *makkūk* (7½ pounds) flour (*daqīq*) and add to it 3 *ūqiyyas* (3 ounces) yeast and 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) salt [and water]. Knead the mixture thoroughly into stiff dough and cover it and let it ferment fully well.

Sprinkle dough with 30 *dirhams* (1/3 cup) water in three batches. Divide it into portions (24v) and on a slab of smooth marble, press

¹³ The literal sense of the verb is ‘freeze,’ used here to indicate that the dough has solidified by baking.

¹⁴ *Lahza*, literally, ‘one second.’

¹⁵ Fried fritters, their dough has the consistency of pancake batter.

dough pieces in consecutive rubbing movements using olive oil (*zayt*).¹⁶ Shape portions into flat discs and drape them with a moistened piece of cloth.

Light fire in the *tannūr* and let it smolder quietly. Sprinkle the bread pieces with a mixture of water and milk [and stick them into the oven]. Cover the oven with its lid as well as a piece of wet sackcloth (*khīsh*) and let the breads bake.¹⁷ When they are done, open up the bottom vent hole (*ʿayn al-tannūr*) to let the breads brown (*yaḥmarr*). As soon as you take them out of the oven, wipe their faces with water to make them look glossy. You can get more gloss if you wipe them while they are still in the oven.

I have recited these lines, Ibn al-Rūmī composed on [this variety of] bread:¹⁸

Nothing surpasses the bread I saw while once by Karkh was passing.¹⁹

A show stealer:

I saw it first in the baker's hands pressed and kneaded on the board,
and like springing pearls bounced back.

He took a pearl and faster than fate itself, looking like a shield, he
put it back.

Like an expert in the art of spinning, between his palms he turned
the bread.

The flattened bread, like the halo of the moon, looked lovely and
splendid.

A glimpse we had of it, white like the full moon, getting into the fire;
soon to come out golden like the brightest of suns.

Making *barāzīdhaj*:²⁰

Take 1 *makkūk* (7½ pounds) good quality, pure flour (*daqīq naqī jeyyid*), and mix with it 2 *ūqīyyas* (2 ounces) yeast, and 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) salt

¹⁶ The verb used to describe kneading dough in this way is *ʿarraka* (press and rub), which is probably more effectively done by the heels of the hands because the dough is stiff and elastic and resists stretching. (For regular kneading, the verb used is *ʿajana*.) Working the dough in this way, especially when high-gluten flour is used, will result in chewy texture, a sought after quality in bread. Al-Tawhīdī, for instance, describes Baghdadi bread as elastic as gum when kneaded. When eaten it squeaks between the molars and exhausts the jaws with its chewy texture. *Al-Risāla al-Baghdādīyya*, ed. ʿAbbūd al-Shālījī (Köln: Al-Kamel Verlag, 1997) 151–52.

¹⁷ This will help keep moisture in.

¹⁸ The famous Abbasid poet of Baghdad (d. c. 896). See Appendix.

¹⁹ The trendy western side of Baghdad.

²⁰ Fine white bread, thin and flat in shape, but not as thin as the paper-thin *ruqāq* bread. It is usually leavened with bakers' borax.

and *būraq* (bakers' borax). Mix them into dough [by adding water] and knead vigorously. Cover it and let it ferment.

Divide dough into small portions, the weight of each should be 1 Levantine *ūqiyya* (1½ ounces),²¹ brush each portion with 2 *dirhams* (1 teaspoon) *zayt al-anfāq*,²² and flatten it on a wooden board to medium thinness. Prick the breads with feathers, but not much, and cover them with a dry piece of cloth.

Light the *tannūr*. Let it get hot then wipe clean its inner wall and wait for the fire to subside. With the help of a piece of cloth transfer the breads to the *tannūr* and stick them into the oven. If you like, squirt some water on them [before baking].²³

When they are done, take them out of the oven, and drape them with a piece of cloth for an hour or so, God willing.

Here is what a poet said describing *barāzīdhaj*:

In the farthest end of Karkh of Baghdad,²⁴ a baker I saw offering bread, splendidly marvelous.

From purest of essence of wheat contrived. Radiant and absolute, you may see your image reflected, crystal clear.

Barāzīj rounds glowing with lovely whiteness, more playful than gorgeous singing girls,

They look like crystal trays, and were they indeed so, they would have served us as plates.

Making *ruqāq* (thin breads):

Two kinds of *ruqāq* are made: *labiq*,²⁵ and *jarmāzaj*.²⁶ The first variety is small and neatly shaped into perfect rounds flattened into extreme thinness. *Jarmāzaj* is larger.

Ruqāq is made, kneaded, and cut the same way *barāzīdhaj* is done. However, *labiq* weighs 2 Baghdadi *ūqiyyas* (2 ounces) and *karmāzaj* weighs 3 to 4 *ūqiyyas* (3 to 4 ounces).²⁷ Moreover, *ruqāq* breads are not pricked with feathers (*bi-lā nīsh*) and the *tannūr* is heated before

²¹ The Levantine *ūqiyya* weighs a little bit more than the Iraqi *ūqiyya* (Mahjūb and Khaṭīb 2: 455)

²² Olive oil made from unripe olives.

²³ As the verb *yanfukh* indicates, squirting was done by mouth.

²⁴ See note 19 above.

²⁵ As the name suggests they are soft and malleable. Brushing the thin breads with water and stacking them as the recipe suggests will definitely keep them soft.

²⁶ Thin, dry, and round sheets of bread. As the name suggests, they are flavored with *jarmāzaj*, small seeds of the tamarisk tree, also called *ḥabb al-aṭḥal*. See Glossary, Sections 2 and 9. Directions indicate that the stiff dough is rolled out thinly.

²⁷ *Karmāzaj* is a variant on *jarmāzaj*.

flattening the breads. As soon as one piece is flattened, it is immediately stuck into the *tannūr*, which is to remain hot all the time.

You cannot bake more than one bread at a time [because they are thin and bake fast]. You need to flatten the *ruqāqa*, stick it into the *tannūr*, and wait until it is done. It should be wiped with water the moment it is taken out and while it is still at the top of the oven (*ra's al-tannūr*). The breads are to be stacked as they bake until the whole batch is finished, God willing.

Ibn al-Rūmī composed these verses on *ruqāq*:²⁸

I remember once a baker by whom I passed, as fast as lightening *ruqāq*
breads was flattening.

Between seeing it turning from a ball in his hands (25v) to a large full
circle like the moon,

Took only as much time as an ever-growing circle in water takes when
a stone into it is thrown.

Making bread of Abū Ḥamza:²⁹

Use as much as needed of fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran-free). This bread is dry.

The dough is made similar to that of *barāzīdhaj* [above], except that this bread is a little thinner and smaller, it is pricked a lot with feathers [before baking], and neither *būraq* (bakers' borax) nor any sweetening ingredients are used in making it. However, you need to knead into it *zayt al-anfāq*,³⁰ the amount of which depends on how much oily you want it to be. Moreover, after you stick them to the inside wall of the *tannūr* and they are fully baked, take them out and stack them at the top of the oven (*ra's al-tannūr*). Keep them there until they are completely dry. Store them in wicker baskets and use them as needed.

A recipe for *ka'k*,³¹ made for Abū 'Aṭā Sahl bin Salīm al-Kātib:³²

Take 1 *kaylaja* (2½ pounds) or 1 *makkūk* (7½ pounds) fine *samīth* flour

²⁸ The famous Abbasid poet of Baghdad (d. c. 896).

²⁹ Possibly, he is Abū Ḥamza al-Sukkarī (d. 792). See Appendix.

³⁰ Olive oil extracted from unripe olives.

³¹ They are dry cookies usually formed into rings. However, as this recipe shows they can be made into other shapes such as cracker-like squares.

³² He might be Aḥmad/Muḥammad bin Sahl al-Kātib (d. 936), one of the secretaries of Šā'id (vizier of al-Mu'tamid d. 889). See Appendix.

(high in starch and bran free).³³ Make it into dough using 100 *dirhams* (10 ounces) ground sesame seeds that have not been extracted of their oil (i.e. tahini), 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) almond oil, and 2 *dirhams* (1 teaspoon) salt. For each *makkūk* add 2 *ūqiyyas* (2 ounces) white sugar and 3 *dirhams* (1½ grams) saffron. Knead the mixture with 10 *dirhams* (1 ounce) yeast [and some water].

When dough is fully fermented, rub it with a little fat and rose water beaten together. Roll it out on a board into a square and cut it out into small squares. Bake them in the *tannūr* by sticking them [into the inner wall]. When done, take them out and leave them at the top of the *tannūr* for a short while to dry out,³⁴ God willing.

A recipe for *aqrāṣ fatīt* (crumbly crackers), Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī made:³⁵

Take 1 *kaylaja* (2½ pounds) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free) and take for it ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) *ṭabarzad* (white cane sugar) (26r) dissolved in 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) water. Knead vigorously and set dough aside to ferment.³⁶

After dough has risen, pour on it, 5 Baghdadi *ūqiyyas* (5 ounces) oil of skinned almonds and knead lightly.

Cut out dough into regular even-sized discs using a mold (*qālab*) and sprinkle them with hulled sesame seeds. Prick the pieces with a feather and bake them in the *tannūr* until they are golden (*yaḥmār*). Take them out of the oven and set them aside in the open air for about an hour until they dry out. When eaten they will crumble in the mouth.

If *ṭabarzad* sugar is not available, use instead *Sulaymānī* sugar or red sugar (*sukkar aḥmar*).³⁷ The amount used depends on how sweet you want the cookies to be.

Once Muḥammad al-Amīn³⁸ had *aqrāṣ jāffa* (dry cookies) made by Abū

³³ This is rather confusing because he gives the option of using two measurements. However, it is safe to assume that he settled for the *makkūk*, which he mentions in the course of the recipe.

³⁴ *Laḥza*, literally, ‘one second.’

³⁵ Abbasid prince (d. 839), half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd. See Appendix.

³⁶ Apparently, yeast was used in making the dough.

³⁷ The first is hard candy made from white sugar, pounded, and used to substitute for regular sugar. The second is unrefined crystallized brown cane sugar.

³⁸ Son of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 813).

Naṣīr al- *Khubbāz* (the Baker).³⁹ He liked them so much that he sent some to Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī [his uncle]. In return, Ibrāhīm wrote this poem:

So kind and generous was it of al-Amīn to send me a gift of *khubz al-fatīl*, and his affection proved.

Shaped like perfect discs of equal size, each of which the full moon resembles.

As luscious as honey they taste and like the breeze sweetly perfumed.

Like silver and gold, white and yellow juxtaposed.

Shaped with calculated care. Measure a cookie and you would say ‘tis *qubarā*.⁴⁰

Kneaded with *ṭabarzad* pure.⁴¹ As if sugar, honey, and perfume is all they have.

Adding saffron and mastic to dough bestowed color, taste, and aroma.

Generously kneaded with fresh almond oil. They drip with oil when barely touched.

Sesame, almonds, and pine nuts on them are sprinkled in consecutive lines,

In rows arranged. Tilt them, and they shimmer as if with nuggets of gold.

(26v) Amīn by God protected.⁴² May you live a thousand years, forever happy. May you not be touched by harm.

May my thanks to you for the gift, dearest nephew, keep your name on the steppes forever alive.⁴³

Making thin sheets for *lawzīnaj* (almond confection):⁴⁴

Dissolve starch (*nashāstaj*) to thick paste and strain it.⁴⁵ For each *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) of starch, add 1 egg white and whisk mixture thoroughly and continuously.

Heat the *tābaq* and wipe it with a cloth wrapped with pieces of wax

³⁹ He must have been a renowned baker in the circle of the Abbasid aristocrats.

⁴⁰ *قُبْرَا*, a luscious variety of grapes, long and white. Good quality raisins are made from them (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. *قُبْرَا*).

⁴¹ Fine quality white cane sugar.

⁴² Al-Mahdī is playing on the name of his nephew Amīn and *amīn* (being secure).

⁴³ His lines did indeed keep his nephew’s name alive as he predicted.

⁴⁴ *Lawzīnaj* is baklava-like pastry stuffed with nuts and sugar and drenched in syrup and almond oil. In this recipe, there are directions for preparing the thin sheets of dough used in making it. For recipes, see Chapter 99 below.

⁴⁵ Also known as *nashā*, extracted from hearts of starchy grains, especially wheat. See Glossary, Section 2.

and shelled walnut.⁴⁶ Ladle out some of the mixture and pour it on the *tābaq*. When the [thin] bread is done scrape it out. Wipe the *tābaq* once more with the cloth and make another piece.

If you desire to make thicker *lawzīnāj* pastries then make a thicker batter, shape each portion into a disc (*malghama*) and stick it onto the *tābaq* as I have explained, God willing.

MAKING *SAWĪQ* FOR TRAVELERS⁴⁷

***Sawīq* made with wheat:**

Pick over wheat grains, wash them briefly, and soak them overnight. The following morning, drain the grains and wash them again. Toast the seeds until they brown then put the pan away from heat.⁴⁸ When cool enough, grind and sift them then store them away. When needed, add [water] to the ground grains. Stir in sugar as much as the drinker desires,⁴⁹ God willing.

***Sawīq* made with almond:**

Skin almonds [by scalding them in hot] water, let them dry in a shaded place then grind them until they resemble *khiṭmī* (ground marsh mallow root). Pound *sukkar ṭabarzad* (white cane sugar) and sift it with a piece of silk cloth.

[To make *sawīq*] mix 4 parts sugar, 1 part *sawīq Qurashī* without the fat [see following recipe],⁵⁰ and 1 part ground almonds. Sift mixture in a sieve of hair and add (27r) 2 *dirhams* (1 teaspoon) saffron, 1 *dānaq* (½ gram/a pinch) mastic, and 1 *dānaq* (½ gram /a pinch) camphor.

***Sawīq Qurashī*:**

Pick over white wheat grains, wash them very well, bruise them before they get dry, and spread them on mats. Then remove the husk the way you do with wheat of *hurās*.⁵¹ Wash the grains again and spread them until they are almost dry.

⁴⁶ *Tābaq* is a large and flat pan.

⁴⁷ *Sawīq* is a refreshing drink made with finely crushed toasted seeds and sweetened with sugar.

⁴⁸ The verb is *tuqlā* (literally, 'to be fried') because a frying pan (*miqlāt*) is used in dry toasting the seeds. The verb is still used in the same sense in the Iraqi vernacular, as when dry toasting salted melon seeds. The original meaning of *qalā* is 'stir, toss, and flip.' See Glossary, Section 10.2.

⁴⁹ The word drinker (*shārib*) is missing from the edited text but Istanbul MS has it (fol. 34r). It clearly shows how this grain preparation was served.

⁵⁰ Named after *Quraysh*, the Prophet's tribe in the Arab Peninsula.

⁵¹ Wheat grains prepared for *harīsa* (wheat porridge).

Toast the grains in a pan very well.⁵² Stir them all the time so that they do not scorch. Take them away from the fire and let them cool down. Next, grind the grains as fine as possible then sift them using a piece of silk cloth.

Mix each *makkūk* (7½ pounds) of this flour with 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) *samn* ‘*Arabī*’ (clarified butter of goats and cows). Then sift the mixture using a fine sieve made of hair and store it away, God willing.

As for *sawīq maṭbūkh* (cooked), it is prepared like *sawīq Qurashī* but the wheat grains are cooked first,⁵³ God willing.

***Sawīq* made with pomegranate:**

Take wheat and prepare it the same way you do with the *Qurashī* [recipe above]. Pick over [dried] pomegranate seeds. For 3 parts of wheat, use 2 parts pomegranate seeds. Mix the two and grind them as fine as flour. Sift mixture using silk cloth if possible. If not, then use a small sieve (*munkhul*). To each part of this mixture,⁵⁴ add 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) *sukkar Sulaymānī* (crushed hard sugar-candy).

Know that the best and tastiest wheat used for all kinds of *sawīq* is the white variety. Next in excellence is yellow wheat.

Here is what a poet said [describing *sawīq*]:

On a pilgrimage, a glassful of *sawīq* is one’s sole brother and friend.⁵⁵

When one with heat is overwhelmed, ‘tis best brother or mate can be.

Made of barley which after toasting was ground as fine as flour,
Mixed with equal amount of *ṭabarzad* sugar,⁵⁶ also ground but not as fine.

(27v) When with drinking water the traveler carefully stirs it in his glass,

It satisfies his hunger and cools his heart after being scorched with heat.

The sharp-witted after having but one sip would think it cannot but nectar be.

The best ever for you to have when on the go, so take heed and make it your amigo.

⁵² See n. 48 above.

⁵³ Perhaps parboiled then dried, the same way bulgur is prepared.

⁵⁴ The recipe does not give weights here. However, Istanbul MS (fol. 34v) mentions 1 *qafīz* (14 pounds).

⁵⁵ The word used for glass is *qaʿb*, a huge wooden cup big enough to quench the thirst of 1 to 3 people.

⁵⁶ Fine quality white cane sugar.

فِي طبائع بقل الزمان الملقى في سائر اللوات

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF SEASONAL VEGETABLES¹ USED IN MAKING VARIOUS DISHES

Lettuce (*khass*) is cold and has a soothing and cooling effect on a hot stomach. It depresses coitus and induces sleepiness.

Endive (*hindibā*) is good for extinguishing heat in liver and stomach. It stimulates the appetite.

Leeks (*kurrāth*) is hot and dry. It stimulates the appetite but causes headaches and nightmares.

Fresh cilantro (*kisfara raṭba*) is cold and needs to be consumed sparingly because overindulgence can be fatal. Having it in small quantities has the same effects as those of lettuce, except that it does not have its hydrating properties.

Watercress (*jirjir*) is hot and dry. It causes bloating and headaches, slows digestion, and stimulates sexual desires.

Garden cress (*rashshād*) is hot and dry and stimulates the appetite.

Fenugreek (*hulba*) is hot and causes bloating and headaches.

Melilot (*handaqūqā*) causes headaches. It is hot but does not cause bloating.

Tarragon (*tarkhūn*) is hot, coarse, bloating, and slow to digest.

Rue (*sadhāb*) is hot, dry, and low in density. It helps disperse winds.

Cultivated mint (*na'na'*) is hot and bloating. It stimulates erection and excites the appetite. It also allays vomiting and hiccups.

Basil (*bādharūj*) is hot and causes headaches. It has little nutritional value and dims eyesight if addicted to it. It dries up sperm but strengthens the top gate of the stomach (*fam al-ma'ida*). It also benefits the heart.

Parsley and Celery (*karafs*) is hot and opens up blockages. It is bloating and aphrodisiac. It is a good cure for bad breath (*bakhār*) but should be avoided altogether.

Onion (*baṣal*) is hot and dry and provokes thirst. It stimulates the appetite and sexual desires. However, it causes headaches if eaten raw and engenders moist and phlegmatic humors in the stomach.

¹ Generally, *baql* are annual herbs and vegetables that do not grow on trees but are cultivated from seeds. All herbs and vegetables are described in Glossary, Sections 9 and 14.

Mawṣilī and Nabatean cabbage (*kurunb*) are hot and dry.² They engender black bile but soothe sore throat and chest. They are laxative.

Thyme (*ṣaʿtar*) is hot and dry and is good for purging gas and phlegm. There are two varieties, the cultivated (*bustānī*) and the wild (*barrī*). The wild is stronger in properties than the cultivated.

Chard (*silq*) is cold and dry and bad for the stomach. It is laxative and breaks down phlegm [to facilitate purging it].

Purslane (*farfīn*) is cold and quenches thirst and heat. It controls bowel movements (*ʿāqil*) and cures *ḍaras* (sensitivity of teeth to sour foods).³ It is good for people with yellow bile.

Blite (*baqla Yamāniyya*) is almost similar to the above except that it has a heating effect, and is less moist.⁴

Jew's mallow (*mulūkhiyya*) is almost similar to *qataf* (orach) but a little lighter.

Spinach (*isfanākḥ*) is moderate in properties. It is good for throat, lungs, stomach, and liver. It is a laxative and a good and commendable source of food.

Sorrel (*ḥummāḍ*) is cold, dry, and tannic (*yadbugh*). It controls bowel movements.

Dill (*shabat*) is hot and bad for the stomach. It induces nausea and increases lactating. It is diuretic.

Radish (*fujl*) [the root] is hot and high in density (*ghalīḍ*). Although slow to digest, it has the power to break down phlegm [to facilitate its purging]. It makes food float in the stomach but generates energy. As for the leaves, they assist the digestion and excite the appetite when eaten raw.

Water moss (*qunnābīn*) is laxative.⁵ It has the properties to open up any obstructions (*sudud*) in the digestive system.

Elecampane (*rāsan*) is hot and dry.⁶ Therefore, it is good for a stomach that has excess in moist humors. It unclogs (28v) obstructions

² From Mosul, northern city in Iraq. The cabbage has wrinkled leaves. Nabatean cabbage is indigenous to the Iraqi region. It has a small heart and smooth leaves.

³ Ibn Sīnā explains that purslane softens the roughness of the teeth, thus lessening their sensitivity (241).

⁴ Literally, Yemeni greens. Also called *baqla ʿArabiyya* (greens of the Arabs). They are bland and mild greens.

⁵ Also called *ghumlūl* (and *barghast*, in Persian), a wild herb that grows on banks of rivers. It resembles spinach, eaten cooked only.

⁶ Sweet-smelling root, also called *zanjabīl al-Shām* (Levantine ginger).

in liver and spleen. However, having too much of it will spoil blood and decrease sperm.

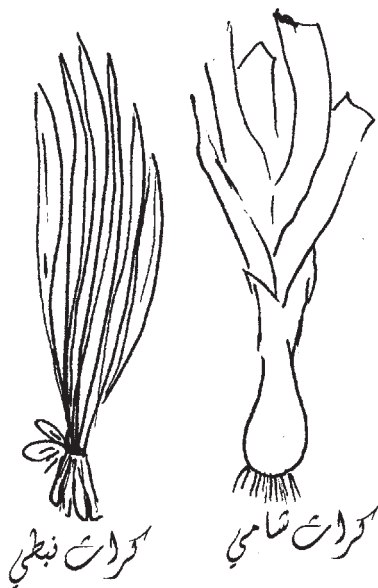
Turnip (*lift*) is hot and soft. It generates raw humors (*khām*) and winds, arouses sexual desires, soothes sore throat and raw chest, and warms up the kidneys and the back.

Purslane (*al-baqḷa al-ḥamqāʾ*) is cold and low in density. It allays and cures heat quite effectively. It also arouses coitus and is good for yellow bile. We have mentioned this vegetable earlier under the name *farfīn* [above].

Table leeks (*kurrāth al-baqḷ*) is hot and dry.⁷ It is bad for the head because it induces headaches and generates black bile.

Capers (*kabar*). When caper flower buds (*fuqqāḥ*) are pickled in vinegar, as is done with water moss (*gunnābirī*), they become rarefying.⁸ They are also prepared as *kawāmīkh* (condiments).

Capers have the power to thin down densities (*muḥallil*).⁹ They have hot and dry properties mingled with some astringency (*qabḍ*). They can fortify the organs and benefit an enlarged spleen.



⁷ Of this variety of leeks, only the leaves—small and tender—are consumed raw. See Glossary, Section 9.

⁸ *Mulattif* is having the power to lower density of foods in the stomach.

⁹ I amend here *mukhallal* (pickled) to *muḥallil* (having the power to dissolve), based on Istanbul MS (fol. 36r). It is more relevant to the text.

فِي طَبَايِعِ الْأَلْبَابِ وَمَا يَعْمَلُ مِنْهَا مِنَ الْأَحْجَابِ

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF MILK AND CHEESE

Laban ḥalīb (milk) is close to being balanced, leaning a little more towards cold and moist. It nourishes the body and hydrates it. It is a good cure for hectic fever (*al-diqq*), tuberculosis (*sull*), dry cough, and burning urination. It is also good for those who have had *binj* (henbane) and *ḏharārīj*, internally.¹ It nourishes people whose bodies are dominated by dry humors and helps steer them towards moderation. It boosts blood and sperm. However, its transformation in the body is so fast that it is not recommended for people with high fevers. It is also harmful to people with headaches, colic, and cold-related sicknesses.

Milk varies in its properties depending on the animals themselves, their pastures, and how close they are to delivery (*wilāda*).

Laban al-atan (milk of wild ass) is the thinnest of all milks. It cures maladies of the lungs.

Laban al-baqar (milk of cows) (29v) is the thickest of them all and is the best for those who wish to nourish their bodies.

Laban al-mā'iz (milk of goats) is a happy medium between the two [above].

Laban al-liqāḥ (milk of lactiferous camels) is recommended for pain in the liver and humors that have gone bad (*fasād al-mizāj*).²

The best milk is that of young and fertile animals that graze in pastures and feed on good quality grass. Milk of animals that have recently delivered is equally good.

Māst (thick and sour yogurt made with rennet) is colder than milk.³

¹ *Ḍharārīj* (sing. *ḏhurrah*) a potent medicine produced from poisonous fly-like insects. It is usually mixed with lentil to make it less poisonous, usually given as a cure for bites of rabid dogs. See Glossary, Section 12.2.

² *Liqāḥ* (sing. *laqūḥ*) designates a she-camel which has been lactating for no more than two to three months. After that, it is called *labūn*.

³ I follow here the Istanbul MS (fol.36v). In the edited text, it is described as *abrad al-albān* 'the coldest of all kinds of yogurt.' This is not accurate because in the

It extinguishes heat. Therefore, it is fit to be consumed on game days and hot days.

Rā'ib (yogurt made without rennet) is much colder than *māst* and agrees with hot a stomach and people having excess in hot properties (*maḥnūrīn*). However, it is bad for the nerves and cold-related diseases.

Makhīḍ (buttermilk) is good for treating diarrhea caused by hot yellow bile (*khilfa ṣafrāwiyya*) accompanied with physical weakness. Next in goodness is buttermilk cooked with heated pieces of iron until it slightly thickens after butter has been extracted from it.⁴ Prepared this way, buttermilk cures diarrhea caused by yellow bile and intestinal ulcers.

Mā' al-jubn (whey of curdled milk) eases yellow bile.⁵ It is good for mange (*jarab*), pimples (*buthūr*), ringworm (*sa'fa*), and jaundice (*yaraqān*). It is also recommended for those who have been harmed by having undiluted wine (*al-ṣharāb al-ṣirf*).

Zubd (butter) soothes sore throats. It is also good for eczema (*qawbā'*) and dry ringworm (*sa'fa yābisa*) when used to rub [the affected areas with it]. However, butter is not easy to digest for it floats closer to the top opening of the stomach (*fam al-mā'ida*).

Samn (clarified butter) slackens the stomach and relaxes stiffness when bandaged with it. It is beneficial in cases of snakebites and scorching hot winds (*samūm ḥārra*). However, overindulgence triggers phlegmatic diseases.

Jubn (cheese). Fresh cheese (*jubn ḥadīth*) is cold and dense but helps cool down stomach heat. It is not recommended for people whose bodies have excess in cold properties (*mabrūdīn*). The properties of aged cheeses (*atīq*) differ depending on how long they have been aged. Sharp cheese (*ḥirrif*) is hot. It induces thirst and generates bad humors. Nevertheless, it strengthens the top gate of the stomach (*fam al-mā'ida*) if nibbled after a meal. It also relieves satiety (*baṣham*) and (29v) heaviness (*wukhūma*) felt at the top part of the stomach caused by rich sweet foods. At any rate, fresh and aged cheeses should be avoided.

following entry, *rāyib* is described as being much colder than *māst*.

⁴ Dipping heated pieces of iron or stones helps thicken milk and rid it of some of its moisture, and thereby allay its cold properties.

⁵ It is the watery part of milk, which separates from curds when making cheese. See Glossary, Section 4.

Maṣl (drained yogurt whey) is extremely cold.⁶ It quenches thirst and allays yellow bile. It is bad for the nerves.

Kishk has balanced properties.⁷ It digests fast and is good for treating people with hangovers (*khumār*).

CHAPTER 16

فِي مَنَافِعِ اللَّبَنِ لِضَرْبِ الْأَمْرَادِ

BENEFITS OF DAIRY PRODUCTS IN CURING PHYSICAL DISORDERS

Laban ḥalīb (milk).⁸ When cooked with pieces of iron,⁹ it is good for curing coughs, intestinal ulcers, kidneys, bladder, and tuberculosis if God chooses.

Laban al-baqar (milk of cows). The only pain it relieves is intestinal colic. It is beneficial in cases of intestinal ulcers and when the hot properties of the liver spoil.

Laban al-atan (milk of wild ass) is good for breathing difficulties, expectoration (*naṭh*), and intense heat in heart and lungs.

Laban al-liqāḥ (milk of lactiferous camels).¹⁰ It is good for treating ascites.¹¹ Those who need to have it for this purpose should fast overnight and at the time of morning prayers, drink it as soon as it is milked and while it is still warm. The amount to be taken is 4 *ratls* (4 pints) of the milk mixed with 2 *ūqiyyas* (4 tablespoons) of the camel's

⁶ It is the sour yellowish liquid containing some sediments, obtained by draining yogurt. See Glossary, Section 4. It can be used fresh or dried and stored. When needed, it is dissolved in liquid and incorporated into *maṣliyyāt* dishes. See Chapter 70 for recipes.

⁷ It is made of a combination of crushed wheat and yogurt, kneaded then dried and stored. When needed, it is dissolved in liquid and added to *kishkiyyāt* dishes. See Chapters 40, 63.

⁸ I here fill in a lacuna in the edited text based on Istanbul MS (fol. 37r).

⁹ Adding heated pieces of iron or stones (*radhf*) to the boiling milk will help thicken it, and get rid of some of its moisture and cold properties. Stone-heated milk was called *ḥalīb mardhūf* (Ibn Sīnā 305).

¹⁰ *Laqūh* designates a she-camel, which has been lactating for no more than two to three months. After that, it is called *labūn*.

¹¹ It is *al-mā' al-aṣfar* (yellow fluid) the abnormal accumulation of serous fluid in the abdominal cavity, nowadays called *istisqā'*.

urine.¹² They should not eat anything else after that for two hours.

Dūgh al-baqar (thick and sour buttermilk of cows).¹³ It is good for curing coughs, disorders caused by intense heat (*aḥrāq*), and chronic jaundice. You may treat people suffering from such ailments with sweet and defatted yogurt of cow milk (*rāyib al-baqar al-ḥulw*).¹⁴ Let them have it for three weeks. During this period let their mid-day meal be fine bread and *zīrbāj* stew.¹⁵ After that they drink 3 glasses of thin diluted wine (*sharāb raqīq mamzūj*), for it will do them good, God willing.

Know that **laban rā'ib** (defatted yogurt made without rennet) may be used to help women lose weight. In this case, let the woman have 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) of diluted *rā'ib* early in the morning and nothing else with it. After three hours (**30r**), let her drink once again the same amount of the yogurt drink. At mid-day (*waqt al-ḡuhr*) let her eat *zīrbāja* stew cooked with meat of francolin, kid, or pullets.¹⁶ After that she may drink 3 glasses of wine (*sharāb*). She may also sniff on sweet-smelling herbs and chew on aromatic spices to while her hunger away.¹⁷ Thus, for ten days she can only have bread with [*zīrbāja* stew cooked with] meat of francolin and partridge [and the defatted yogurt drink].

¹² For medicinal benefits of urine, see Glossary, Section 12.2, s.v. *bawl*.

¹³ According to Ibn Jazla *Minhāj al-Bayān* (fols. 93v, 181r), it is made by draining sour buttermilk (*makhīd*) of its whey (*mā'yya*).

¹⁴ *Rāyib* or *rā'ib* is defatted yogurt made without rennet. It can be sweet or sour.

¹⁵ Delicate bird stews. For recipes, see Chapter 57 below.

¹⁶ Delicate bird stew.

¹⁷ Such as toasted seeds of coriander, cumin, and anise.

في طبائع الزيوت المسعملة في اللؤلؤ

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF VEGETABLE OILS (*ADHĀN*) USED IN DISHES

Olive oil (*zayt*) is hot and smooth.¹ The aged variety is even hotter. Although olive oil does have astringency (*qabḍ*), its moist and hot properties far supersede it.

Oil made from unripe olives (*zaytūn ghaḍ*) has a small amount of heat mingled with its [dominantly] cold properties.² It benefits the stomach and strengthens it with its dry and astringent properties.³ It is at its best when freshly pressed because as it ages its heat increases and astringency declines.

Oil of sesame seeds (*shayray*) is smooth and moist in properties. It also has some heat in it. It does the stomach no good when consumed uncooked because of its moisture.

Oil of walnut (*duhn al-jawz*) is moderately hot and smooth. It may benefit the kidneys and stomach.

Oil of almond (*duhn al-lawz*) is balanced in properties. It is good for stomach and liver and has the power to unclog liver obstructions. Compared with walnut oil, it is less moist and less hot. It is good for lungs and chest.

Oil of pistachio (*duhn al-fustuq*) is hot and moist and thereby is recommended for coughs and chest and kidney pain. It may be useful in treating scorpion stings. Eating pistachio nuts themselves will have the same benefits.

¹ *Zayt* derives from *zaytūn* ‘olives.’ Sometimes it is loosely used to designate vegetable oils in general.

² This variety is called *zayt al-anfāq*. In Iraq, it was called *zayt rikābī* because it was transported on camel backs from the Levant. See Glossary, Section 7.

³ I amend a word here. I read (راسا)—no meaning in given context—as (يابسا) based on what we already know of the properties of this kind of oil. See, for instance, Ibn Sīnā (268).

Oil of mustard [seeds] (*duhn al-khardal*) is hot and low in density (*latīf*) and may have the power to dry up moisture. It is used to treat alopecia (*dā' al-tha'lab*).

Oil of terebinth (*duhn al-buṭm*) is good for the bladder.⁴ It can dissolve kidney stones.

(30v) CHAPTER 18

فِي طَبْعِ الْأَبَاذِيرِ الْمُطَيَّبَةِ لِلْفَرُورِ

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF *ABĀẒĪR*⁵
USED IN SEASONING DISHES

Salt (*milḥ*) is hot and dry and thereby has the power to relieve indigestion and lower the density of consumed food. It also helps arouse and whet the appetite. However, having too much of it will burn the blood, weaken eyesight, decrease sperm, invigorate black bile, and weaken yellow bile and blood. It has a rarefying effect (*yulattīf*) on the foods cooked with it.⁶

Murri is similar to salt in its effects upon digestion.⁷ It is even stronger in properties [than salt] and more rarefying. It is laxative and can break down viscidities and rarefy dense foods. It heats up the stomach and liver. Therefore, it induces thirst when sick people have it. It is extremely hot and dry and has the power to aid digestion with its strong properties.

Coriander (*kisfara*) is cold and dry. It has the property to keep food in the stomach until it is completely digested. Therefore, it should be taken sparingly if dense foods are eaten with it.

⁴ I amend here the edited text by replacing *baṭn* (belly) with *buṭm* based on Istanbul MS (fol. 38r). *Buṭm* (pistacia atlantica) is closely related to *habba khadrā'* (green terebinth berries, pistacia terebinthus). In modern Iraq, both kinds are dried and sold as snack nuts. See Glossary, Section 8.

⁵ *Abāẓīr* is used loosely here to designate spices and seasonings added to dishes for aroma and flavor. See Glossary, Section 9.

⁶ A marginal note in the Istanbul MS (fol. 38r) adds that salt “generates itch and scabies.” An entry on vinegar (*khall*) follows, which describes it as cold and dry, and emaciating (*yuhzīl*) and enfeebling. It is also said to decrease semen production.

⁷ *Murri* is liquid fermented sauce, mostly cereal-based. See Glossary, Section 3.

Cumin (*kammūn*) is hot and dry but less in degree than pepper. It helps digest food and relieve bloating.

Caraway (*karawayā*) is as hot and dry as cumin. However, it does not have adverse effects on the stomach. It also controls bowel movements.

Lovage (*kāshām*) is hot and dry. It lingers in the stomach for a long while. Nevertheless, it eases bloating and arouses coitus.

Cassia (*dār Šīnī*) is hot and dry. It strengthens stomach and liver, repels gases, and aids digestion.

Galangal (*khūlanjān*) is hot and dry. It strengthens the stomach.

Ginger (*zanjabīl*) is even hotter [than galangal] and more effective in its digestive properties.

Asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*).⁸ The black variety stinks (*muntin*). It is used medicinally only. The white variety is used in cooking. It is hot and dry.

Resin of asafetida root (*ḥaltīt*). The black resin stinks but the white variety is used in cooking. The root is less hot than the leaves (*anjudhān*).⁹

⁸ The whole plant is valued for its digestive properties and power to dispel flatulence. The root is called *maḥrūt* (محروٲ) and the root resin is *ḥaltīt* (حلتيت).

⁹ This item is missing from the edited text but Istanbul MS has it (fol. 28v).

فِي طَبَايِعِ مَا يُلْقَى فِي الْقُدُورِ مِنَ الطَّيِّبِ الْمَشْهُورِ

THE MOST POPULAR AROMATICS USED IN COOKING AND THEIR PROPERTIES¹

Musk (*misk*) is hot and dry. When used in cooking, it causes headaches to people with excessively hot properties (*mahrūrīn*) soon after having it. It helps cure cold-related ailments in the head, keeps the heart in good shape, and strengthens the stomach. It is good for fainting (*ghashī*) and loss of appetite.

Ambergris (*anbar*) is hot. Fumigating the cooked food with it will strengthen brain and heart.

Aloe wood (*ūd*) is hot and dry. It is good for the stomach but causes headaches, feelings of heaviness in the head, and drowsiness. It benefits the humid stomach burdened with dense foods.

Saffron (*zāfarān*) is hot and dry. It is bad for the stomach and is nauseating. It causes headaches, heavy-headedness, and brings about sleep.

Rose water (*mā' ward*) is cold and low in density (*latīf*). It relieves hot headaches and feelings of nausea (*ghathī*). However, adding a lot of it to the cooked food and using it in excess will cause hair to turn white.

Cloves (*qaranfūl*) are hot and dry. They strengthen stomach and heart.

Mastic (*maṣṭakā*), **galangal** (*khūlanjān*), and **cassia** (*dār šīnī*) have the same benefits [as cloves].

Indian spikenard (*ʿaṣāfir al-sunbul*) is hot and dry. It scents the stomach and aids digestion.

Nutmeg (*jawz bawwa*) is hot and dry.

Cubeb (*kabāba*) has two contradictory powers of heat and cold. It is good for the throat and constipates.

¹ For information on spices mentioned in the chapter, see Glossary, Section 9.

فِي طَبَايِعِ مَا يَلْقَى فِي الْقُرُورِ مِنَ الْفَوَائِدِ وَالسُّوَرِ

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF FRUITS USED IN COOKING

Ripe dates (*tamr*) are hot, dense, and very nourishing. Eating them regularly generate density in the bowels and cause them to spoil. They boost sperm and blood.

Unripe sour grapes (*hişrim*) are cold. They control bowel movements and curb yellow bile and blood.

Almond (*lawz*) transforms to yellow bile very quickly, and causes the appetite to decline. It is laxative and cures raw chests. It is also diuretic and relieves burning sensations while urinating. It is good for coughs.

Walnut (*jawz*) is hot and dry. It is indigestible and generates blood high in black bile (*damm sawdāwī*). It generates heat in the body and induces feelings of thirst.

Pistachio (*fustuq*) is hot and can clear liver obstructions. It is hotter than almond.

Coconut (*jawz Hindī*) is hot and increases sperm. It heats up the kidneys and arouses coitus.

Pine nut (*şanawbar*) has a tremendous power to heat up the body. It benefits people suffering from tremors and asthma. It boosts sperm.

Jujube (*unnāb*) is moderately hot. It is good for the throat and helps allay agitation of the blood (*thāyirat al-damm*).¹

Honey (*asal*) is hot and dry and transforms to yellow bile quite fast. It constipates.² It is good for the elderly and people who have excess in cold properties (*mabrūdīn*). People with hot temperaments (*amzija ḥāra*) should avoid it in the summer.

Sugar (*sukkar*) soothes throat, chest, and stomach. It does not generate much heat. If a lot of it is used in a dish, it will induce diarrhea. Regarding density, *ṭabarzad* (fine cane sugar) is lighter than *Sulaymānī* (hard sugar-candy).

Manna (*al-mann*) is moderate in properties. It is good for the chest.

¹ It describes the state when blood is hot and roaring. In modern terms, it is 'having high blood pressure.'

² *Ḥābis li 'l-baṭn* I add it here from Istanbul MS (fol. 39v).

Mustard (*khardal*) is hot in the third degree.³ The seeds are somewhat soft in texture (*ladn*). A salve (*marham*) of mustard and vinegar applied to the sciatic nerve (*‘irq al-nasā*) will warm it up and help it relax. [When prepared as a condiment] it should be kneaded with vinegar and washed in water and grape vine ashes. Then it is to be washed [again] and sprinkled with vinegar until its foam (*raghwa*) comes out.⁴ Preparing mustard with almond oil or olive oil (*zayt*) and juice of pomegranate and raisins will make it less pungent.

Mustard helps thin down (*yuḥallil*) moisture in the head, stomach, and body. It dries up the tongue and thins down phlegm.

Juices (*‘aṣīrāt*):

Juice of pomegranate (*rummān*), apple (*tufāḥ*), and quince (*safarjal*) (**32r**) is cold and astringent. It dissolves stones and constipates the bowels.

Juice of rhubarb (*rībās*) is astringent and good for yellow bile.

Juice of plum (*ijjās*) is cold and laxative.

Juice of mulberry (*tūt*) is cold and hence good for soothing heat in the mouth.

³ Although mustard is not a fruit, it might be argued that al-Warrāq included it here because of the other fruity ingredients involved in making the prepared mustard. According to the ancient theory of the four humors, spices in general were deemed hot and mostly dry. Each spice was designated a degree—four all in all, the fourth being the strongest—of heat and dryness. Pepper, for instance, was hot and dry in the fourth degree. Cinnamon was hot in the second degree and dry in the first degree. See Introduction, Section IX for details on the four humors.

⁴ Mustard foam is the part used in making the prepared condiment. The rest is used for making *ṣināb* sauce. See Chapter 38 below for recipes.

ذکر عمل الخل و تطيب الملح للأكل

MAKING VINEGAR AND SEASONING SALT FOR TABLE USE

[A recipe for making *khall al-‘unṣul* (vinegar of squill):]¹

Prepare *baṣal al-faʿr* (squills), a knife and a large needle (*mikhyat*) both made of cane (*qaṣab*), and a woolen thread. Using the [cane] knife, peel off and discard the outer skins of the onions and take the middle parts. Discard any onions that are dry all the way to the core.² When you have enough of these onions, thread them into the woolen string [using the cane needle] and hang them in a shaded place for three days until they shrink.

Put 10 *ratls* (20 cups) of good quality sharp and sour grape vinegar in an earthen jar, big enough to be half-filled with it. Suspend the threaded onion on the vinegar. For each 5 *qists* (15 cups) [of vinegar] use 1 *ratl* (1 pound) onion. Do not let the hanging onions touch the vinegar, but rather let them be suspended above it by three fingers' width (about 2 inches).

Seal the jar with mud and leave it out for 40 days under the sun of July when it is at its hottest. Then take out the onions and strain the vinegar. You may use this vinegar for making squill drink (*sharāb al-‘unṣul*).

To store the vinegar, pour it into a jar, big enough to hold it. If you prefer it seasoned, add spikenard, cloves, and ginger.

¹ The edited text does not give the name of the recipe. ‘*Unṣul*, also known as *baṣal al-faʿr*, is a variety of wild onion. It is extremely strong and thereby is mostly used for medicinal purposes. In English, it is known as squill. See Glossary, Section 9, s.v. ‘*unṣul*.

² I amend here the sentence slightly with the help of Istanbul MS (fol. 40r) where the sentence reads as

ويلقى من اصوله ما كان يابساً حتى يبلغ القلب

A recipe for making vinegar, much more acid than vinegar of ‘*unṣul* [recipe above] by Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Aḥwal:³

Take a jar coated with pitch (*inā’ muzaffāt*) and wash it thoroughly.⁴ Pick over grapes, discarding any rotten or over-ripe ones. Fill the container with the grapes (32v) and shake it so that the grapes fit in so tightly that not a single grape will have room to stir. Seal the container with gypsum (*jaṣ*) and put it away for a year.

When you open the container at the end of the year, you will find that the grapes have made a net-like formation in the jar. Press the grapes in the jar with a utensil and pour out the vinegar. It will not be much.

Stir the remaining pressed grapes with your hand and pour water on them. The amount should equal a quarter of the container’s capacity. Seal it with mud and set it aside for 6 months after which you open it up and press out the liquid. Then pour water into [the remaining grape solids], the amount of which should equal half the capacity of the container. Then seal it with mud and set it aside for 3 months.

Open up the container and take out the resulting liquid [again]. Add water to the remaining grape solids,⁵ the amount of which should equal three quarters of the container’s capacity. Set it aside for one month after which you strain the resulting liquid.⁶ [To the remaining grape solids] add water enough to fill the whole jar and set it aside for one month after which you strain the liquid [for the last time].

Nothing excels such varieties of vinegar, which are so excellent and so strong that nobody can even bear smell them. When you want to use this vinegar, dilute it with water. For each *dirham* (½ teaspoon) of vinegar, use 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) water. Indeed, it renders using other kinds such as those made from raisins, dates, or figs, unnecessary, God willing.

³ I have not been able to identify the person. However, he might well have been a professional vinegar-maker. The recipe might have been taken from a manual he wrote.

⁴ Pitch *ziḡt* was applied to the inside of jars to help preserve wine, and as in this case, aged vinegar. See Glossary, Section 12.2, s.v. *qaṭirān* and *ziḡt*.

⁵ In the edited text, grape juice (*mā’ al-‘inab*) is added in this step. In Istanbul MS, it is water (*mā’*), which is more consistent with the pattern of the preparations in this recipe.

⁶ Or two months, according to Istanbul MS (fol. 40v).

A recipe for vinegar of *ishturghāz*:⁷

Take red vinegar made from grapes or wine and strain it. For each 10 parts of vinegar add one part *ishturghāz*. Keep mixture in a container and seal it with mud until needed.

Vinegar made white without distilling it (*taṣ'īd*):⁸

Add wheat bran (*nukhāla*) to vinegar and mash and press them in a sieve set on a bowl. Do this in small batches until you gather the amount you need [of the dripping liquid]. Add lime borax (*būraq al-jūr*) and wait until it becomes clear [like water] without using an alembic or fire, God willing. (33r)

You can also get clear vinegar by adding to it a mixture of crumbled hot bread and ammonia (*nashādīr*).⁹ Stir the mixture and wait [until vinegar becomes clear] then strain it, God willing.

Moreover, vinegar can be whitened by putting it in a glass bottle (*qinnūna*) and vigorously whipping an egg in it. Keep the bottle warm by wrapping it in many layers of clothes overnight. It will become clear, God willing.

Here is what a poet said describing vinegar:

Distilled vinegar from white wine made, lustrously clear, for water it might be taken.

Were one to have but a sip of it to taste, with his own saliva he would choke on it.

Too pungent to enjoy if in the pot 'tis put undiluted.

I masterly made it in earthen jars with squills suspended on it.

A full month I kept it under the blasting sun and now it looks as red as ruby.

Crystal clear when you look at it from above. You might think 'tis oil of *khūr*,¹⁰

Shimmering with luster when at the table served in a bowl.

Put to the 'taste': some as high as gold rank it but others may barely stand it.

⁷ It is similar to asafetida root but has no resin. Dieticians recommend it for its appetizing and digestive qualities, particularly its vinegar.

⁸ White (*abyaḍ*), 'clear and colorless like water.'

⁹ For information on borax and ammonia, see Glossary, Section 12.3, s.v. *būraq*, *nashādīr*.

¹⁰ Gillyflowers. See Glossary, Section 13.

A recipe for seasoned salt (*milḥ muṭayyab*):¹¹

Take sumac, [dried] pomegranate seeds, asafetida root (*maḥrūt*), [dried] asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*), hulled sesame seeds, nigella seeds (*habbat al-sawdāʾ*), hemp seeds (*shahdānāq*), flax seeds (*baẓr al-kattān*), cumin, green terebinth berries (*habbat al-khaḍra*). Toast each of these separately and add them to the salt while they are still hot, God willing.

Another recipe for delicious (*ṭayyib*) salt:

Macerate for one day and one night [36 hours] [dried] sour pomegranate seeds in sour wine vinegar along with asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*). Then [strain the seeds,] toast them, pulverize them until very fine, and sift them. Add them to the salt along with (33r) thyme (*ṣaʿtar*), toasted sesame seeds, toasted hemp seeds (*shahdānāq*), and pounded (dried) bread,¹² God willing.

A recipe for *Khurāsānī* salt:¹³

Pound and sift good quality *andarānī* salt.¹⁴ Put it in a *ṭinjūr* (large copper pot) on slow-burning fire. Sprinkle on it sour wine vinegar, bit by bit, and stir it with the fire still burning under it until salt turns black.¹⁵ Put it away from heat and let it cool down.

Add [dried] sour pomegranate seeds, sumac, nigella seeds, sesame seeds, hemp seeds (*shahdānāq*), *anjudhān sarkhasī*,¹⁶ asafetida root (*maḥrūt*), and other similar seasonings.

A recipe for [seasoned] salt made for al-Rashīd:¹⁷

Take white pure salt and finely grind it. Grind for it asafetida root (*maḥrūt*) and asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*) and stir them into the salt. Add nigella seeds (*ḥabba sawdāʾ*) half the amount of the salt-mix. Let the seeds be whole.

¹¹ In the Istanbul MS, this recipe is said to be from Kūshājīm's copy (fol. 185r).

¹² In Istanbul MS, cheese (جببن) is mentioned instead of bread (خبز) (fol. 41r).

¹³ Named after *Khurāsān*, a province in northeast Persia.

¹⁴ Good quality, white, translucent crystals of rock salt. See Glossary, Section 3.

¹⁵ I amend here the edited text with the help of Istanbul MS (fol. 185r).

¹⁶ Tasty dried leaves of white asafetida. Black-leaved asafetida does not smell good. It is useful medicinally.

¹⁷ The famous Abbasid caliph of Baghdad (d. 809).

A recipe for laxative salt (*mushil*):¹⁸

It is good for gout (*naqris*), hemiplegia (*fālaj*), facial paralysis (*laqwa*), arthritis (*awjāʿ al-mafāṣil*), diseases caused by cold and humidity, and spleen-related ailments. It also has a purging power (*yajlū*)

Take 6 *ūqiyyas* (6 ounces) *andarānī* salt,¹⁹ and 12 *dirhams* (12 ounces) black pepper. Also take 4 *dirhams* (4 ounces) of each of the following: *zanjabīl* (ginger), dried *zūfā* (hyssop), *anjudhān* (leaves of asafetida), *bazr al-karafs* (celery seeds), *sādhaj Hindī* (Indian leaf),²⁰ *ghārīqūn* (agaricum),²¹ *saqmūnyā* (scammony resin),²² *ḥurf* (seeds of garden cress), and *qurṭum* (safflower seeds).

Mix, grind, and sift all the ingredients. Store them in a glass jar (*ināʾ zujāj*) and use as needed.

Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī has these verses on salt:²³

Following decrees of books of medicine, the ingredients I perfectly balanced.

With it we begin our meals after the name of God we invoke, Exalting in His Glory.

Of spices, walnut, sesame, nigella, asafetida root (*maḥrūt*), and cardamom (*hāl*),

(34r) Coriander toasted in *tābaq*,²⁴ sumac and asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*), equal parts.

And toasted hemp seeds (*shāhdānāq*), thyme, and saffron pure rendered it complete.

Know that salt left untoasted will not be savored.

It's only by toasting and seasoning that it will be perfectly flavored.

¹⁸ Istanbul MS provides this statement, "I found it in the Book of Galen," (fol. 85v). I amend the edited recipe with the help of the Istanbul MS.

¹⁹ See n.14 above.

²⁰ Similar in aroma to spikenard but it is not it. See Glossary, Section 12.2.

²¹ A polyporus fungus, which grows on larix trees. It was used medicinally since ancient times. See Glossary, Section 12.2.

²² Also called *maḥmūda*. It is resin extracted from scammony tree, used in dried form. It is effective as a laxative agent. See Glossary, Section 12.2.

²³ The Abbasid prince of epicures (d. 839), half brother of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. See Appendix.

²⁴ A large flat pan, see Glossary, Section 10.1.

في طبع الوارد من الطعام البارد

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF COLD DISHES

Bazmāward (slices of rolled up sandwiches) are heavy and slow to digest. They putrefy the humors (*kaymūs*). The best time to eat them is at the beginning of the meal.

ʿawsāt (stuffed and pressed sandwiches) cause satiety. They are slow to digest especially if eaten at suppertime when they are more likely to cause surfeit (*tukhama*).

Sanbūsaj (fried filled pastries) are lighter than sandwiches (*awsāt*) and faster to digest.

Farārīj (pullets) are good for people with hot temperaments if combined with juice of sour, unripe grapes and *na'na'* (cultivated mint).

Firākh (young domestic fowls) are best eaten roasted, second best is having them braised (*mutajjan*) with oil and *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) without spices (*abāzīr*). They are also very good eaten as *mašūš* (macerated and cooked in vinegar). They are good for people whose dominant humor is black bile (*aṣḥāb al-sawdā'*).

Hajal (partridge). The best way to cook it is in vinegar (*mašūš*) because it lowers its density and makes it beneficial to people with diarrhea. The same rule applies to **shafānīn** and **sparrows** (*aṣāfir*).¹

Cold dishes of roasted meat (*shūwā' bārid*) are less dense than hot dishes and much lighter. They linger in the digestive system much longer and thereby are not good for people whose dominant humor is black bile. If these cold dishes are eaten with *tal'*,² they may generate black bile and curb coitus. These dishes are cold and bad for the stomach because they may dry it up. They help mollify the agitated blood.³

¹ Plural of *shifnīn*, more commonly known as *yamāma* (undomesticated turtle-dove).

² Clusters of first appearing dates still enclosed in the spathe. They were served boiled with mustard, *murri*, pepper, oil, and herbs to relieve any flatulence they might cause. When eaten raw they were best served with greasy chicken dishes and wine. They were believed to be aphrodisiac. See Glossary, Section 8.

³ I amend the edited text here with the help of Istanbul MS (fol. 41v).

Boiled dishes (*ṣilāqa*) are cold. However, serving them with mustard will make them more temperate. They are good for people whose dominant humor is yellow bile but bad for those with black bile.

Cold *sikbāj* (beef stew soured with vinegar) is not good for raw chests. It extinguishes heat. (34v) It is not recommended for people with backache or those whose dominant humor is phlegm (*aṣḥāb al-balgham*).

Cold *maḍīra* (white stew cooked with meat and sour milk) is less dense than when served hot. It suits people with extremely hot properties. Cooking it with mastic will balance and improve its properties and make it delicious. Adding mustard foam to it will help expel phlegm.⁴

Cold *ḥiṣrimiyya* (stew cooked with sour grape juice) is less dense (*alṭaf*) than hot *ḥiṣrimiyya* and more effective in suppressing yellow bile.

Cold *adasiyya* (lentil dish) is less dense (*alṭaf*) than when served hot. It is good for people who have had *‘ilāj* if eaten with a lot of oil and fresh onion.⁵ It helps expel phlegm and is particularly good for the chest. In this respect, ***ṭafshūl*** (porridge of grains and legumes) has the same benefits.

Eggplant (*bādhinjān*) is cold and extremely dry. Addition to it engenders black bile. It burns the blood and causes mouth blisters, which can be prevented by cooking it with vinegar. When prepared this way, it will also extinguish yellow bile quite effectively. Eggplant can unclog any obstructions in the spleen. ***Būrān***⁶ is more harmful than other eggplant dishes and generates more black bile. Raw eggplant is the worst way to eat it. Grilling improves it a little and frying is somewhat better.

Cold *ṭabāhija* (braised red meat) is beneficial to people whose dominant humor is black bile.

Gourd with yogurt (*qarʿ bi ’l-laban*) is cold and moist and thereby is bad for the stomach and weakens the appetite. However, it quenches thirst and extinguishes any heat in the stomach and liver.

Chard roots (***uṣūl al-silq***) and leaves are cold and bad for the stomach. They are laxative and flatulent but help break up and dissipate phlegm.

⁴ See Chapter 38 for instructions on how to extract mustard foam.

⁵ *‘Ilāj* is getting rid of excretions through induced means such as vomiting, cupping, bloodletting, and taking laxatives.

⁶ Also called *Būrāniyya*, an eggplant dish named after Būrān (d. 885), wife of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma’mūn. She was famous for her eggplant dishes. See Chapter 45 below for a recipe.

Asparagus (*hilyawn*) is hot and moist. It invigorates coitus and warms up kidneys. It is not good for the stomach and may cause nausea.

Truffle (*kam'a*) is cold and slow to digest. It is dense and generates raw humors (*khām*). Red truffle is bad. Over-indulging causes colic (*qawlanj*). Truffles are best eaten seasoned with dry spices (*tawābil*).

Fresh beans (*lūbyā raṭba*) are hot, moist, and low in density. They are good for (35r) thin people. Eating beans with vinegar benefits people whose dominant humor is yellow bile.

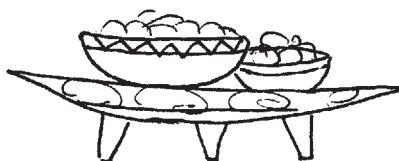
Cauliflower (*qunnābūt*) is hot and dry. It increases blood and causes belly gurgles (*qarāqir*). Its florets (*bayḍ*) are hard to digest and cause flatulence. Frying the vegetable is the best way to have it.

Carrot (*jazar*) is hot and bloating and is not easy to digest. It is aphrodisiac and diuretic.

Levantine leeks (*kurrāth Shāmī*) is hot.⁷ To benefit the cold stomach and warm up the sperm and get it moving, boil leeks and serve them with vinegar, *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), and olive oil (*zayt*).

Ahlām is dense (*ghalīz*) and putrefied (*'afin*).⁸ It is bad for people whose dominant humor is black bile.

Qarīs (aspic) is good for people whose dominant humor is yellow bile.⁹



⁷ Bulbous leeks with inedible leaves. See Glossary, Section 9 for more varieties.

⁸ *Halām* (sing.) is meat with skin on preserved by sousing it in seasoned vinegar (Chapter 41).

⁹ *Qarīs* is a sour cold dish of gelled fish (Chapter 33).

ذَكَرَ الْأَحْمِيَّاتُ فِي عَمَلِ الْبَزْمَاوَرِ وَالْأَوْسَاطِ

MAKING SANDWICHES, ROLLED UP (*BAZMĀWARD*) AND STUFFED (*AWSĀṬ*)

A recipe for making *bazmāward* (rolled up sandwiches),¹ Baghdadi style:²

Prepare meat by pounding it the way you do with sausages (*laqāniq*).³ Add a small amount of kidney fat, onion, fresh herbs (*abzār ruṭb*), and rue. Add to these, coriander, black pepper, caraway, cumin, spikenard, cloves, nutmeg, ginger, and cassia, [all] pounded. Break 5 eggs on the meat mixture and add a little chopped garlic and onion. Pound the mixture until it blends very well.

Spread caul fat (*ṭharb*) of sheep on a soft *ruqāqa* (thin sheet of bread).⁴ Let it cover as much as possible of the bread. Spread the pounded meat mixture on the caul fat.

Take 5 boiled eggs, peel them but leave them whole. Arrange them in a row along the spread meat paste. Tightly roll up the *ruqāq* bread with what is spread on it, and truss the roll with clean intestines. Put the roll on 4 sticks (**35v**) of *khilāf* tree (willow) and tie it with a thread so that it stays intact. Lower it into the *tannūr* and place it on a flat tile (*ājur*) put directly on the fire.

When the roll is done, take it out of the oven and slice it crosswise into *bazmāward* (slices). Arrange the pieces on a platter (*jām*) and serve them with Nabatean *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) or mustard,⁵ God willing.

¹ The bread is spread with a filling and then rolled up like a Swiss roll. To serve, it is cut with a special long and sharp knife called *sikkīn al-bazmāward* (al-Tannūkhī *Niṣhwār al-Muḥādara* 129). See Glossary, Section 6. The sandwiches are passed around for guests to nibble.

² The adjective used is *Madīnī* which refers to Baghdad. Cf. *Madanī* used with reference to the city of the Prophet Muhammad, Madīna, and *Madā'inī* with reference to the city of Madā'in in Iraq (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. مَدَن).

³ The recipe in Istanbul MS mentions meat from the leg but does not specify which kind.

⁴ *Ṭharb* is a transparent sheet of fat that covers the stomach and bowels of the animal. Today in Iraq it is called *mandīl* (literally, 'handkerchief').

⁵ See Glossary, Section 3, s.v. *murrī Nabatī*.

A recipe for *bazmāward* with citron pulp (*ḥummāḍ*), called *al-Ma'mūnī*:⁶

Chop [cooked chicken] and spread it on *ruqāq* (thin sheet of bread). Let there be underneath the chicken some skinned walnut, citron pulp (*ḥummāḍ al-utruj*), *na'na'* (cultivated mint), tarragon, *baṭḥarij* (basil), and salt. Roll up the bread [with the filling inside].

Another recipe made for al-Mutawakkil:⁷

Use cold [cooked] meat of two legs and shoulders of a kid or lamb. Finely shred the meat into thread-like pieces.

Choose whatever you like of leaf vegetables, excluding watercress (*jirjir*) and endives (*hindibā*). Finely chop them until they resemble sesame seeds and mix [part of] them with the shredded meat. Set mixture aside.⁸

Now choose good quality sharp cheese, scrape it with a knife, and collect the scraped cheese. Coarsely grind walnut and add it [with the cheese] to the [set-aside meatless] chopped vegetables. Add as well some chopped herbs (*abzār ruṭb*) and rue.

A portion of the chopped vegetables should have been set aside unmixed with meat.

Now peel and chop some olives and add them to the [meatless] chopped vegetable mixture.

Spread a soft (*labiq*) and large *ruqāqa* (thin bread), spread it with some of the meatless vegetable mixture and sprinkle it with seasoned salt (*milḥ muṭayyab*). Next, spread the meat and vegetable mixture [to which you should have added] some *ḥawāyij*.⁹ Then arrange a layer of eggs sliced lengthwise.

Next, spread another layer of the meat and vegetable mixture followed by a layer of the meatless vegetable mixture. Sprinkle them with pleasant-tasting salt (*milḥ ṭayyib*) and drizzle them with sweet vinegar (*khall 'adhb*) and rose water.

Tightly roll the *ruqāqa* bread with the filling and slice it crosswise into rounds. Arrange the pieces on a platter (*jām*) and pass them around (*tufarriḡhā*), God willing.

⁶ After the name of al-Ma'mūn, the Abbasid Caliph (d. 833).

⁷ The Abbasid Caliph (d. 861).

⁸ Part of the chopped vegetables is to be set aside unmixed with meat. Al-Warrāq mentions this later in the recipe.

⁹ The usual spices and herbs added to the dish such as black pepper, cumin coriander, cinnamon, and the like.

A recipe for *wast* (filled sandwich) made by Ibn Dihqāna:¹⁰

Choose a round and thick bread made with fine, bran-free flour (*raghīf samik huwwārā*). Using a knife, cut it crosswise in half and set it aside.

Take meat of cooled *sikbāj* (beef stew soured with vinegar) and shred it. Finely chop leaf vegetables (*baql*).

Cover the [cut side of] one piece of the bread with the [chopped] vegetables followed by another layer of the prepared meat. Sprinkle the surface with pleasant-tasting salt followed by chopped cheese, chopped olives, and [chopped] walnuts, almonds, pistachio, and pine nuts. Put another layer of the chopped vegetables and cover [the filling] with the other half of the bread [cut side down]. Keep the prepared sandwich pressed [using a weight] for about an hour. Make as many as you wish of these sandwiches following the same rule.

Cut the filled sandwiches into squares and then cut them into triangles (*shawābūr*).¹¹ Arrange the pieces on a platter (*jām*) and serve them, God willing.

A recipe for open-faced sandwich (*wast mashṭūr*) made by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:¹²

Remove the top crust and edges of a whole bread (*raghīf*). Spread (*yushaṭṭar*) its face with *binn al-sakārij*,¹³ slather it with walnut oil, and put it on a brazier (*kānūn*) until it is thoroughly heated.¹⁴ Spread yolk of soft-cooked eggs (*nīmbarishṭ*) on top of the *binn* and eat it. You may sprinkle it with pounded cheese (*jubn madqūq*), which will make it even more delicious.

Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī has a poem describing this sandwich:

What a delicious sandwich on the brazier I made, slathered with *binn*
and walnut oil.

Fragrant and shining, as if the *binn* I used with ambergris and musk
embalmed.

Of nigella seeds I put what it needed, as for fennel, I did sprinkle
some.

¹⁰ He was boon companion (*nadīm*) of Caliph al-Mu'tamid (d. 892) and his brother Prince al-Muwaffaq (d. 891). See Appendix.

¹¹ شوابير ومربع . In Istanbul MS it is شوابير (triangles and squares).

¹² Abbasid prince and author of a cookbook (d. 839). See Appendix.

¹³ A condiment of fermented sauce similar to *kāmakh* made with rotted bread. It is served in small bowls (*sakārij*) for table use (recipe in Chapter 40).

¹⁴ The bread is put on a grill set on the brazier.

Olive oil I made sure to add, for it gives a luscious coating and a saffroned glow.

(36v) Smeared with egg yolk, with cheese sprinkled, like speckled embroidered silk.¹⁵

As colorful as striped silk it looks,¹⁶ exuding musk and camphor.

The taste, luscious as pure honey, for the best aromatic spices I did use.

CHAPTER 24

فِي طَبْعِ الْكُلُومِينِ مِنْ كُلِّ فَرْ وَالزَّبَائِنِ وَالْمُخَلَّلَاتِ وَالْبَنِّ

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF CONDIMENTS (*KAWĀMĪKH*), OLIVES, PICKLES, AND *BINN*¹⁷

Binn is hot and dry. Although it induces thirst, it has the benefit of purging phlegm from the stomach and curing bad breath (*bakhar*).

Ṣihnāt is hot and dry.¹⁸ It induces thirst and purges phlegm from the stomach. However, addiction to it spoils the blood and causes mange (*jarab*).

Kāmakḥ al-kabar (condiment of capers) is hot and dry. It is bad for the stomach. It induces thirst and weakens the body.

Kāmakḥ al-thūm (condiment of garlic) is good for phlegmatic people and those suffering from ague fits (*ḥummā al-nāfiḍ*). It also has the benefit of dissolving stones. **Kāmakḥ al-marzanjūsh** (condiment of marjoram) is good for flatulence, coldness in the stomach, and heavy-headedness caused by colds and phlegm.

¹⁵ *Muṭrif*, a piece of silk embroidered with designs on both ends.

¹⁶ *Raḡm kḥazz* 'striped silk cloth.'

¹⁷ *Binn* is a fermented sauce similar to *kāmakḥ*. I amend here the title of this chapter following Istanbul MS (fol. 43r) which has *binn* instead of the irrelevant *laban wa tīn* (yogurt and figs) in the edited text. Likewise, the first ingredient mentioned in the chapter is not *laban* but *binn*.

This whole chapter is found in a passage in the medieval anonymous Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id* (216). It is included in a very long chapter dealing with pickled foods (195-218). Interestingly, the Egyptian passage begins with the same misreading of *binn* as *laban*. See Introduction, Section V, n. 71.

¹⁸ Condiment of small river fish called *ṣīr* (recipe in Chapter 40).

While all kinds of *kāmakḥ* (condiments) have the properties of the ingredients from which they are made, they do acquire other properties from salt and mold (*ʿafan*) added to them.

Rabīthā is hot and dry.¹⁹ It stimulates the appetite and arouses coitus.

The humoral properties of all pickled vegetables (*mukḥallalāt*) become less dense due to the vinegar used in making them:

Caper berries (*thamarat al-kabar*). Pickled capers are less hot than capers cured in salt (*makbūs bi 'l-millḥ*). They are good for obstructions in the liver and spleen.

Onion. Pickled onion is [perfect]. Its properties have neither heating nor cooling effects. It does not induce thirst and whets the appetite.

Khiyār (small and smooth cucumber) and ***qiththā'*** (long and ridged cucumber). When pickled, these cucumbers acquire excessively cold properties. Nevertheless, they become low in density (*latīf*).

All kinds of salty *kawāmīkh* (condiments) and *mukḥallalāt* (pickles) are bad for sore throats. The salty ones are harmful to people with an itch (*ḥakka*), mange (*jarab*), ringworm (*sa'fa*), and all other similar diseases (37r) provoked by burning of the blood.

Turnip (*shaljam*). Pickled turnip is cold, and does not cause bloating. It extinguishes yellow bile.

Olives (*zaytūn*). Olives kept in brine are hot and dry.²⁰ If they are consumed before the meal, they become laxative and strengthen the top gate of the stomach. On the other hand, *zaytūn al-zayt* (oil olives) generate a lot of heat.²¹ They are less laxative and less effective in strengthening the top gate of the stomach.

Ishturghāz.²² The pickled variety has the power to heat and assist digestion. However, it generates poor quality chyme (*radī' al-ghidhā'*).²³ The salted variety has a stronger heating property

¹⁹ Condiment made with shrimp (recipe in Chapter 40).

²⁰ Such olives are called *zaytūn al-mā'* (literally, 'water olives') because they are low in fat and are good for pickling and curing only. Cf., *zaytūn al-zayt*, see next note.

²¹ This variety of olives is rich in oil. They are used for extracting olive oil.

²² A root similar to asafetida. However, it is smaller and has no resin. See Glossary, Section 9.

²³ *Kaylūs*, the thick semi fluid, partially digested food and drink in the stomach before it gets fully digested in the liver.

في طبيع الصباغيات للأسماك الطرية والمملوحات

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF VARIOUS SAUCES AND DIPS (*ṢIBĀGHĀT*) MADE FOR FRESH AND SALTED FISH

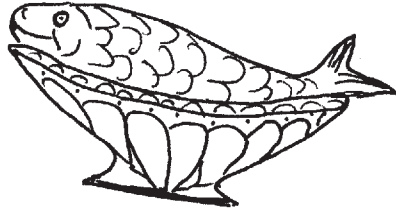
Sauces made with vinegar and caraway seeds are digestive and do not have a substantial heating effect. As for dips made with garlic and mustard but not vinegar, these generate a lot of heat. However, adding some *rakḥbīn* (dried buttermilk) to them will make them less hot.¹

Sauces made with asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*), onion, and seasoning spices (*abāzīr*) have a remarkable heating quality and assist digestion considerably.

Sauces made with *zabīb* (raisins) and pomegranate seeds have a heating power, albeit minimal. They have the power to cleanse and purge (*yajlū*), aid digestion, whet the appetite, and help purge the bowels quickly.

Sauces made with garlic, *maṣl* (yogurt whey), and walnut are hot and pungent. If eaten frequently, they generate viscid humors (*kaymūs lazij*). Adding mustard to them will cause them to generate phlegm more than any other sauces.

Sauces made with sumac and almonds and other similar sauce varieties for which I give recipes in the relevant chapter [Chapter 34], these have less dense properties and are easier to digest.



¹ *Rakḥbīn* is similar to today's *jamīd* used in making the Jordanian traditional dish *mansaf*.

فِيمَا يُؤْكَلُ فِي الصَّيْفِ وَالسَّاءِ وَيَبْرَأُ بِهِ مِنَ الْفَوَاحِشِ
قَبْلَ الْغَدَا

SEASONAL FRUITS AND FRUITS SERVED BEFORE
THE MEAL

Fresh ripe dates (*ruṭab*) are less hot than *tamr* (fully ripe, sweet and soft dates).¹ However, they are sticky and smear the stomach (*mulattikh*).

Grapes (*inab*). White grapes (*inab khālīs*) (37v) are hot because they are very sweet. Even so, they are less sweet than fresh dates. Grapes cause bloating but they also purge. They are laxative, nourish the body fast, and stimulate erection (*in'āz*). Thin-skinned white grapes go through the digestive system even faster and are less bloating. Grapes tinged with sourness do not have heating effects. They might even have cooling effects if they are washed in cold water and eaten before the meal.

Figs (*ṭīn*) are hot. Fresh figs are bloating and laxative. They generate heat. Over indulgence will bring about itch (*ḥakka*) and lice. If consumed before the meal, figs have a laxative effect.

Sycamore figs (*jummayz*) are hot, bad for the stomach, and nauseating. However, they are less dense than figs and go through the digestive system much faster.

Fresh almond (*lawz raṭb*) transforms into yellow bile quite fast and causes the appetite to decline. It is laxative and helps cure sore throats. It is also diuretic and helps cure burning sensations while urinating.

Sugarcane (*qaṣab al-sukkar*) is moderately hot and soothes sore throats. It is diuretic and eliminates burning sensations experienced while urinating. It is good for coughs.

Pomegranate (*rummān*). Sweet pomegranate does not have cooling properties. It causes bloating, induces thirst, and soothes sore throats. Sour pomegranate, on the other hand, causes rawness in the chest. It cools down the stomach and liver to a great degree. It quenches the agitated yellow bile and blood, allays fever, and stops vomiting.

¹ For details on different stages of ripeness of dates, see Glossary, Section 8, s.v. *tamr*.

Peach (*khawkh*) is cold and moist. It is heavy and slow to digest and generates bad nutrition.

Melon (*bittikh*). All kinds of melon are good for the chest and coughs. It is beneficial to kidneys and ulcers in lungs and bladder.

Smooth and small cucumber (*khayār*) is cold and moist. It is somewhat astringent and is good for excessive heat and high fevers.

Long and ridged cucumber (*qiththā'*) is, more or less, similar to *khayār* but somewhat denser when digested.

Quince (*safarjal*). Both the sweet and the sour varieties help bind the stomach. However, sour quince is more effective in this respect. It has the tendency to restrain bowel movements [if taken before the meal]. If eaten after the meal, it pushes down (38r) the excretions in the bowels and drives them out.

Mulberry (*tūt*). The sweet variety is moderately hot and smears the stomach (*yulattikh*). The sour variety is cold and laxative and is very effective in restraining yellow bile.

Apples (*tuffāh*). The sourer they are the colder their properties are and the more astringent they get. They are good for the top gate of the stomach but have the tendency to besmear it with their viscosity.

Plums (*ijjās*) are cold and laxative. They alleviate yellow bile and abate the appetite.

Apricots (*mishmish*) are laxative and bloating. They suppress yellow bile, weaken the stomach, and quench its heat. Overindulgence causes fevers a while after eating it.

Rhubarb (*rībās*) is cold and dry. It controls bowel movements (*ya'qil al-baṭn*) and quenches yellow bile and blood.

فِي تَدْرِيبِ الْمَأْكُولِ فِي أَوْقَاتِ الْفُصُولِ

REGULATING FOOD CONSUMPTION ACCORDING TO THE SEASONS OF THE YEAR

The best time to have a meal is when the digestive system is unburdened of the food previously taken. The lower part of the belly should feel light and no traces of extension remain. One should not hasten to eat the moment he feels his appetite is aroused, just in case it turns out to be a false appetite (*shahwa kādhība*). However, if it happens that he does follow his excited appetite and eats to abate it, he should drink *jullāb* (sweet rose water drink) or *sakanjabīn* (vinegar and honey drink) [after the food]. Alternatively, he can have his regular meal an hour later than the usual time to allow nature to take its course and purge the bowels.

People should eat foods with which they are familiar and in the amount they are accustomed to having regularly, unless their regular regime is a bad one to begin with. In this case, let them depart from it gradually. Besides, people should not get addicted to bad foods, and if this happens then taking some laxatives might help purge the unhealthy humors that they usually generate. In addition, while having them they need to eat certain foods or have drinks (38v) that help improve their properties and make them less harmful as we are describing now.

Foods high in density should be served before the less dense ones.¹ Several kinds of dishes are to be served among which there should be *tharīd*.² Eating the meal should not extend over a long period.³

¹ I amend the sentence here based on medieval common knowledge. It should read يقدم الطعام الغليظ قبل اللطيف (Foods high in density should be served before the less dense varieties). The bottom part of the stomach was believed to be the strongest and the warmest section where good digestion happened. See Introduction, Section IX for more details.

² It is a dish of bread sopped in broth and served with meat.

³ I amend here the statement assuming there is a missing 'not.' Medieval physicians do not encourage lengthy meals because this disturbs the digesting process and causes the foods in the stomach to go bad. See, for instance, al-Rāzī (268).

Food offered in wintertime should be hot, and cold in the summer.⁴ However, scorchingly hot food that has just been taken off the fire is to be avoided. Similarly, beware of excessively cold foods that have been chilled on ice because these should be taken only in the hottest days of summer and when the bodies are aflame with heat.

The coolest time of the day is the best for having a meal, especially if it is followed by rest and sleep. Fresh fruits should be eaten before the meal unless they are slow to digest and linger in the stomach for a long time or are astringent or sour such as quince, apple, and pomegranate. To maintain good health, the best thing to do is to avoid fresh fruits altogether or have them in moderation. In case one does overindulge, the remedy is to take laxatives and exercise.

One should avoid getting into the habit of eating to surfeit (*tukham*).⁵ In case this does happen, one is to eat less and take light foods the following day. However, should this happen for several consecutive days, one needs to take gentle laxatives that help purge the excretions from the stomach, bowels, and the liver such as *al-itrīfal al-ṣaghīr* enhanced with *iyāraj* and *turbud*,⁶ or tablets (*ḥabb*) made with spices and herbs (*afāwīh*), laxative electuary of quince (*juwārishun al-safarjal al-mushil*), or any other similar medicines.

Some people cannot digest dense foods (*aghdhiya ghalīza*) and foods low in density (*aghdhiya latīfa*) go bad in their stomachs quite fast. Let such people eat food they can digest before it turns bad. Reverse the procedure for those who have the opposite problem. (39v) People whose stomachs have the tendency to produce in excess a certain humor should eat foods with properties that counteract this humor to prevent this from happening, God willing.

⁴ The text uses the expressions *ḥār bi 'l-fīl* (hot) and *bārid bi 'l-fīl* (cold), which indicates that the temperature of the food is the issue. When the humoral properties of the food are meant, these expressions are used: *ḥār bi 'l-quwwa* (hot like black pepper) and *bārid bi 'l-quwwa* (cold like lettuce).

⁵ According to *Lisān al-'Arab* s.v. **وخم**, *tukham* is plural of *tukhama* (تُخْمَة), which the commoners pronounce as *tukhma*. Originally, the word is *wukhama*.

⁶ *Al-itrīfal al-ṣaghīr* is electuary of myrobalan. See Glossary, Section 12.2 for details on the medicinal ingredients and preparations mentioned in this chapter. *Iyāraj* are laxative medicinal paste compounds. *Turbud* is a purgative Indian root.

ما يوافي المعرّة العليلة من الأطعمة المأكولة

FOODS THAT AID AN AILING STOMACH

A person with a hot, slack, and weak stomach should begin his meal with cold and astringent foods, be they vegetables, meat, or fruits. Camel meat (*laḥm al-jazūr*), for instance, is best for him. Fish should be served with a sauce of vinegar, caraway, cumin, thyme, and salt.

A person with a hot and dry stomach and body should have moist foods that are not astringent, sour, or dry. He should be served vegetables, meat, and fruits that have laxative properties. Gourd and chard, for instance, are good for him provided they are eaten without their sauces (*ṣibāgh*). Meat cooked in stews (*maraq*) with properties we have cautioned against, such as *nīrbājāt* (stews soured with pomegranate juice) and *isfīdhbājāt* (white stews), should be avoided.

With regard to fruits, let a person with a slack and weak stomach have quince, pear, and tender *busr*.¹ A person with a dry stomach needs to start with soft fruits such as *tamr*,² banana, and figs after which he may have slightly sour foods.

¹ Ripe dates, but still firm and crunchy. See Glossary, Section 8, s.v. *tamr*.

² Fully ripe dates, very sweet and soft.

فِي الْحَرَكَةِ قَبْلَ الطَّعَامِ وَالرِّيَاضَةِ لِلْجَسَامِ

PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES (*RIYĀDA*) BEFORE THE MEAL

Everybody should perform some physical activities before having a meal, each according to his own daily routine and physical abilities such as riding or walking. However, nobody should get to the point where he feels weary and fatigued. Physical activities before the meal usually ignite the natural heat of the body and the food will be received by a stomach that is warmed up and ready for it. It also endows the body with fertility and power. On the other hand, people who feel heavy [with the meal they have just had] should avoid physical activities because if physical exercise is good for one's health before the meal, it is harmful after having it.



في دفع ضرر الغذا اذا تخوف منه اللأفوى

PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES TAKEN TO WARD OFF ANTICIPATED HARM CAUSED BY SOME FOODS

The remedy for addiction to foods that generate poor quality chyme (*aghdhiya radiyya*) is to take laxatives immediately after having them. One might also avert their harmful effects by eating foods that alleviate or correct their adverse properties before or after eating them [as follows]:

For those whose bodies generate excessive heat when they have sweet foods, let them drink *sakanjabīn* (vinegar and honey drink) or vinegar. Alternatively, they may eat sour pomegranate or any other sour foods and follow these with *faṣd* (bloodletting) and induced diarrhea [to get rid of the surplus of] yellow bile.

For those adversely affected by sour foods such as *sikbāj* (beef stews soured with vinegar), *qarīṣ* (sour cold dish of gelled fish), *maṣūṣ* (meat cooked in vinegar), and any other similar dishes, let them eat honey and drink aged wine afterwards.

Those harmed by greasy and fatty foods (*dasima dahina*),¹ let them eat foods with astringent (*ʿaḥīṣ*) and constipating (*qābiḍ*) properties, immediately after.

Those harmed by greasy foods (*dasima*), let them follow such foods with bitter and salty varieties such as lentil, acorn, (40r) *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), *kawāmīkh* (fermented condiments), onion, and garlic. As for those harmed by the opposite kind of foods, let them curb their adverse effects by having fatty foods (*duhniyya*) as well as soft foods high in moisture.

Those who have difficulty digesting dense and coarse foods (*aghdhiya ghalīza*) such as *harīsa* (porridge), *maḍīra* (white stew cooked with meat and sour milk), and other similar dishes, let them have a draft

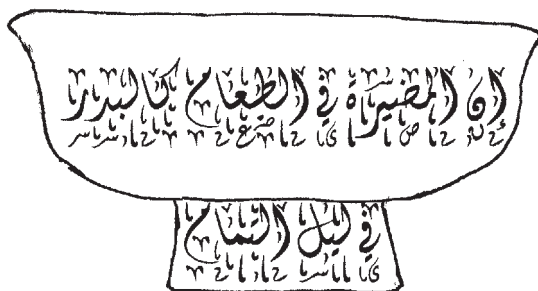
¹ *Dasam* usually designates grease of meat and its fat. *Duhn* may designate fats and oils like butter and sesame oil.

(*yajra*²) of *murri* before or after eating them.² They should also exert themselves by performing some physical activities and take *kammūnī* and *fulāfulī*.³ However, should they still suffer, they may take strong laxatives [to get rid of surplus of] phlegm.

With regard to dried fruits, if they happen to generate heat, having sour *sakanjabīn* (honey and vinegar syrup) and concentrates of sour fruits (*rubba*) will help. If they cause bloating and loss of appetite, then a draft of *mayba* (medicinal fruit drink) is to be taken followed by *kammūnī* (cumin electuary) and ginger conserve (*zanjabīl murabba*). Drinking wine is recommended after eating dense dried fruits, which are slow to get through the system.

For those who are used to drinking water chilled with ice, let them have sweating sessions regularly when they have their baths and resort to induced purging of bodily excretions (*naḥl*) using medicines mentioned in this chapter.

Here ends
the subject of
humoral properties (*ṭabāyī*).



² The verb used indicates that only a small amount is taken, like medicine.

³ *Kammūnī* is a digestive electuary (*juwārīshun*). Its principal ingredient is cumin (recipe by Ibn Sīnā, 1218). As for *fulāfulī*, it is a digestive electuary of pepper (recipe by Ibn Sīnā, 1218). In the edited text, it is written as *qāqullī* (salt plant of the sorrel family, see Glossary, Section 14.1). I follow here the Istanbul MS (fol. 47r) in amending the word. In books of medicine, *kammūnī* and *fulāfulī* are always mentioned in conjunction as a cure for bloating and rarefying dense foods, as in Ibn Sīnā, 783, and Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Al-Jāmiʿ li Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa ʿl-Aghdhiya* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 54.

في عمل البوارو من الأظفار من قبل الطعام الحار

COLD POULTRY DISHES (*BAWĀRID*) SERVED BEFORE THE HOT FOOD

***Bārīda* taken from the book of al-Ma'mūn:**¹

Mix vinegar and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and add to them coriander seeds, cassia, black pepper, fresh and dried thyme, cumin, caraway, cilantro, *na'na'* (cultivated mint), rue, parsley, pulp of small and smooth cucumber (*lubb al-khiyār*), and crushed *rāsan* (elecampane). Mix [into sauce] and pour it all over roasted pullets or any other young fowl.

(40v) Another *bārīda* from the book of al-Wāthiq:²

Take a roasted chicken. Disjoint it and arrange the pieces on a platter (*jām*). Beat together mustard made with good wine vinegar and a small amount of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and some sugar so that the sauce tastes sweet and sour (*muzz*). Add to the mixture, ground walnut and a little *anyudhān* (asafetida leaves).

Pour the sauce over the chicken to drench it. Then pour olive oil (*zayt*) all over. Finally, sprinkle the top with chopped rue and garnish it with pomegranate seeds, God willing.

Delicious *bārīda*, called *Kisrawiyya*:³

Take about 1 *raṭl* (1 pint) juice of unripe sour grapes and mix it with finely chopped pulp (*lubb*) of a small smooth cucumber (*khiyāra*) [as follows]: After you discard the peel and the solid part surrounding the pulp, chop it as fine as possible.⁴ [You need to] thinly slash the pulp first then chop it fine with a thin-bladed knife. Avoid using a board on which something else has been chopped lest it should affect the taste of the cucumber.

¹ Abbasid Caliph (d. 833), son of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Five of the recipes in this Chapter are included in a similar section in the Istanbul MS (fol. 128r–30r), said to be taken from *Kitāb al-Atbikha*. See Introduction, Section IV.5.

² Abbasid Caliph (d. 847).

³ Named after Khosrau, the Persian king (d. 579).

⁴ *Laḥm al-khiyāra*, literally, 'its meat.'

Add [to sauce] a small amount of chopped cilantro.

Now take some plump pullets that have been roasted in the *tannūr* and taken out while still succulent. While they are still hot, disjoint them and arrange the pieces on a platter (*jām*). Pour on them the (*ṣibāgh*) you have just prepared along with 2 *ūqiyyas* (4 tablespoons) sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt* ‘*adhb*).⁵ Scatter on it [whole] leaves of basil (*bādhariy*) and thyme. Garnish the dish with slices of peeled ribbed cucumber (*qiththā*) cut like *dirham* coins [i.e. small discs].

Chill the dish with ice and serve it, God willing.

Green *bārīda* dish (*khaḍrā*):

Mix about ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) fresh cilantro juice, 2 *dirhams* (1 teaspoon) rue juice, 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) purslane juice, and ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) vinegar. Add ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) water and salt as needed.

Also take ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) each, of black pepper, ginger, cassia, and long pepper; and ¼ *dirham* (¾ gram) galangal (**41r**), 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) caraway seeds, and 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) shelled pistachio. Crush all these spices with 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar) and mix them [with the juices] to make sauce (*ṣibāgh*).

Arrange hot disjointed pieces of [roasted] pullets on a platter (*jām*) and pour the sauce all over them. Set aside for a while until the chicken absorbs the flavor of the sauce.

Yellow *bārīda* dish (*ṣafrā*):

Take ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) each, of black pepper, cassia, long pepper, and ginger; ¼ *dirham* (¾ gram) galangal; 1 *dānaq* (½ gram), each, of spikenard, and cloves; 1 *dirham* (3 grams) each, of cumin, caraway seeds, chopped rue, and asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*); and 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) sugar.

Also take ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) wine vinegar, 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) *murrī*, and 5 *ūqiyyas* (2/3 cup) pure water.

Beat all these ingredients together and add to them ½ *mithqāl* (2¼ grams) saffron. Pour sauce over hot boned pullets. Pour olive oil all over them and set them aside for a while until the meat absorbs the flavor of the sauce.

⁵ Olive oil extracted from fully ripe olives. It is sweet rather than astringent in taste.

***Bārīda* dish, tried and true (*mujarraba*):**

Grill a chicken or pullet and put it on a platter (*jām*). Take almonds and skin and finely pound them. Add sugar or sweet *jullāb* (syrup flavored with rose water). Pour sauce over the chicken and sprinkle on it some chopped rue. Pour sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*) over it.

Garnish the dish with [boiled] egg yolk and pomegranate seeds, God willing.

***Bārīda* by Abū Jaʿfar al-Barmakī:⁶**

Take pullets and grill them. Then disjoint them and put them on a platter (*jām*). Sprinkle the dish with coriander, black pepper, cumin, and cassia. Pour on them juice of sour unripe grapes and chop on top fresh *naʿnaʿ* (cultivated mint), (41v) tarragon, and thyme.

Pour sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*) on top, and sprinkle some chopped fresh herbs. Garnish the dish by putting chopped *khiyār* (small and smooth cucumber) all around it, God willing.

***Bārīda* dish, Um al-Faḍl made for al-Mahdī:⁷**

Grill pullets to succulence, disjoint them, slice the breasts, and arrange the pieces on a platter (*jām*).

Thoroughly crush 20 skinned almonds. Crush with them ¼ *raṭl* (4 ounces) white sugar and the pulp of 2 *khiyārs* (small and smooth cucumbers). Pour on mixture ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) wine vinegar with 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) salt. Add to the mixture, 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) olive oil and 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) almond oil. Beat all these ingredients in a bowl (*ghuḍāra*) to mix them well.

Pour sauce all over the chicken. When [after a while] sauce is absorbed, drizzle ½ *ūqiyya* (1 tablespoon) almond oil all over it and garnish it with *khiyār*, chopped fresh thyme, *naʿnaʿ* (cultivated mint), and basil (*bādhariy*).

⁶ He is Yaḥya al-Barmakī (d. 805), mentor and vizier of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.

⁷ Al-Mahdī is the third Abbasid Caliph (d. 785), father of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Um al-Faḍl is wife of Yaḥya al-Barmakī (see note above). Their two sons are al-Faḍl and Jaʿfar. The latter was Hārūn al-Rashīd's closest friend. According to Helsinki's version, the dish was made for al-Ḥādī, al-Mahdī's brother. See Appendix.

***Bārīda* with pomegranate juice, prepared two ways (*tu‘mal lawnān*):**

Press out sour pomegranate juice and mix it with some *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) and olive oil. [Pour it all over roasted pullets] then sprinkle on them chopped fresh *na‘na‘* (cultivated mint) and small and smooth cucumber (*khīyār*).

Alternatively, you may substitute *murri* with salt, crush some sprigs of [dried] *na‘na‘* (cultivated mint) between the fingers, [add it to the juice,] and set it aside so that it absorbs its flavor. Drop in it a bruised clove of garlic (*mashdūkḥ*) and leave it in the sauce until it absorbs its flavor then take it out. [Pour it on the roasted chicken]

Pour olive oil on the dish, chop on it some *khīyār* (small and smooth cucumber) and serve it, God willing.

Dark (*daknā*) *bārīda* dish:

Dissolve a lot of salt and a lot of sugar into vinegar. Add these little by little and taste every time you put some until you get a delicious balanced sauce. Then add ground spikenard, enough to flavor and color the sauce. Pour into it some olive oil.

You have the option of arranging the [roasted] pullet pieces on the sauce.⁸ You may also add *qāqulla* (black cardamom) to the sauce.

***Bārīda* dish with *rakḥbīn* (dried buttermilk),⁹ made by her [Um al-Faḍl], too:**

Choose plump pullets, wash them, and salt them very well. In a clean bowl, mix 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) *rakḥbīn* with some water then strain it in a sieve. Add to [the resulting liquid] 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil).¹⁰ Rub the prepared pullets inside and out with the *rakḥbīn* mix. Insert them into a skewer (*saffūd*) and rotate them on the fire (*kardḥabā*). Baste the [revolving] pullets with the remaining *rakḥbīn* mix using a feather. Take the pullets off the heat while they are still moist and succulent (*ṭarī*). Disjoint them, slice the breasts, and arrange the pieces on a platter (*jām*).

⁸ As opposed to pouring the sauce all over the chicken, as described in the rest of the recipes.

⁹ It is similar to today's *jamūd* used in making the Jordanian traditional dish *mansaf*.

¹⁰ Olive oil was washed to purify it, balance its properties, and sweeten its taste by getting rid of acidity. See Glossary, Section 7.

Take 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) shelled and cleaned pistachio and crush them thoroughly with 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) fine white cane sugar (*tabar-zad*). Add 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) sour vinegar, 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) extracted juice of pulp of small and smooth cucumber (*khiyār*), and ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) fine rock salt (*andarānī*).

Pour this sauce all over the pullets. When they absorb the sauce [after a while], finely chop the pulp of 2 *khiyārs* (small and smooth cucumbers) and sprinkle it over the chicken. Pour on it 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*), sprinkle it with finely chopped fresh *na'na'* (cultivated mint) and basil (*bādhariyū*), and serve it, God willing.

A recipe for pâté de *bārīda* (*ma'jūna*):

Finely chop a cold roasted chicken. Also, finely chop elecampane (*rāsan*), fresh cilantro, parsley (*karafs*), rue, *na'na'* (cultivated mint), tarragon, fresh thyme, small and smooth cucumbers (*khiyār*), preserved ginger (*zanjabīl murabba*), [and mix them].

Crumble into the mixture some *ṭal'* and boiled egg yolk,¹¹ and knead ingredients into paste by adding wine vinegar, *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), and [ground] coriander seeds, black pepper, caraway seeds, and cassia. Shape paste like *furniyya* and decorate it with the chopped white head of fresh onion (*bayāḍ al-basaḥ*),¹² chopped black olives, and [cooked] turnip fingers (*saljam muṣabba'*).

Black *bārīda* dish:

(42v) Pound black *zabīb* (raisins) very well. Stir and mash it (*yumras*) with a small amount of vinegar. Strain the liquid and add a small amount of cassia, galangal as needed, and a little ginger. Pour over it some olive oil and add a small amount of chopped rue. Pour sauce over [roasted] pullets.

Another *bārīda* dish:

Disjoint roasted pullets and arrange pieces on a platter (*jām*).

Grind together 20 shelled almonds, 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) fine cane sugar (*tabar-zad*), ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) wine vinegar, ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) pure water,

¹¹ *Ṭal'* is clusters of the first appearing dates still enclosed in the spathe. See Glossary, Section 8.

¹² *Furniyya* is yeast cake, round, thick, and domed in the middle (recipes Chapter 100).

$\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* (1½ grams) white rock salt (*andarānī*), 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) ginger, and 1 *dānaq* ($\frac{1}{2}$ gram) ground cassia.

Pour sauce over the pullets and chop on them *na'na'* (cultivated mint), parsley, and a little rue. Next, drizzle the dish with olive oil, God willing.

Another black *bārīda* dish:

Take vinegar, and add salt to it as needed. Mix in sifted ground caraway seeds, as needed, and a little cassia and galangal.

Disjoint [the roasted] pullets, and put the pieces in the vinegar sauce. Pour a little olive oil on them, and chop for them rue and cucumber (*khīyār*).

If you desire, finely chop the [roasted] meat of the pullets and chicken with a knife and mix it with the sauce. The quantity depends on how much meat you used. After you pour the olive oil, chop on it *na'na'* (cultivated mint) and parsley.

A poem on *Bārīda* by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:

If you ever wish to eat a delicious hurried dish, here is *bārīda* in the summer for you.

Get two parts almonds and sugar and two parts vinegar and mustard, too.

Mix them in a bowl and with safflower crown them.

Thus, you get sauce enough for a lamb as dip.

Now fetch herbs and peeled *khīyār*, *qiththā'*, and *faqqūs*,¹³ and pomegranate for garnish.

(43r) Chop all the greens but chop them fine then sprinkle them to cover the dish.

The cucumbers, chopped, you add to the greens. Next, the oil pour, but sparingly.

Now get lovely plump pullets to perfection grilled.

With a knife disjoint them to goodly pieces, and on the dish align them well.

Garnish with pomegranate seeds and gemlike almonds and olives scattered.

Then eat it, may God your guide be, if you ever wish before the meal enjoy a hurried dish.

¹³ Smooth small cucumbers, long ridged cucumbers, a variety of small unripe sour melons, respectively.

***Bārīda* dish with pomegranate juice, similar to Abū-Ishāq’s *Jurjāniyya*:**¹⁴

Crumble stale fine white bread (*raghīf samīd bāyit*) then take the fine crumbs, [and set them aside].

Press out the juice of sour pomegranates by hand and put it in a green-glazed bowl (*ghadāra*), the amount should be enough to saturate the breadcrumbs. Strain the juice in a fine sieve. [To the resulting liquid,] add as much as needed of ground *andarānī* salt,¹⁵ 2 *ūqiyyas* (2 ounces) *ṭabarzad* (white cane sugar), and 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) cassia.

Pour the juice mix on the bread [crumbs] in a clean bowl. Set aside until bread absorbs the liquid and then transfer it to a wide shallow bowl (*ghadāra mabsūṭa*).

Finely chop parsley, rue, *na’na’* (cultivated mint), basil (*bādharij*), and fresh thyme. Scatter them on the sopped bread. Mix 2 *ūqiyyas* (4 tablespoons) *zayt maghṣūl* (washed olive oil) and 2 *ūqiyyas* (4 tablespoons) almond oil and pour them on the *tharīd* (sopped bread). [Set aside]

Grill to succulence Kaskarī pullets on a rotating spit (*kardhabāy*).¹⁶ Disjoint them and arrange the pieces around the prepared *tharīd* just before serving the dish, God willing.

***Bārīda* dish of gizzards and livers (*qawāniṣ wa kubūd*) served with other cold dishes:**

Gizzards and livers can be made like a baked omelet (*ʿujja mashwiyya*) using eggs and green herbs or they can be made as a simple omelet (*ʿujja sādḥaja*) with fresh herbs and onion. (43v). Alternatively, they can be fried with olive oil and *murri* (liquid fermented sauce). However, they need to be sprinkled with water, enough to make a small amount of sauce in the dish. Next, eggs are cracked on them [and left to cook until eggs are set]. They can also be cooked the same way, except that all the liquid is allowed to evaporate and cracked eggs are poured all over them. Then the mixture is scrambled until the eggs are set. Finally, enough *murri* is drizzled to moisten

¹⁴ The dish is named after Jurjān, a Persian province. Abū Ishāq is Ibrāhīm bin al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī, (792–857), an accomplished Abbasid man of letters. His cookbook was *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*. See Appendix.

¹⁵ White translucent crystals of rock salt. See Glossary, Section 3.

¹⁶ Kaskarī pullets were top quality poultry brought from Kaskar, a district between Tigris and Euphrates, north of Basra.

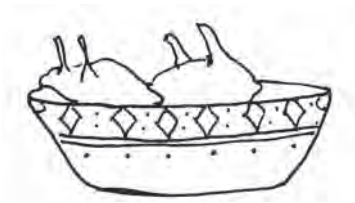
the dish. They may be cooked with vinegar and caraway only or just *murri* and olive oil.

However, whichever way you choose to cook them, you need to cut off the tendons on both sides of the gizzards and discard them.

You may chop the gizzards and livers fine, or just split the livers into two pieces and the gizzards into three pieces after getting rid of the tendons. Additionally, you can lightly boil livers of lamb or kids then slice them and braise them (*yutajjan*) in olive oil, *murri*, and a little black pepper then serve the dish, God willing.

Here is a poem by Abū-Ishāq on *bārīda*:¹⁷

To me, of the prepared cold dishes, nothing compares with chicken
delicious,
Eaten roasted with sour grape juice. The best you can ever choose.
Make this wonderful sauce for it, my friend, and may you enjoy it
salubriously:
Garner some pomegranate juice, the sweetest of sugar, and saffron.
Mustard made with sugar and walnut, and sour wine vinegar, and
almonds.
Throw into them some thyme, black pepper, white asafetida, and
rue,
Cassia, and *murri*, and let it be plenty; fresh cilantro and fresh cheese,
too.
Chop rue, lots of it, and mint; and olive oil pure generously give it,
Add elecampane and caraway, which like embroidery will garnish.
(44r) A final toss of parsley minced and basil will render it the healthi-
est food you will ever ladle.



¹⁷ al-Ṣūlī. See note 14 above.

فِي عَمَلِ الْمُطَجَّجَاتِ مِنَ الطَّيْرِ الْمُسَنَّاتِ

MAKING BRAISED DISHES OF FATTENED POULTRY (MUTAJJJANĀT)

Mutajjanāt (braised poultry dishes) are made with poultry such as chicken (*dajāj*), pullets (*farrīj*) or any young domestic fowls (*firākh*), francolin (*durrāj*), grouse (*ṭayhūj*), undomesticated doves (*shafānūn*), larks (*qanābir*), and sparrows (*aṣāfir*). The way to cook all these birds is the same. Put the birds on the fire along with water and olive oil to allow them to cook before they brown in the oil [after all liquid evaporates]. However, when using tough birds you need to increase the amount of water because frying any meat before it is fully cooked in water will toughen it and make it slower to digest.

As is the case with *tabāhijāt*,¹ of which the basic *tabāhija* is only seasoned with vinegar, *murrī*, and black pepper, and variations are made by adding other spices and herbs (*abāzīr*); *mutajjanāt* likewise are prepared in different ways by adding various spices and herbs to the basic recipe.

A [basic] recipe for *mutajjana*:

Disjoint plump pullets. Using a knife, cut open—from the inside—the chest and the back all the way down to the tail to be able to flatten the pieces. Wash them and put them in a pot. Pour about 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) olive oil, a similar amount of water, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) salt. Let the pot cook until all water evaporates.

Add to the pot, 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) vinegar. Stir it continuously until meat is browned and vinegar is cooked. Pour ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and sprinkle 1 *mithqāl* (4½ grams) black pepper. Put the pot away from heat until needed.

You need to be aware of the fact that *tabāhijāt* and *mutajjanāt* are cooked the same way.² (44v) However, the former dishes are cooked

¹ As al-Warrāq explains in the following recipe, *tabāhija* is braised meat of quadrupeds, whereas *mutajjan* is braised poultry. See Chapter 86 below for *tabāhijāt* recipes.

² Al-Warrāq here passes a general remark on the way these two braised dishes are cooked. Although he mentions that no cook worth his spoon would use cori-

with the meat of quadrupeds (*dhawāt al-arbaʿ*) and the latter ones use poultry (*luḥūm al-tayr*). Accordingly, *ṭabāḥijāt* dishes use boneless and sliced meat (*laḥm muṣḥarraḥ*) but *muṭajjanāt* use disjointed portions of poultry with the bones (*mufaṣṣala bi ʿizāmihā*). Any [spices and condiments] recommended for *muṭajjanāt* are also good with *ṭabāḥijāt*. At any rate, I have never seen any of the proficient cooks add coriander to either *muṭajjanāt* or *ṭabāḥijāt* dishes.³

***Muṭajjana* of plump pullets (*farārīj simān*):**

Put olive oil in a pot, as needed, and let it come to a good boil. Take disjointed pullets, and add them to the pot with a little ground white rock salt (*andarānī*). When both sides are browned, stir the pot with a ladle (*mighrafa*) and pour in a little wine vinegar and water, enough to make the dish taste slightly tangy.⁴ When vinegar is cooked, drizzle the pot with a little *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) add a few sprigs (*tāqāt*) of rue then stir until the rue emits its aroma. Season the pot with black pepper and cumin.

When it is ready to serve, add to the pot some breadcrumbs. Remove the rue that is already in the pot and replace it with fresh chopped rue, God willing.

***Muṭajjana* by al-Maʾmūn:⁵**

Disjoint some young fowl and fry the pieces in washed olive oil (*zayt maghsūl*).⁶ Drizzle a little *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and vinegar, and sprinkle some black pepper and coriander seeds. Drizzle with some water and sprinkle ground pistachio and sugar on it.

Ladle the dish onto a platter and garnish it with chopped rue.

***Muṭajjana* of chicken breasts (*ṣadr al-dajāj*) by Ibn al-Mahdī:⁷**

ander in either of them, the following recipes do call for fresh coriander (cilantro) and coriander seeds.

³ According to Istanbul MS (fol. 126r), the opening part of this chapter up to this point is taken from the book of al-Muʿtaḍidī who is Muʾnis al-Muzaḥḥar al-Khādim (d. 933), named after the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid whom he served. See Appendix, s.v. al-Muʿtaḍidī.

⁴ The word is *muzza*, mostly used to describe a sweet and sour taste but also a taste that has a slight bite to the tongue (*lādhiʿ*) and not so sour (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. مزز).

⁵ Abbasid Caliph (d. 833), son of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

⁶ See Glossary, Section 7.

⁷ Abbasid gourmet prince (d. 839), half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

Slice chicken breasts, chop them into small pieces, and fry them in olive oil. When they are almost done, add to the pot black pepper, fresh cilantro and drizzle it with vinegar and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). Sprinkle the dish with ground almond as well, God willing.

***Muṭajjana Wāṭhiqiyya*:**⁸

(45r) Take *Kaskarī* pullets or two young fowls and discard their bones.⁹ [Finely chop the meat],¹⁰ shape it into [a patty similar to] *jardaḡ* bread.¹¹ Put it in a pot along with 1/3 *raṭl* (5 ounces) chopped onion, and ½ *ūqiyya* (15 grams) chopped fresh cilantro. Add enough water to cover the ingredients by a double of their height. Also add 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt ‘adhb*) and salt as needed. Let the pot cook until it comes to a boil.

Now prepare good quality cleaned truffles, an equal amount to the chicken used in the recipe. Chop them into pieces larger than those of the pullets, add them to the pot, and cook until the ingredients are done.

Add coriander seeds to the pot, put as much as your fingertips put together can hold. Add 1 *dirham* (3 grams) black pepper, ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) each of ginger and galangal, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) cassia [all ground]. Stir the pot.

Break 15 eggs into a bowl and beat them with a little chopped cilantro and *na’na’* (cultivated mint). Pour egg mixture into the pot, and stir so that eggs scramble a little and mix with the meat patty (*jardaḡ*) and the truffles. Wipe clean the sides of the pot and cover it until serving time.

[Note] Pour the egg mixture after you put the cooked pot away from the heat and while it is still boiling.

Another version, called *Ibrāhīmī*:¹²

⁸ After the name of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭhiq (d. 847). Either he was the inventor of the dish or it was his favorite.

⁹ Poultry brought from Kaskar, a southern village between Tigris and Euphrates, famous for its poultry. See Appendix, s.v. Kaskar.

¹⁰ The recipe is going to indicate later that the meat should be chopped fine.

¹¹ Apparently, what is meant here is the shape of this bread, which is round and thick.

¹² Named after Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, Abbasid gourmet prince (d. 839), half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd.

It is cooked as in the previous recipe except that $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* (1 cup) vinegar mixed with 1 *dirham* (3 grams) saffron are added. Use only $\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* (1½ grams) salt. Besides, let there be in it $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) *murrī Rāzī*.¹³ The rest is the same.

***Muṭajjana* by Abū Samīn made for al-Wāthiq:**¹⁴

Disjoint two pullets and put them in a pot. Pour on them $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) (45v) olive oil, a small amount of white rock salt (*andarānī*), a handful of chickpeas, and enough water to cover all the ingredients. Let the pot boil until almost done and pour into it $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* (1 cup) wine vinegar.

Just before it is done, add a handful of [chopped] fresh cilantro, a little coriander seeds, and a bunch (*bāqa*) of *na'na'* (cultivated mint). Also add 2 *ūqiyyas* (4 tablespoons) of *maṭbūkh* wine or good quality aged *mushammas* wine.¹⁵

Another *muṭajjana*, which al-Rashīd craved and Masrūr al-Ṣaghīr's cook made:¹⁶

Choose 4 tender pullets with plump breasts and 4 fattened young fowls. Cut off the tips of wings and thighs, wash the birds, and put them in a narrow-mouthed soapstone pot (*burma ḍayyiqat al-ra's*).¹⁷ Pour into the pot 1 *ratl* (2 cups) olive oil and a little white rock salt (*andarānī*). Set the pot on the fire to cook.¹⁸

When meat is browned, [put pot away from heat].¹⁹ Sprinkle it with $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* (1 cup) wine vinegar and keep on stirring until vinegar evaporates. Carry the pot back to the fire and add black pepper and coriander seeds. Sprinkle again with 2 ladlefuls of vinegar and

¹³ Fermented sauce of al-Ray, a Persian province. See Glossary, Section, 3.

¹⁴ Abbasid Caliph (d. 847). Abū Samīn (literally, 'father of the fat one') must have been his cook.

¹⁵ *Maṭbūkh* is a variety of non-alcoholic cooked wine, permitted by Islamic dietary laws. *Mushammas* (and not *mishmish* 'apricot' as in the edited text) or *shamsī* (as in Istanbul MS, fol. 150r) is wine fermented under the sun (*shams*) and hence prohibited. See Glossary, Section 1.

¹⁶ Masrūr was Hārūn al-Rashīd's personal servant and confidant, both of them feature in many of the *Arabian Nights*' stories. However, the reference here is to Masrūr al-Ṣaghīr (junior). See Appendix, s.v. Masrūr al-Khādīm.

¹⁷ This looks like an ideal shape for braising because it allows for a minimum amount of evaporation.

¹⁸ Al-Warrāq uses the verb *naṣaba*, which usually indicates that an iron trivet *minṣab* is set on the fire to support the cooking pot.

¹⁹ To prevent oil from sputtering. Al-Warrāq will soon mention that the pot is to be put back on the fire.

1 ladleful Nabatean *murri*.²⁰ Add 1 bunch rue, 1 bunch parsley, and chopped pulp of one small and smooth cucumber (*khiyār*), which has been moistened in *maṭbūkh* (cooked wine). Stir the pot very well. The sauce of this dish is not supposed to be thick.

Abū al-Ḥusayn recited to me a poem on *muṭajjana* composed by another poet:²¹

Muṭajjanāt dishes of fabulous chicks fried, in sesame oil submerged.
Fresh rue, as fragrant as musk, does in them make its presence.
Between the sliced and the diced, like a beautiful flower it looks in a
sprouting bough,
Brought by the wasp-waisted one clad in *qurtaq*,²² like red anemone
her cheeks aglow.

Ibn al-Rūmī has a poem on making *muṭajjana*:²³

Ye, lover of scrumptious food, which before wine drinking is offered.
(46r) Get thee some pullets and let them be *Kaskarī*, and a young
turtledove,²⁴ plump and *ʿAskarī*.²⁵
After you scald them, my pal, join them with duckling meat.
Disjoint them all, joint by joint, not sparing any.
In a stone pot, you put the meat and pour olive oil as you need.
But sesame oil you better add.²⁶ It sweetens the oil and makes it
delicious.
Now fry the meat until browned, for it is only by browning that meat
is done.
Then slice some meat red and tender and on burning coals grill it
kabāb.
When chicken is crisply cooked, sprinkle it with *murri*,
Of which you give it what it needs. As for cassia, you'll be the judge.
Then ladle it into a bowl, wide and thin and round.
Adorn it with vibrant rue and a necklace of *kabāb*, too.
Let this be the first thing to eat for it truly is a fast food treat.

²⁰ Cereal-based liquid fermented sauce indigenous to the region of Iraq. See Glossary, Section 3.

²¹ Known as *Kushājīm* (d. c. 961).

²² A stylish garment with a gathered hem.

²³ The famous Abbasid poet of Baghdad (d. c. 896).

²⁴ *Shifmīn*, undomesticated dove, also called *yamāma*.

²⁵ A village in Southern Iraq, and a village in *Khūzistān*, respectively. Both are famous for their excellent poultry.

²⁶ Sometimes sesame oil (*shayraq*) is mixed with olive oil to enhance its taste, as the poem explains.

في صنعة البوارو من السمك الطري ومن المالح البحري

MAKING COLD DISHES OF FRESH FISH AND SALTED SEA FISH

A Recipe for stuffed fish (*samak maḥshū*) [from the book of al-Faṭḥ bin Khāqān]:¹

Choose whatever you like of big fish. Skin it starting with the back but do not slit the belly open. The head, fins, tail, and skin should stay in one whole piece. Now, [open up the belly] take the meat, discard the gallbladder (*marāra*) and set aside the entrails (*buṭūn*). Take additional meat from other fish until you have enough to stuff the prepared fish skin. Discard all bones.

Put the fish meat on a board and pound it very well with a knife. Sprinkle a little salt, and continue pounding until it has the consistency (46v) of the brain (*damāgh*). Crack some eggs on it and continue pounding. Add a little sugar or honey and ground spices (*afāwīḥ*) as needed such as spikenard, cloves, cassia, ginger, black pepper, cumin, and caraway seeds. Also add *mā' kāmakh* (liquid fermented sauce) and olive oil. Chop fresh rue and cilantro and add them to the fish. Add as well skinned almonds [ground?] and sesame seeds. Mix all.

Stuff the meat mixture into the fish skin with the head, fins, and tail intact. Let the stuffing be tight no matter how big the fish is. Arrange split canes lengthwise around the filled fish and tie it with the canes using threads at two or three places.

Line the bottom of the *tannūr* with flat tiles (*ājūr*), enough to accommodate the length of the fish, and press them onto the fire. Place the fish on the bricks and let it bake slowly.

When it is done, take it out and serve it along with any of the fish sauces,² God willing.

¹ Al-Warrāq does not give his source here. An identical recipe in Istanbul MS (fol. 213r) mentions the name. Al-Faṭḥ was an Abbasid vizier (d. 861).

² See Chapter 34 below for sauces and dips.

A recipe for soured fish (*halām samak*):

Choose a big fresh fish and scale it completely. Slit open the belly and discard the inside. Wash the fish thoroughly and cut it into medium pieces.

Boil fish in vinegar and salt until it is done, but avoid overcooking it. Take it out and submerge it in cold water. Take out the pieces and drain them very well then wrap them individually in a coarse linen or woolen cloth and gently press pieces between your hands or between two wooden boards to drain them as much as possible of the moisture. Arrange the fish pieces on a tray made of willow sticks (*tabaq khilāf*) and set it aside until fish is thoroughly drained.

Submerge fish pieces in wine vinegar and add to them the usual *halām* spices (47r).³ Set aside until needed. It will stay delicious in the summer for many days.

Another recipe for *bārida* (cold dish):

Take a bunch of cleaned watercress (*jirjir*), a bunch of cleaned parsley, a bunch of *kurrāth Nabafī*, and a bunch of *kurrāth Rūmī*,⁴ the most tender you can get. Boil the herbs separately. Finely chop them and pound them very well to press out their juices. Then set them aside, separately.⁵

Boil some fish, remove all bones then cut it into pieces as desired.

Set a soapstone pot (*burma*) on a trivet.⁶ Put whichever you wish of the prepared vegetable juices—watercress, parsley, or leeks—in the pot. Add in small amounts: *zayt al-anfāq* (oil extracted from unripe olives), black pepper, coriander, cumin, caraway, and *mā' kāmakh* (liquid fermented sauce). Cook the mix and add to it the cut pieces of fish. Stir the ingredients then break 4 or 5 eggs on them and stir until done. Take the pot away from the fire.

You can get four varieties of cold dishes with four different tastes following the same method [by using one kind of the prepared vegetables each time you make it].

³ See Chapter 41 below for the usual spices used to season such dishes.

⁴ Nabatean leeks have small, tender, and crisp leaves. Rūmī leeks are mountain leeks of Byzantium, sharper in taste than the field-grown variety. See Glossary, Section 9.

⁵ I amend the recipe here following the two versions given in the Istanbul MS. Though they vary slightly, they make it clear that the herb juices are used (fols. 50v, 214v–15r). The edited text is vague on this.

⁶ The verb *tanṣib* indicates that *minṣab* ‘trivet’ is used.

A recipe for fried fish (*samak maqlū*) by Ibn Dihqāna:⁷

Take as many fish as you desire, slit open their bellies, and wash them very well. Set a frying pan on a trivet,⁸ and pour excellent quality sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib fāyiq*).

Take a little flour and salt sifted together and sprinkle the prepared fish with them. Fry the fish until browned and take them out of the pan.

Now finely chop some onion, [set it aside], and wash the frying pan of any traces of oil or fish.

Mix and strain ½ *sukkurja* (¼ cup) of *binn* (fermented condiment) with 2 *sukkurjas* (1 cup) wine vinegar (47v) [set them aside].⁹

Return the frying pan to the fire and pour into it ½ *sukkurja* (¼ cup) *zayt al-anfāq* (oil extracted from unripe olives). Add the chopped onion and fry it until cooked.

Add a little black pepper and caraway seeds to the *binn* and wine vinegar mixture, pour it into the frying pan, and mix well.

When [you get to the step when] you know that the onion is cooked, arrange the fried fish on a platter, [and it is at this point that you add the *binn* and wine vinegar mixture to the onion and oil so that you mix them well] and pour it immediately over the fish. This will be its sauce.

A fish recipe in which the head is roasted, the middle is poached,¹⁰ and the tail is fried:

Scale a big fish and take out its entrails. You may stuff the fish as I have already described to you at the beginning [of the chapter]. After you clean the fish, stuff its mouth, gills, and between the jaws with as much as possible of finely chopped citron leaves, apple peel, salt, thyme, and rue.

Using a wide strip of thick cloth (*hāshiya*) soaked in oil, wrap the middle part of the fish three times, the width of two fists put together, starting at four fingers' width below the head. Make sure to wrap it three times. Otherwise, the cloth will burn and the whole fish bakes, which will defeat the main design of the recipe.

⁷ Boon companion of Abbasid Caliphs. See Appendix.

⁸ See note 6 above,

⁹ For *binn* recipes, see Chapter 40 below.

¹⁰ *Maṭbūkh* is used here to mean 'cooked in liquid' as opposed to grilling and frying.

As for the lower third of the fish, wrap it with an overlapping bandage-like strip of linen cloth (*mushāqqa*) drenched in oil. You can secure the wrappings with a thin string made by twisting thin *mushāqqa* cloth and winding it around the middle cloth and the tail cloth.

Lower the fish into a well-heated *tannūr*. When done, take it out and untie both wrappings. Thus, you will get a fish cooked in three different ways: the head is baked, its middle (**48r**) is poached, and its lower part is fried.

For each part prepare a sauce that goes with it so that nobody would suspect [that the whole fish was actually cooked as one piece], God willing.

Roasted Fish by Ibn al-Mahdī:¹¹

Choose a huge live fish and throw it into a basin filled with the juice of red grapes. The basin should be big and wide enough for the fish to dive and swim in. Let the fish drink as much as possible of the juice. Noticeable decrease in the juice level in the basin is an indication it has penetrated into its whole body. Take out the fish then clean it and roast it. Serve it with a sauce made of asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*), *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), wine vinegar, juice of parsley and *na'na'* (cultivated mint), and caraway seeds.

This dish, or any other fish dish for that matter, does not taste good and is not complete without serving it with [its appropriate] dipping sauce (*ṣibāgh*) because it is only by serving condiments with fish that makes it delicious.

A poet composed verses on a liar. He compared him to a fish dish served without *ṣibāgh*:

Abū Ishāq has got no *damāgh* (brain) and his skin is without *dibāgh* (tan).

His words are like fresh fish presented without *ṣibāgh*.

Here is Ibn al-Mahdī's poem on this fish dish:

On a hot summer day, the cook brought a dish of *shabbūt* fish,¹² a golden kid resembled.

Masterly roasted, with parsley, leeks, olive oil, and thyme stuffed.

Then its *ṣibāgh* he made of pomegranate juice, sugar, and almond,

¹¹ Abbasid gourmet prince (d. 839), half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

¹² Carp, a popular river fish in Iraq ever since ancient times.

Vinegar, *murri*, asafetida leaves, black pepper, *rikābī* olive oil,¹³ walnut, and coriander.

He brought it in like the sun, a radiant delight, redolent with *ūd*, *misk*, and *amber*.

Once its skin was stripped off it, dazed we were by essence, light, and loveliness.

I have never seen a sight more delightful, nor have I tasted more scrumptious dish.

(48v) Like the sun when we first saw it, turned to moon once the skin was peeled off it.

A fish dish made for al-Rashīd, called *qarīs* (fish aspic):¹⁴

Choose several big fish and cut off their heads. Wash them [the heads] very well and put them in a pot then add wine vinegar, a tied bunch of parsley and rue, a piece of galangal, a piece of cassia, and three whole onions. Add as well, a handful of ground coriander seeds tied in a small bundle of linen cloth. Also added in a tied bundle of cloth are a piece of ginger, spikenard, cloves, black pepper, and long pepper (*dār fulful*).

Let the pot boil until [fish heads] are cooked. Steep saffron in a little water and add it to the pot. Add enough to color it radiant red (*aḥmar bāligh*).

Take the heads out of the pot and pull out the lips (*mashāfir*) and the tongues from the roots. Remove cassia, galangal, spice bundles, bunched herb, and onions from the vinegar. Return the fish tongues and lips to the pot. Let them steep in the vinegar until the liquid gets cold and gels (*taqrus*),¹⁵ God willing.

¹³ Levantine olive oil brought to Iraq on camels' backs.

¹⁴ The name also occurs as *qarīṣ* (قريص) and *qarīsh* (قريش) as in the Egyptian dialect (Istanbul MS, fol. 30r). It is a sour and cold dish of gelled fish. This is the recipe for the famous extravagant dish made with fish tongues, which Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī prepared for his brother Hārūn al-Rashīd. It went down in history as “the fish dish that cost one thousand *dirhams*” (طبق سمك يتكلف ألف درهم) (title of the anecdote al-Masʿūdī gives in *Murūj al-Dhahab* 510). The story tells that Ibn al-Mahdī served his brother a plate of fish aspic. When the latter learnt that the small pieces of fish were in fact tongues—more than 150 fish tongues—and that it cost more than one thousand *dirhams*, he was outraged.

¹⁵ The literal meaning of the verb *qarasa* is “become very cold and almost solidify into ice,” sometimes used synonymously with *jamuda* (turn into ice). The sauce in this dish solidifies with cold as well as the gelling agent released by boiling the fish heads in the vinegar. In this respect, it is similar to aspic dishes.

Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī used to eat nothing of the fish but its tongue and the rest of it was usually given to whoever was present with him and his pages. He also used to eat tongues of all other animals. He composed this poem [on the dish]:

I have *qarṭṣ* dish of *bunnī* fish,¹⁶ which our cook perfected and brought to us chilled.

Like ruby on the platter, set in a pearl. Nay better, like wine frozen in glass.

Steeped in saffron thus, like garnet it looks, vibrantly red, shimmering on silver.

So much so the cook of vinegar added, that to your fill you cannot possibly have it.

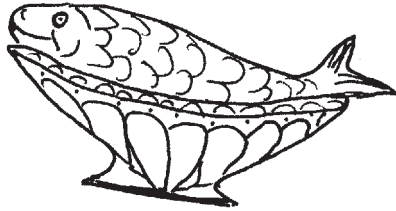
Nothing compares with it dyed with saffron. Set and thickened like *ḫabīṣ*.¹⁷

So well arrayed is the fish in this lucid sauce, you may count it bit by bit.

(49r) Were a monk in seclusion but catch a glimpse of it,
He would around it seven times go and in adoration prostrate fall for it.

Bliss is having one's fill of this dish, my friends, and pangs of famine vanquish.

It is my favorite summer fish, and nothing contents me more than seeing it all vanish.



¹⁶ A valued type of river fish of the carp family, abundant in Iraq.

¹⁷ Condensed pudding, recipes in Chapters 94, 95, 96, 97.

فِي عَمَلِ الصَّبَاغِ لِلْإِسْمَاكِ الْمَسْوِيَّاتِ

MAKING DIPS AND SAUCES (*ŞIBĀGH*) FOR ROASTED FISH

A recipe for *şibāgh* taken from Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī's copy:¹

Take mustard sauce (*khardal ma'mūl*),² and add to it caraway seeds, thyme, asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*), cassia, and rue.

Another recipe from his copy, too:

Take a handful of picked over *zabīb* (raisins) and soak them in vinegar. Crush the raisins, mix them with a small amount of garlic, and beat them with the vinegar [in which they were soaked].

Take 1 *uskurruja* (½ cup) of the raisin mixture and add to it another *uskurruja* of vinegar mixed with walnut and mustard. Add as well asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*), asafetida root (*mahrūt*), cassia, caraway, and aniseeds (*anīsūn*).

Another *şibāgh* recipe from al-Ma'mūn's copy:³

Take one part *maşl* (whey from drained yogurt), one part walnut, and one part garlic. Pound these and put them in a pot. Pour on them 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil).⁴ Light fire under the pot, and let the mixture heat and boil thoroughly. Add *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), pour it into a platter (*jām*), and serve it [after you put the roasted fish on it].

Another *şibāgh* recipe from al-Mu'tamid's copy:⁵

Take fatty fish, boil it, and rinse it in cold water. Put in a *ṭābaq* (large flat pan), a little vinegar, *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), ground coriander seeds, and finely chopped onion. Cook the mixture until done then take it out and while still hot, add a little olive oil and

¹ The Abbasid gourmet prince (d. 839), half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 809).

² See Chapter 38 below for recipes.

³ Abbasid Caliph (d. 833), son of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd.

⁴ See Glossary, Section 7.

⁵ Abbasid Caliph, died poisoned in 892. See Appendix.

caraway seeds. [Pour sauce on the fish while it is still hot]. Set it aside until it cools down and [the fish] picks up the flavor of the sauce, God willing.

A *ṣibāgh* recipe by al-Wāthiq:⁶

(49v) Take mustard sauce (*khardal ma'mūl*).⁷ Mix it with strained raisins that have been picked over and macerated in vinegar. Add a pounded clove of garlic, asafetida root (*maḥrūt*), thyme, galangal, cumin, coriander seeds, and a bit of aniseeds (*anīsūn*). Mix sauce well and pour it on [cooked] salted dried fish (*samak mamlūḥ*). Chop on it some fresh rue and parsley and set it aside until it absorbs the flavor of the sauce, God willing.

A recipe for *ṣibāgh* to use when traveling and at home (*al-safar wa 'l-ḥaḍar*):

Pound together two parts pomegranate seeds and one part *zabīb* (raisins). Add to them black pepper, and cumin. Knead the mixture well and shape it into discs (*aqraṣ*) [and store them]. Whenever needed, dissolve the pomegranate discs in vinegar and have the sauce [with fish].

***Ṣibāgh* for fresh fish:**

Take wine vinegar, parsley, rue, *na'na'* (cultivated mint), thyme, black pepper, cumin, caraway, cassia, a lump of sugar,⁸ and coarse salt (*milḥ jarāsh*). [Mix them]

***Ṣibāgh* Aṣbahānī style:**⁹

Crush coarse salt with cheese peeled of its rind. Mix them with ground walnut and crumble on them [dried] asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*) and thyme.¹⁰ Add salt and mix well. Pour into it some vinegar and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce).

⁶ Abbasid Caliph (d. 847). He was known for his love for food and huge appetite.

⁷ See Chapter 38 below for recipes.

⁸ Instead of sugar, Istanbul MS (fol. 52v) mentions 3 *sukkurja* (1½ cups) of olive oil.

⁹ Aṣbahān is a Persian city.

¹⁰ The verb *faraka* (rub) is used here, which clearly indicates that the herbs are dried and rubbed between the fingers.

Here is a poem al-Mu'tamid composed on *ṣibāgh*.¹¹

The concept of *ṣibāgh* is so subtle that none other than the smart can fathom.

Walnut and garlic with yogurt whey [*maṣl*] are the most you may need for it.

Or make it with vinegar, *maḥrūt*, and coriander. But with *anjudhān* it will be even better.¹²

If not, then mustard and garlic mixed with *anjudhān* and onion, equal parts, will make your relish.

Or with just vinegar and onion eat your fish and it will still be a tasty dish.



¹¹ See n.5 above.

¹² *Maḥrūt* is asafetida root and *anjudhān*, leaves of asafetida.

فِي عَمَلِ الصَّبَاغَاتِ لِلْفَرَارِجِ وَالْكَرَوْنَجَاتِ

(50r) MAKING DIPS AND SAUCES (*ŞIBĀGH*) FOR
PULLETS AND *KARDANĀJ* (POULTRY GRILLED ON
A ROTATING SPIT)¹

***Şibāgh* by Ibn Māsawayh:**²

Take 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) black pepper, 2 *ūqiyyas* (2 ounces) coriander seeds, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) each of cassia, cloves, ginger, spikenard, caraway, and Persian thyme (*ša'tar Fārisī*).³ Also take 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) *qardamāna* (wild caraway). Pound all these *abāzīr* and sift them.

Take mustard, ground walnut, and a little salt. Stir them into raisin juice (*mā' zabīb*) and pomegranate seeds.⁴ Add this mixture to the [prepared] spices and herbs (*abāzīr*).

Add to this sauce, disjointed pullets grilled on a rotating spit (*farārīj kardanāj*), roasted young fowls, or roasted meat, and serve it, God willing.

Another *şibāgh*, similar to the above:

Take 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) cassia; 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) each of coriander seeds and caraway; 1 *dirham* (3 grams) each of black pepper, ginger, cloves, spikenard, and asafetida leaves (*anjūdḥān*); and ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) *qardamāna* (wild caraway).

Grind them all and stir them into a mixture of juice of fresh rue, cilantro, and *fūdḥanaj* (wild mint), which you may substitute with *na'na'* (cultivated mint). Add as well the [juice of] a whole head of garlic and a head of onion, which have been crushed with wine vinegar and salt then drained.

Add to this sauce, a small amount of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). Put in it pullets which you have roasted (*mashwiyya*), braised (*muṭajj-*

¹ For recipes on preparing chicken this way, see Chapter 90 below.

² A famous Nestorian physician (d. 857), who served Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors.

³ A variety of thyme with dark-green leaves. See Glossary, Section 9.

⁴ Raisin juice is extracted by soaking them in water first then mashing and straining them.

jana), or grilled on a rotating spit (*kardanāj*). Serve the dish, God willing.

Delicious *ṣibāgh* for poultry grilled on a rotating spit (*kardanāj*), and roasted (*shawī*) [in the *tannūr*]:

Boil fresh radishes then rinse them in cold water. Take some mustard froth (*raghwat khardal*) and put it on a platter.⁵ Add some sugar and asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*) to the mustard. Mix well.

Arrange the boiled radishes on the sauce and drizzle them with sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt ‘adhb*). Serve the radish platter with roasted chicken or pullets.

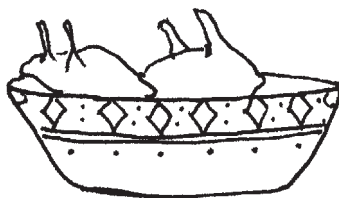
Another *ṣibāgh* by Ibn al-Mahdī:⁶

(50v) Choose an excellent quality chicken, scald it [to remove feathers, gut it], and wash it.

Now take 10 pomegranates, half sweet and half sour.⁷ Extract their juice and put it in a container. Stir in 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) aged *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce).

Give the chicken a rub with olive oil then with pleasant-tasting salt (*milḥ ‘adhb*) and thyme. Grill it on a rotating spit over coals (*kardanāj*). Add to the pomegranate juice and *murrī* mix whatever dissolves of the chicken fat [while rotating] and continue doing this until the chicken is fully grilled.

Shell and pound 20 walnuts, stir them into the pomegranate mix, and eat the sauce [with the chicken]. It is delicious, scrumptious, wonderful, and quite popular (*ladhīdha*, *ṭayyiba*, *‘ajība*, *musta‘mala*).



⁵ For recipes on how to get this froth, see below, Chapter 38.

⁶ Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣīd.

⁷ This recipe is repeated twice in Istanbul MS and in both cases the recipe requires 3 sour pomegranates and 7 sweet ones (fols. 53r, 218v).

فِي صِنْعَةِ الْمَبَاعِرِ الْمُحْتَوَاتِ وَاللِّقَانِ وَالسَّنْبُوسِجَاتِ

MAKING LARGE INTESTINE SAUSAGES (*MABĀ'IR MAḤSHUWWĀT*), SMALL INTESTINE SAUSAGES (*LAQĀNIQ*), AND STUFFED PASTRIES (*SANBŪSAJĀT*)

A recipe for stuffed *maṣīr al-dawwāra*:¹

Finely chop red meat [lean] and chop as much *alya* (sheep's tail fat). Finely chop fresh herbs, onion, and rue. [Add them to the meat] then pound the meat mixture with a knife until it has the consistency of ointment (*marham*). Add cassia, black pepper, caraway, *mā' kāmakh* (liquid fermented sauce), a little vinegar, and olive oil. Knead the mixture very well and stuff it into a large intestine with the fat adhering to it (*muṣrān ghalīẓ shahim*). Also stuff with it some small intestines (*maṣārīn*). Cook them with whatever dishes you prefer, God willing.

A recipe for *laqāniq* (sausages of small intestines) by al-Mu'tamid:²

Take as needed meat from the upper thigh, the rump, the shoulders, and *kishtamāzika* (tenderloin). Pound them all very well.

Pound together a small amount of onion, cilantro, and rue. Pound coriander seeds, cumin, black pepper, cassia, and ginger that has a pronounced taste. Add these to the meat and pound them together, sprinkling *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) as much as needed. (51r)

¹ This chapter gives recipes for stuffed large and small intestines. *Maṣīr al-dawwāra* refers to the coiled small intestine of sheep (pl. *aṣīra*, *muṣrān*, and *maṣārīn*). Sausages of small intestines are called *maqāniq*, and sometimes *naqāniq* or *laqāniq*. Large intestines are called *mabā'ir* (sing. *mib'ar*).

² Abbasid Caliph, died poisoned in 892.

Take the meat paste out of the [stone] mortar,³ and put it in a container. For each *ratl* (pound) of meat use 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil).⁴ Knead well together.

Now take a length of small intestines (*muṣrān*), clean it, slick it off, and wash it in water. Do this meticulously and thoroughly until the intestine becomes very thin and free of slime.

Fit the sausage feeder (*miḥashsha*) into the opening of the intestine,⁵ then feed the meat mixture into the intestine until you use up all the meat. Tie the sausages [with cotton threads], put them aside, and use them as needed.

To serve, fry as much as needed in a frying pan and offer them with mustard. You may use them to garnish other dishes.

Another *laqāniq* recipe:

Take meat from a hot thigh [i.e. freshly slaughtered]. Remove the sinews (*aʿṣāb*), blood vessels (*ʿurūq*), and bones. Chop meat into fine pieces and pound it with two mallets (*miḍrāb*).⁶ Wash the stone mortar (*ḥajar*) with salt and water and wipe it dry. Put the meat in it along with some coarse salt and pound it into paste. Add 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) hard sugar-candy (*Sulaymānī*), 1 *sukkurja* (small bowl) honey, ground black pepper, finely chopped fresh cilantro and rue, a small amount of *māʾ kāmakh* (liquid of fermented sauce), cassia, spikenard, and ground cloves. Put more of black pepper than the rest of the spices. Continue pounding then finely chop *alya* (sheep's tail fat), add it to the meat mixture, and pound them together very well until all ingredients become one whole mass.

Stuff the meat mixture into small intestines (*muṣrān*). Boil the sausages then fry them in a pan using sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*). Cut the fried sausages into fingers, arrange them on a platter (*jām*), sprinkle them with [chopped] rue, and serve them with mustard, God willing.

³ I here replace *ثم تنشفه من المرق* “drain it of its liquid” in the edited text with *ثم تنزعه من الدق* following Istanbul MS (fol. 53v) because it is more relevant to context.

⁴ See Glossary, Section 7.

⁵ The recipe does not say that the whole intestine should be fed into the sausage feeder first, perhaps too obvious to mention.

⁶ These were especially used for pounding sausage meat on a wooden board. In Istanbul MS (fol. 55r) there is mention of *maḍārib al-laqāniq*.

***Laqāniq* recipe:**

Take meat from the thigh and remove the sinews, blood vessels, and bones. Chop the meat, pound it very well and then put it in a stone mortar along with salt and finely chopped onion, cilantro, and rue. Continue pounding. Add the spices I mentioned in the previous recipe to the meat mixture. Also add *mā' kāmakh* (liquid of fermented sauce), (51v) 5 egg whites, and 1 *uskurruja* (½ cup) *zayt al-anfāq* (oil extracted from unripe olives). Mix all the ingredients very well until they become one mass.

Stuff small intestines (*muṣrān*) with the meat mixture and boil and fry them [as mentioned above]. However, do not sprinkle chopped rue on them. Serve them with mustard, God willing.

Another [*laqāniq*] recipe:

Finely chop 10 bunches (*bāqāt*)⁷ of *kurrāth al-baql* (tender-leaf leeks), fresh herbs (*abzār ruṭb*), and rue. Add pounded cheese, ground nuts, pounded spiced meat, salt, shredded chicken breast, 1 *uskurruja* (½ cup) sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*), black pepper, spikenard, cloves, cassia, galangal, coriander, cumin, and ginger. Mix the ingredients by hand and stuff the mixture into *maṣīr al-dawwara* (one long piece of small intestines). Tie both ends with a thread, and boil it in hot water until cooked.⁸

Pour *zayt al-anfāq* (oil extracted from unripe olives) into a frying pan and add fresh and dried thyme, and peels of citron, apple, and quince. Also add a piece of cassia and a whole piece of galangal. Put the boiled sausage in the frying pan until it is browned. Take it out of the oil, cut it into pieces, and serve it with mustard, God willing.

Another *laqāniq* recipe:

Prepare the meat and pound it as I mentioned [in the above recipes] for which *muṣrān* (small intestines) or *mib'ar* (large intestines) are used for stuffing. Boil *alya* (sheep's tail fat) then chop it and add it to the prepared meat.⁹ Combine [meat and fat] with the spices and stuff large or small intestines with it.

⁷ In Istanbul MS (fol. 54v) it is *ṭāqāt* (sprigs), which is a more realistic amount.

⁸ Judging from today's practices, the long stuffed intestine is coiled in the pot when boiled.

⁹ I amend here the recipe with the help of Istanbul MS (fol. 54v). Replacing *kamā 'amalta* (as you did) with *'alā mā 'amalta* (add it to what you made) gives the instructions more coherence.

Pour *zayt al-anfāq* (oil extracted from unripe olives) on the sausages, lower them into the *tannūr*, and let them roast [slowly] for about an hour. Take them out and fry them in sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*). They will taste marvelously delicious and will stay good for up to a month.

A recipe for *ṭardīn* (thin meat patties):

Take lean meat (*lahm aḥmar*) and meat from the shoulders. Thoroughly pound them in a stone mortar. Chop onion (52r) and pound it with the meat. Moisten the mixture with egg whites as much as needed. Throw into the mixture, ground coriander seeds, cumin, black pepper, cassia, ginger, galangal, and aniseeds. Pour in a small amount of *murrī* (fermented sauce) and a little olive oil.¹⁰

Take the meat paste out of the mortar, and spread it on a sheet of papyrus (*qirtās*) or paper (*waraq*). Boil water [in a pot] and put the sheet in it until the meat is done.

Take the sheet out of water and cut meat into triangles (*shawābīr*). Pour *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil) into a frying pan and fry the pieces until browned. Arrange them on a platter (*jām*), put a small bowl (*uskurruja*) of mustard in the middle, and serve the dish, God willing.

Making *sanbūsaḥ*:

[For the filling,] take meat from the shoulders, the inner thigh, rump, and sheep's tail fat. Remove the blood vessels and finely pound the meat on a wooden board, using a knife. Add the white part of fresh onion (*bayād 'aṣal*), leek leaves (*kurrāth al-baql*), cilantro, rue, and a little *na'na'* (cultivated mint). Pound all the ingredients together quite well.

Pour as much as needed of Nabatean *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce).¹¹ Add coriander seeds, black pepper, cassia, cloves, as much as you like of aromatic spices (*afāwīh al-ʿitr*), and ginger. Mix the meat with the spices, add some olive oil, and cook it until it is done.¹² Prepared this way, the meat [filling] is called *isfidhbāj* (white and plain).

¹⁰ The oil is mentioned in Istanbul MS (fol. 191r).

¹¹ For details on this sauce, see Glossary, Section 3.

¹² In other recipes in Istanbul MS, there are more details on how to cook the filling: the meat mixture is browned in oil first then water is added. Cooking is resumed until meat is done and all moisture evaporates (fols. 57v–58r).

If you like it to be sour, add to the meat mixture as much as you like of pulverized *maşl* (dried yogurt whey).¹³ You may use *rakḥbīn* (dried buttermilk),¹⁴ sumac juice, or any other sour ingredients, as you wish God willing.

When the meat mixture is ready, use it to stuff *ruqāq* (thin sheets of bread) then roll the pieces into triangles, squares, or rectangles.¹⁵

If wished, you may add dried fruits or nuts to the meat stuffing such as walnut, almond, coconut, pistachio, hazelnut, pine nut, or any other fruits. You can also decorate them with eggs the way some people do in banquets (*wālāyim*) and public feasts (*simāṭāt*).

Alternatively, you may shape them *Bābakī* style.¹⁶ (52v) Take fermented dough and roll it out very thin. Cut out rounds using a concave wooden mold, similar to a *huqq* (small bowl). Stuff these rounds with the meat mixture, and seal them by pressing all around the edges with the fingernail.¹⁷

Fry the filled pastries in *zayt magḥsūl* (washed olive oil) or sesame oil (*shayraj*).¹⁸ Take them out when they brown (*iḥmarra*) and eat them with whatever you prefer of sauces made with vinegar or mustard.

This is the way to make all kinds of *sanbūsaj* excluding the sweet varieties.¹⁹

A poem by Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī on making *sanbūsaj*:²⁰

¹³ I amend the edited text here by replacing *başal* (onion) with *maşl*, based on the Istanbul MS (fol. 57r). At any rate, context dictates that it should be *maşl*, a sour agent. The same misreading of this ingredient occurs in Chapter 70.

¹⁴ It is similar to today's *jamīd* used in making the Jordanian traditional dish *mansaf*.

¹⁵ According to the Istanbul MS (fol. 58r), the pieces are sealed with starch dissolved in some water.

¹⁶ The pastries are named after the Persian king Ardashīr Bābak (son of Sasān). He was famous for his crown, shaped like the sun with its radiating rays. See al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, 354; Appendix, s.v. Ardashīr Bābak. The pastry shaped into a stuffed circle with the fingernail impressions all around the edge resembles Bābak's crown. In the Istanbul MS, it is called *al-ḥararī* (الحرري) 'the round one' (fol. 58v).

¹⁷ The verb is *uzfur* (أظفر) press with the fingernail *zufīr*, often erroneously written with *ḍ* instead of *z*.

¹⁸ We learn that *sanbūsaj* is to be deep-fried from references to it in other places in the book, as in Chapter 84 (p. 348), where frying slices of meat and truffles in a wok-like pan is compared to frying these pastries.

¹⁹ See Glossary, Section 6 for more details on *sanbūsaj*.

²⁰ The renowned Abbasid singer of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 851). This poem can be found in al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj* (694).

You who asked me about the most delicious dish,
 You have asked, indeed, the person to answer your wish.
 Take red fresh meat and all impurities discard. Add tail fat as well,
 but not much.
 Sliced onion toss into the mix and fresh coriander, lots of it, vibrantly
 green.
 Then rue liberally add and cassia, too. Of coriander a handful will
 do.
 Next, cloves, but sparingly so, and ginger as needed, and spikenard,
 too.
 A handful of cumin follows and *murrī*, which a handful of chiseled salt
 may replace.²¹
 Then pound them all, and pound them well, and light for them fire
 as well.
 Put the meat in the pot and after you pour some water, cover it with
 the lid.
 When all liquid is gone, annihilated with heat of fire,
 Roll the meat, if wished, in thin sheets of bread whose ends you need
 to well seal.
 Or a piece of dough, you may take, well kneaded but still soft,
 Into thin discs spread it with a rolling pin and with fingernail press
 the sides.²²
 Into a frying pan pour some good oil and fry them as best as you
 can.
 Then in a delicate platter put them, where a bowl of pungent mustard
 in the center sits.
 (53r) And eat them with mustard, am sure with joy,
 For indeed they are the most delicious of all fast food dishes.

Here is what another poet said of *sanbūsaj*:

Sanbūsaj stuffed with chicken young and tender, with ground meat
 doubled.
 Triangular in shape and evenly so, fried to perfection in sesame oil.
 Given what they need of spices and *murrī*, made both plain and soured
 with whey.
 As red as roses, as fragrant as musk, aloe to the bite.
 An antelope cooked them for they glow as if ensanguined with his
 rosy cheeks.

²¹ In Helsinki MS (مما قد بري) ‘chiseled’ is written as (تدمري) ‘from Palmyra’ The reference here is to an excellent variety of salt called *milḥ ṭabarzad*. See Glossary, Section 3.

²² The words اظفرن and تضفيرا (twisting, plaiting) should be اظفرن and تضفيرا, from أظفر (press with the fingernail). The poem misses to mention that the pastry should be stuffed before sealing it.

A recipe for making bone marrow (*muḥ*):

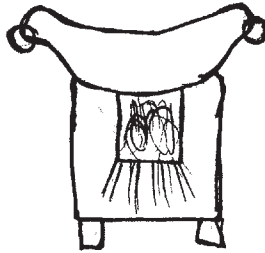
Take equal amounts of fresh fat of sheep's tail and spleen (*ṭiḥāl*). Pound them in a stone mortar very well and stuff them into a lead tube, which you then put in boiling water or whatever [boiling] liquid you like. When done, empty the tube stuffing into a bowl and serve it sprinkled with salt and sugar.

A recipe for making mock bone marrow

(*muḥ muzawwar*):²³

Take 40 walnuts. They may be fresh and tender or newly dried. Crack them open, and shell and skin them to reveal the white nuts. Pound them very well and knead them with 1 egg white. You may add the egg yolk.

Put the mixture in a glass (*qadah zujāj*) and put it in a pot that already has water in it. Light fire under the pot and let it boil. The mixture inside the glass will thicken and set. It will be bone marrow that is wonderful, scrumptious, and delicious (*ʿajīb, laḍīḍh, ṭayyib*). Serve it and eat it, God willing.



²³ For more mock or simulated dishes (*muzawwarāt*), see Chapters 46 and 105.

فِي صِنْعَةِ الْمَمْقُورِ مِنَ السَّمَكِ وَالطَّيْرِ

MAKING SOUSED FISH AND POULTRY (*MAMQŪR*)

(53v) Choose large fish and cut them into medium pieces. Wash them thoroughly in cold water because hot water spoils the meat. Press the fish pieces to get rid of excess water, and place them on a willow tray (*tabaq khilāf*) or a cage-like basket (*qafas*),¹ or suspend them until they are completely dry.

Rub the pieces very well with sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*) and put them in a container. Strain good quality wine vinegar [and set it aside]. Finely chop suitable amounts of parsley, cilantro, and rue, as well as bruised coriander seeds, and pieces of galangal and cassia. Tuck these seasonings between the layers of fish pieces and pour the [prepared] vinegar all over them. Put them in a large, wide-mouthed, glass jar (*barniyya zujā*) or a large green-glazed bowl (*ghadāra*), God willing.

Some people may add sesame and nigella seeds and others may add *mahrūt* (asafetida root), but I did not find these mentioned in this copy.²

A recipe for soured poultry:

Scald good quality chickens and clean and wash them thoroughly. Next, disjoint them and boil them lightly in water to which you have added salt, olive oil, a piece of galangal, and a piece of cassia.

Choose whatever you like of the chicken pieces and press them and dry them very well. Layer them in a *barniyya* (wide-mouthed jar) and sprinkle each layer with the herbs [and spices] mentioned in the soured fish above. Make sure to use salt.

Pour vinegar all over the chicken and set it aside [for future use].

You may add seeds of sesame and nigella, and *mahrūt* (asafetida root); but this is optional.

¹ It is made from stems of date palm leaves.

² Al-Warrāq does not mention whose copy he is referring to here. However, it is likely that it is Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm's, whose poem on such dishes will follow.

When you need to serve the chicken, take the pieces out of the vinegar, fry them in sweet olive oil (*ẓayt ṭayyib*), and eat them, God willing. Do likewise with the soured fish.

Iṣḥāq bin Ibrāhīm [al-Mawṣilī] described such dishes in his poetry:³

You who asked me how to make *mamqūr*, you chanced on an expert,
dear fellow.

(54r) Take, you seeker of delicious food, the largest you find of *bunnī*
fish.⁴

Scrape the scales off the skin and cut it into pieces, two small spans
each.⁵

Then soak them in cold pure water overnight, and one day more.

After you dry them well, layer them in a big jar (*dann*),

And tuck between them cilantro and parsley, fresh and tender.

Then hi thee to tart squill vinegar and let with it your fish be
drenched.

Now spread on it coriander which has been in a mortar coarsely
crushed,

And parsley, green and fragrant, add some too; with a handful of
tender rue.

A handful of asafetida delicious; nigella and sesame, a handful each
will not be amiss.

Then cover the jar with a cloth, dear fellow, so that from the cats you
keep it safe.

So whenever to eat it your appetite quickens, hi thee to fresh oil but
not much,

And in the pan heat it. Then put whatever you wish of *mamqūr* fish.

Fry it with oil and add wine, fresh thyme, and rue.

When almost cooked, with the very vinegar in which it soured make
sauce for it.

Eat it with bread pure and hot. But spare me the argument and do
have wine with it.

³ The renowned Abbasid singer of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 851).

⁴ Esteemed river fish in Iraq.

⁵ *Fitr* is the space between the tips of stretched thumb and index fingers.

فِي عَمَلِ الْخُرْجُولِ اللَّطِيفِ وَالْحَارِ الْحَرِيفِ

MAKING MUSTARD [SAUCE], BOTH MILD AND HOT AND PUNGENT¹

A recipe for making mustard:

Pick over and sift through mustard seeds to get rid of dust, twigs, rotten seeds, and other impurities that might be in it. Pound the seeds thoroughly. If this proves to be difficult, add to the seeds (54v) a piece of cotton. This will make pounding them much easier. Once you finish pounding, add to the seeds an equal amount of walnuts, and continue pounding. Then pour as much as you like of vinegar and strain the mixture in a fine sieve.² You will get fine mustard that is whiter than sea foam itself (*zabad*). Take the foam only, and add to it a little salt and serve it, God willing.

Make *šināb* sauce (صناب) with the remaining mix [by adding] pounded *zabīb* (raisins) and vinegar, or sugar and vinegar. It will be fabulous, indeed.

Alternatively, you can pound the mustard seeds, put them in a small tub (*ijjāna*), and pour enough water to make [thin] dough. With the tub facing the wind, whip the mustard batter continuously by hand until it turns white. Next, knead together [pounded] walnut, salt, and pleasant-tasting vinegar (*khall tayyib*). Add this mixture to the whipped mustard. [Continue whipping then] skim any foam that comes up to the surface and transfer it to another container. [This will be your mustard sauce]

Make *šināb* sauce with the remaining mustard mix using *zabīb* (raisins), sugar, and other ingredients [as above].

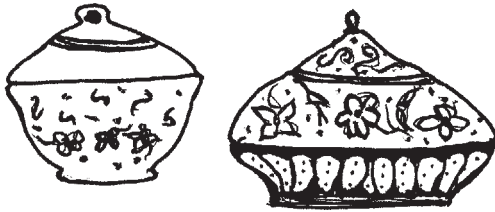
[A third way for making it,] if you wish, is by kneading the pounded mustard [with some water] and forming it into a disc (*qurs*), which you stick into a bowl (*tayfūr*). Sprinkle ashes on it and rinse

¹ The whole chapter—title and content—is almost identical with a chapter in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kānz al-Fawā'id* (173). See Introduction, Section V, n. 71.

² *Munkhul shā'r* ‘sieve made of hair.’ See Glossary, Section 10.1.

it in water several times until it is clean. In the process, some dirty-looking bitter water will come out. Repeat with the other side of the mustard disc. Then add the walnut mixture [mentioned above] and beat them hard by hand. Skim whatever comes up of froth. The amount of foam depends on how long you beat and how much walnut you use.

Make *šināb* with the remaining mustard mix using *zabīb* (raisins), sugar, pomegranate juice, or whatever you choose, God willing.



في عمل اللبن والسواريز والاحباب

MAKING YOGURT, DRAINED YOGURT (*SHĪRĀZ*), AND CHEESE

Making *laban māst* (thick and sour yogurt made with rennet):

Put milk in an earthenware jar (*jarra*) and set it aside from morning till mid-day, or until you notice that it has started to sour. (55r) Stir rennet (*infahā*) into the milk after you pound it.¹ For each 10 *raṭls* (10 pints) of milk, use 1 *dirham* (3 grams) of rennet.

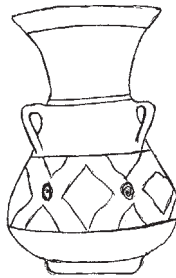
Beat the mixture by hand and set it aside undisturbed until the following day. It will set (*yajmud*) and become *māst* (thick sour yogurt).

Making *shīrāz* (drained yogurt):

Put some *māst* yogurt [recipe above] in an earthenware jar (*jarra*). Add salt to it. For every 10 *raṭls* (10 pints) of *māst* yogurt, use 3 *ūqiyyas* (3 ounces) salt. Stir the yogurt, transfer it to a white leather container (*ziqq*), and place it on a wooden board to allow liquid to drain, leaving behind just the [thickened] yogurt in the *ziq*. While draining, keep washing the *ziqq* [from the outside to keep the pores open]. This is how to make *shīrāz*.

Making *khilāt* (yogurt infused with herbs):

Put *laban rāyib* in an earthen jar.² Discard any whey that comes up until it thickens.



¹ Yellow substance, which contains rennin taken from stomach of suckling lamb or kid, used to curdle milk.

² Yogurt made without rennet and churned out of its butter.

You may put whatever you like of herbs after you chop them and wilt them under the sun. Stuff the wilted herbs in a white leather container (*ziqq*) then add the yogurt. For each 10 *raṭls* (10 pounds) of herbs, use three times as much of yogurt (i.e. 30 pints), and 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) salt.

For those who want to have their *khilāṭ* with its own butter, let them substitute the *rāyib* with *laban ḥalīb bāyit*.³

The way to make *ḥalīb bāyit* is to put milk in an earthenware container from the evening to the following morning until it curdles and thickens and the whey is filtered [through the pores] then use it, God willing.

Making cheese (*jubn*):

Take fresh milk that has just been drawn, and while it is still warm, mix with it *infāḥa* (rennet). The proper way to use it is to take the rennet as it is with the skin [no need to pound it] and stir it into the milk while it is still warm. When the milk curdles (*jamuda*), put it in molds made of willow wood (*khilāf*) then press it, sprinkle it with salt, and stow it away.

If you need to eat it right away, do not salt it. In this case it is called *sādhaj* (plain cheese).⁴

Making *qarīsha* (ricotta cheese):

Take the drained whey resulting from pressing the cheese, put it in a pot, and let it cook on a gentle fire. Sprinkle milk on it. (55v) For each *raṭl* (1 pint) of whey, add 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) of milk. Put the pot away from the fire, skim the top [curds], and discard the remaining liquid. You will get delicious *qarīsha*.

Making *jājaq*:⁵

Take a clean leather container (*ziqq*) and scent it. Pour yogurt into it and add salt. The outside of the *ziqq* needs to be salted, too.

³ Literally, 'milk kept overnight.' It is full cream yogurt made without rennet. See Glossary, Section 4.

⁴ In Helsinki and Istanbul MSS, it is called *al-sān'* (quick cheese).

⁵ To my knowledge, this is the earliest recipe for this side dish. It is the ancestor of the modern *jajik* and all the other variants on the name, popular in Greece and the Middle-Eastern countries. The plural is *jawājiq*, as given in al-Maḡdisī (d. c. 990) *Aḥsan al-Taḡāsim* 52. There are three *jājaq* recipes in the medieval anonymous Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id* (190–92).

Stir into the yogurt, chopped onion, whole skinned cloves of garlic, finely chopped parsley, *na'na'* (cultivated mint) tarragon, rue, *khiyār* (small, smooth cucumbers), and *qiththā'* (ribbed, long cucumber), peeled lettuce stems, and—when in season—some artichoke (*harshaf*). Use also fresh and tender [green] almonds.

The best [vegetables and herbs] added to it are a suitable amount of *na'na'* (cultivated mint), rue, parsley, onion, and garlic. Besides, you need to keep [the leather container] clean all the time [to allow liquids to drain]. When it is ready to eat,⁶ serve it with olive oil.

Here is a poem by Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥasan.⁷ He describes a selection of bowls of yogurt (*sakārij albān*) once given to him as a present:

Bowls of buttermilk (*makhḥūd al-laban*) has he arranged for us on a tray.
 One is sour, and the other with yogurt (*rāyib*) shines.⁸
 Five other bowls were put together of yogurt infused with herbs and
 tender leaves:⁹
 One with rue vibrantly green, one with tarragon fresh picked long
 before noon,
 One with thyme snipped just in time, one with fragrant basil freshly
 gathered,
 And one with fresh mustard leaves, wonderfully sharp for those who
 relish.
 Another bowl he filled with butter, which it did adorn,
 Like the full moon when at dusk it shines.
 Drained yogurt (*shūrāz*) tempered with milk in a bowl, harmoniously
 blended,
 Drizzled with olive oil, easily mistaken for a net of gold.
 (56r) *Liba'* on a platter put,¹⁰ like a crescent turned to full moon.
 Porous, as if bees have made their home in it.
 God will surely bless him with joy and lasting ease, as he is most worthy
 of these.

⁶ Judging from *Kanz al-Fawā'id*, after the ingredients are put together, *jājaq* is set aside to allow flavors to blend and yogurt to drain and thicken. See note above.

⁷ Known as Kuṣḥājīm (d. 961). See Appendix.

⁸ It is made without rennet after extracting butter from its milk.

⁹ This yogurt preparation is called *khilāt*. See recipe above.

¹⁰ *Liba'* is milk of an animal that has just delivered. It is put in skins and buried in hot sand, which results in a kind of cheese. See Glossary, Section 4.

فِي جَمْعِ الْكُوَامِيكِ وَالْمُخَلَّلَاتِ وَالزَّيْتُونِ وَالصَّحْنَاءِ

MAKING FERMENTED CONDIMENTS (*KAWĀMĪKH*),
PICKLES (*MUKHALLĀT*), OLIVES (*ẒAYĀTĪN*), AND
SMALL FISH RELISHES (*ṢAḤNĀYĀT*)

The first preparations we need to describe in this chapter are the primary and essential components in making *kawāmīkh* and *binn* (fermented condiment). They are rotted bread (*khubz muʿaffan*); *qamn*, which is *būdaj* (rotted dough); and *faṭīr* (unleavened bread). Thus, the chapter will be complete as a full reference, God willing.

Making *būdaj*, which is *qamn*:

Take as much as needed of wheat flour or wheat and barley flour in equal amounts. Knead the flour into very dry and stiff dough [by adding a little water]. Do not use yeast, but add a lot of salt to prevent the dough from breeding worms.

Shape dough into small thick discs, which you wrap with fig leaves or cover with their own [sifted] bran. Bury them in ash or hey for 40 days and take them out. The good ones should be rotted and reddish in hue. Let them dry out completely and use as needed.

How to rot bread (*taʿfīn al-khubz*):

Use unleavened bread (*khubz faṭīr*) for making *binn* and leavened bread (*khubz khamīr*) for making *kāmakh*.

If bread is thick, split it open with your fingers and wipe the surface with water while it is still fresh. Stack the breads in layers in an *ijjāna* (large tub) or *jarra* (jar), which you then turn upside down, cover, and set aside for 40 days. When bread completely rots, take it out.

If you want to use the mold, take hot unleavened bread and break it into pieces. Place a piece between each two of the layered bread mentioned earlier. The bread will mold and rot so well that it will look like sprouting grass. (56v)

After you take the rotted bread out, dry it, and discard the pieces that look like cobwebs. Dry the rest for a few days, and grind it and use it, God willing.

Making *faṭīr* (unleavened bread):

Make dough with wheat flour, using neither yeast nor salt. Flatten it into discs immediately and bake it in the *tannūr*. If you prefer, add some oil to the dough.

Dry the breads, grind them, and use them [as needed].

A fast method for making *binn al-sakārīj*:¹

Take one part [out of a total of ten parts] of ground *būdaj* [recipe above] that has been sifted in a fine sieve (*munkhul ṣafīq*), and nine parts of sifted rotted bread (*khubz ‘afīn*) [recipe above]. Put them in a container, mix them well, and add water enough to cover.

Add nigella and fennel seeds (*rāzyānaq*). Half of the amounts should be added ground and the other half added whole. Pour 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) olive oil and set the mixture aside overnight.

In the following morning, stir the mixture by hand very well until it looks like ointment (*marham*). Add pleasant-tasting salt (*milḥ ‘adhib*), the amount of which depends on how salty you want it to be. In any case, the maximum amount of salt you can add should not exceed one tenth of the total amount of the mixture.

Cover the container and set it aside in a shaded place. After a week, you can eat it with some olive oil. It will be truly delicious.

If you like to keep it longer, add fresh bread, spices, olive oil, salt, and water. It will keep for as long as you wish, unchanged, God willing.

A recipe for red *kāmakh* from which other varieties can be made:

Take 1 part of ground and sifted *būdaj* [recipe above] and 4 parts ground and sifted pith of unleavened bread (*lubāb al-khubz al-fatīr*) [recipe above]. Mix these well and add a handful of salt. Add fresh milk (*laban ḥalīb*) and knead mixture.

Put the dough in a container and set it aside exposed to the hot summer sun. Keep on feeding it with milk whenever it gets dry and stir it twice a day until it looks red. Divide it into portions and make different kinds of *kawāmīkh* with it, God willing.

¹ As the recipes will show, *binn*, like *kāmakh*, is a fermented condiment made with rotted bread. However, unlike *kāmakh*, no milk is used in making it. *Sakārīj* are small bowls used for serving dips and sauces at the table.

(57r) *Kāmakḥ* of cloves:

Grind and sift 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) cloves and add it to 1 Levantine *raṭl* (8 pounds) red *kāmakḥ* [recipe above]. Put the mixture in a container and set it aside in a sunny place.

***Kāmakḥ* of cassia:**

Make it exactly the same way [as above] using the same measurements [using cassia].

***Kāmakḥ* of caraway seeds:**

Take 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) caraway seeds and grind them coarsely (*daqqaṇ jarīshan*). Add them to 1 Levantine *raṭl* (8 pounds) of this *kāmakḥ* [i.e. the red *kāmakḥ* given above].

***Kāmakḥ* of rose:**

Take as much as you wish of roses, dry them, discard their bottoms,¹ and mix them with the *kāmakḥ*.

Making white *kāmakḥ*:

Take milk (*laban*) and make it into *kāmakḥ* the way you like, but do not add any fresh greens or herbs.² When it matures and develops a tongue-biting sour taste, put it in a new white jar,³ and for each 10 *raṭls* (10 pints/20 cups) of it, add 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) *ḥuwṣwārā* (fine bran-free flour). Beat mixture with a stick and put the jar in a cool shaded place. For the following 50 days, daily add ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) or less of milk (*ḥalīb*). Meanwhile, keep washing the jar from the outside [to keep pores open] until it develops the desired thickness.

Transfer the *kāmakḥ* into a green glazed jar and add chopped rue, peel of fresh green citron, and nigella seeds if wished. You may leave it plain.

¹ *Asāfilihi*, also called *aqmāʿ*. They are the bowl-shaped hypanthiums, called rose hips when fully grown.

² Al-Warrāq does not describe how to make this milk condiment. Luckily there is a recipe in al-Baghdādī's thirteenth-century cookbook, where it is called *kāmakḥ riḡāl* (According to Steingass, *riḡāl* and *riḡhār*, among other things, refer to anything made from sheep's milk). In al-Baghdādī's recipe a mixture of yogurt, milk, and salt are put in a large gourd from which pulp has been scooped. The gourd is left under the hot sun for about 5 months, during which period the mixture is stirred twice a day and replenished with milk as needed to keep it from getting dry (Arberry 207).

³ The containers are unglazed to allow the milk mixture to drain.

***Kāmakḥ* with fragrant spices (*afāwī*):**

Take spikenard, ginger, and cumin, $\frac{1}{2}$ *ūqiyya* (15 grams) each. Also take 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) cassia, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) black pepper, and 4 *mithqāls* (18 grams) cloves. Grind them all and sift them.

Discard the seeds from *zabīb* (raisins) and pound them until they resemble bone marrow (*mukḥ*) in consistency. Mix all the ingredients, and knead them well with fresh milk, add enough to bind them. Sweeten it with honey and a little *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce).⁴

Making *kāmakḥ* of capers (*kabar*):

Take as much as you like of newly dried capers.⁵ Put them in a green glazed jar (57v) and pour on them enough water to submerge them. Put the jar in a sunny place for a day and a half.

Drain the water, submerge the capers in fresh water again, and add to them enough pleasant-tasting salt (*milḥ* ‘*adḥb*). Stir with the hand twice or thrice daily for 6 days.

On the seventh day strain the capers and transfer the drained liquid to green-glazed tubs. Place them in a sunny place and cover them well. Transfer the liquid from one tub to another daily and discard the sediments [that have settled in the bottom of the tub]. Do this until the liquid is clear of all sediments and develops an intensely blackish hue. Transfer the liquid into a container [and use it], God willing.⁶

***Kāmakḥ* with thyme (*ṣa‘tar*):**

Choose tender thyme sprigs, and pick the tender leaves at the tips of their stems. Add to them as much as they can take of red or white *kāmakḥ*.

***Kāmakḥ al-rayḥān* (sweet-smelling herbs):⁷**

Pick the tender tips of the herb stems and add to them as much as they can take of *kāmakḥ*.

⁴ Also called *mā’ kāmakḥ* because it is the juice of *kāmakḥ*, the fermented sauce.

⁵ At this place al-Warrāq calls it, *qabbār*, a variant on *kabar*.

⁶ The recipe clearly indicates that the resulting blackish liquid is the condiment itself. As for the capers themselves, from other sources we learn that they were usually eaten as appetizers (*udm*) with bread.

⁷ Such as mint and basil. In the modern Arab world, *rayḥān* is basil.

***Kāmakḥ* of ajowan (*nānjawāḥ*):⁸**

Pound and sift 2 *ūqīyyas* (2 ounces) ajowan and add to them as much as they can take of red *kāmakḥ*.

***Kāmakḥ* of aniseeds (*anīsūn*):**

Do the same [as above].

Know that whatever you wish to add to the red *kāmakḥ* of any kinds of vegetables, aromatic herbs (*rayāḥīn*), spices, and aromatics, follow the same method described above. If what you are adding needs to be ground, then grind it. If you are adding greens and herbs, then just use the [tender] tips of the stems and add enough of the red or white *kāmakḥ* to submerge them. Follow the same method when making *kāmakḥ* with clarified butter (*samn*), *kāmakḥ* with cheese (*jubn*), *kāmakḥ* with onion (*baṣal*), *kāmakḥ* with garlic (*thūm*), and any other similar kinds. You need to understand this [to prepare these condiments the right way].

Enhancing elecampane (*tatyīb rāsan*) from the book of Ibn Māsawayh:⁹

Put elecampane roots in a new earthenware *kūz* (cup-like container with handles) and wrap it with sackcloth (*khīṣh*). Sprinkle the container with water whenever it gets dry for several days. The roots will swell and enlarge, and become lighter in color. They will also lose some of their burning heat. When eaten, they will easily disintegrate in the stomach and get digested much faster. (58r)

Making chutney (*maqra*):¹⁰

Take one part turnip, one part quince and Levantine apple combined, and half a part of citron. Finely chop them, put them in a container, and sprinkle them with a handful of salt.

⁸ The name also occurs as *nānkhawāḥ*.

⁹ The famous Nestorian physician who served Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors. See Appendix.

¹⁰ *Maqra* derives from *maqara* (مقر) to make sour, usually by steeping food in vinegar. However, the chutney in the recipe is soured by adding a very sour piece of dough, usually used as fresh yeast for making bread.

Take some sour yeast of wheat dough and dissolve it in water. Add it to the chopped vegetables. Stir the mixture twice a day.¹¹ You need to add a handful of whole fennel seeds (*rāzyānāy*).

Olives (*zaytūn*) prepared by Ibn al-Mahdī:¹²

Take black and green olives, but the black variety is better. Put them in a *barniyya* (large wide-mouthed jar) and add to them salt and thyme. Submerge them in sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*) and set the container aside until needed, God willing.

Ibn al-Mu‘tazz described a tray of *kawāmīkh* bowls:¹³

Enjoy a wicker basket that comes with rows of platters laden.
 Assorted bowls of all kinds, red, and yellow, finely disposed:
Kāmakh of tarragon with its blooms, and red *kāmakh* and capers, too.
 The noon sun bestowed them a hue, radiant with light from the sun
 they borrowed.
 Such a soothing aroma, they smell as though musk was in them
 crushed.
Kāmakh of marjoram is across from cloves, the best one can get.
Kāmakh of cassia is there, which neither in taste nor color does rival
 have,
 As if it exhales a musky breeze with pungent taste and fabulous aro-
 ma.
Kāmakh of thyme, fresh and tender, redolent with musk and bay.
 Look at *kāmakh* of garlic and you see perfume enjoining you to eat.
 The olives, as dark as night, put next to *mamqūr*,¹⁴ are shining with
 light.
 (58v) Look at the onions and marvel, as if of silver made with fire
 filled.
 Perfectly round turnips, subtly taste of vinegar, a gift of the generous
 rains.
 The white turnips and the red look like silver *dirhams* overlapping with
dīnārs.
 From every corner, a star glows like the resplendent light of dawn.
 Like a garden flower juxtaposed with full moon, sun, darkness, and
 radiant lights.

¹¹ We may assume that the turnip mix is to be kept for a while until it matures and sours.

¹² The Abbasid prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839).

¹³ The unfortunate Abbasid prince, who ruled for one day, and was killed in 908. This poem can be found in al-Mas‘ūdī (693).

¹⁴ Meat soured in vinegar.

Making *rabīthā* (relish of crushed shrimp):¹⁵

Take a big jar (*qulla*) of the small fish (*samak*) kept in brine. They look like *dharr* (small ants), as big as locusts, and are called *rabīthā*. Empty these onto a sieve made of rush stems (*ghirbāl asal*) underneath which you put a green-glazed tub (*ijjāna khadhrāa*) to receive the drained liquid.

When the shrimps are fully drained, let them dry in a shaded place, and throw away any twigs, salt grains, and other similar things. Put the shrimps in a stone mortar, and grind them into a fine mush. Add to them, 10 peeled Levantine apples, and 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) dried Nabatean thyme,¹⁶ and continue grinding.

Add to the mix as much as it needs of olive oil and knead it. Pour into it 1 *ratl* (2 cups) honey wine (*nabīdh asal*) and stir them well.

Divide the mixture among three big wide-mouthed bowls (*barānī*). Add into one of them, 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) ground [dried] *anjudhān* (asafetida leaves); into the second, add 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) ground caraway seeds and ½ *ūqiyya* (15 grams) ground fennel seeds (*rāzyānaq*). Leave the third one plain (*sādhaja*).

By doing this you will end up having three kinds [of the relish].

You can do the same thing with *ṣihnā* (salted small fish). Just add to it *ḥabbat al-khadrā* (green terebinth berries), thyme, cumin, fennel seeds, Levantine apples, and quince. Then knead the mixture with olive oil and put it aside until needed, God willing.

Making *ṣihnāt* (salted and dried small fish):

Pick over small fish (**59r**) and wash them only once. Add what equals ¼ of the fish's weight of salt. Put them aside in an airy, warm, and shaded place away from direct sunlight. Add to them dried thyme and [dried] *anjudhān sarkhasī*,¹⁷ a handful of each. Store them away, God willing.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Rabīthā* is shrimp as al-Warrāq explains in the recipe, a fact confirmed in *Kitāb al-Aghdhiya* by ninth-century physician al-Isrā'īl (4:160).

¹⁶ Iraqi thyme, a cultivated variety with rounded leaves, grown mostly in Babylon. See Glossary, Section 9, s.v. *ṣa'tar*.

¹⁷ Leaves of the edible asafetida plant, which has white roots and resin. The leaves were usually sold dried at the spice shops in medieval Babylon (Ibn al-Bayāār 367).

¹⁸ This salted fish is usually crushed and mixed with other ingredients to make a condiment, as the previous recipe clearly shows.

A Recipe for making *ṣiḥnāt al-jarād* (locusts pickled in brine):

Use locusts that have just been caught. Discard the dead ones and put the live ones in brine.¹⁹ When they all suffocate and die, [strain them, but keep the drained liquid in which they suffocated].

Grind as much as needed of coriander seeds, fennel seeds, and [dried] leaves of asafetifa (*anjudhān*).

In a big, wide jar, put a layer of the drained locusts, sprinkle them with the prepared spice mix, and give them a generous sprinkle of salt. Repeat the layers.

Allow the sediments of the drained brine in which the locusts suffocated to settle down. Slowly pour enough of the clean brine all over [the layered locusts to submerge them]. Completely seal the jar with mud. No air should be allowed to get into the jar, as this will cause the pickled locusts to go bad.

Now be patient and wait for them until they mature and become delicious and eat them.

Here is what Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥusayn said about locusts:²⁰

When the fleeting locusts swarmed in, and their troops our abodes
their camps made,
Ferociously greedy as they are you should be. Longevity is the last thing
you wish for such despots with shearing and snipping mouths.
Their middles so thin, with thighs like lutes.
Their tails like daggers, the pupils as big as eyes.
These ruthless shielded attackers with spoils of war were rich, but the
counter fighters with fury ignited:
The hovering ones, exterminated, perished; the flying ones, caught
and fallen.
Thus, the tables have turned, and the transgressors have only them-
selves to blame.

A recipe for Levantine *kishk*:

(59r) After you boil wheat and dry it, crush it coarsely and winnow it to get rid of all bran and finely ground grains (*duqāq*).

Knead the sifted grains with enough hot water, and a small amount of yeast. Put the dough in a tub (*ijjāna*) and leave it exposed

¹⁹ Locusts are acceptable food by Muslims (*ḥalāl*) only if they are still alive when caught.

²⁰ Also known as *Kushājim* (d. c. 961). See Appendix.

to the sun. Uncover it during the day and cover it during the night. Do this for six-days or more until it becomes intensely sour.

Finely chop as many kinds of herbs as you like. However, you should avoid endive (*hindibā'*) and watercress (*jirjir*) because they are not good [with *kishk*]. Use a lot of tender-leaf leeks (*kurrāth al-baql*), cilantro, and rue. If you prefer to use finely chopped small round onions, do so by all means. You can also add eggplant (*bādhinjān*), gourd (*qar'*), and cabbage (*kurunb*). All these will make it quite delicious.

Now add *khawkh al-dubb* (خوخ الدب) which is small and sour plum.²¹ Sour grape juice will be good, too.

Knead together all the ingredients very well and leave the dough in a sunny place for five days. Then divide it into portions, which you shape into discs and set aside to dry out. When completely dry, thread them into necklace-like links, and hang them [for storage].

If you like, you can substitute water [used in kneading the grains] with defatted sour yogurt (*laban ḥāmiḍ rāyib*). In this case, of all the herbs mentioned above, use only *na'na'* (cultivated mint) and parsley.

Another recipe for *kishk*:

Take one *kayl* of wheat,²² husk it, par-boil it, dry it, coarsely grind it, and mix it with [ground] chickpeas. Add yeast [and a little salt],²³ then knead mixture into dough [with enough water]. Keep it in a sunny place for 15 days and whenever it gets dry replenish moisture by adding to it extremely sour yogurt from which butter was extracted.

You need to add a little salt to it when you knead it.

[After 15 days] finely chop *na'na'* (cultivated mint), Persian parsley (*karafs Fārisī*),²⁴ purslane (*baqla ḥamqā'*), rue, cilantro, and *qirṭ* which

²¹ In the thirteenth-century *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣā ilā 'l-Ḥabīb* by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, it is identified as cherries (*qarāṣiyā*), both fresh and dried (2: 545). It must have been the sour variety of cherries. See Glossary, Section 8.

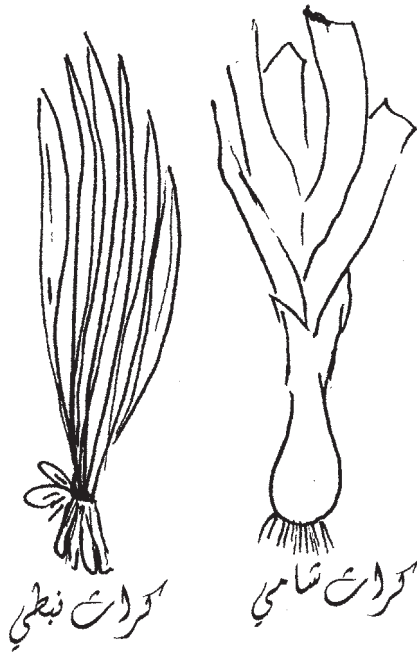
²² A measuring unit for dry ingredients, especially grains. The word designates the measure and the container.

²³ Al-Warrāq is going to mention this later in the recipe.

²⁴ It is also known as *baqdūnis*, a variety of parsley more fragrant and pungent than the regular cultivated parsley. See Glossary, Section 9.

is *kurrāth al-baql*.²⁵ (60r) Mix the herbs with the wheat dough and shape it into discs. Leave them out in the sun to dry.

If you like to add garlic, then go ahead and do so. In addition, you also have the option of substituting yogurt with sour grape juice, God willing.



²⁵ *Kurrāth al-baql* is the cultivated variety of leeks, grown mainly for its leaves. *Qirṭ* is the wild variety of this type. See Section 9, s.v. *kurrāth*.

في الأكل المعقول من لحم الضأن والعجول

MUTTON AND VEAL PRESERVED IN VINEGAR (*AHLĀM*)¹

A recipe for *ahlām* of veal:

Slaughter a calf, cut off its head and discard it along with the extremities (*aṭrāf*).² Disjoint the animal and discard the entrails. Cut the meat into smaller pieces with the skin on, and arrange them in a pot so as the sides with skin on are put face to face. Submerge the meat in vinegar [and cook it until done].³

Take the meat out of the pot and wipe clean the skins with the hand, using cold water. Wrap the meat in pieces of linen cloth (*khām*) and weigh them down with a stone overnight.⁴

In the following morning, put the pieces in large, big-mouthed jars (*barānī*). Pour on them wine vinegar and add chopped root of asafetida (*mahrūt*), rue, and parsley. Add as well nigella seeds, coriander seeds and two fistfuls (*ḥafḥa*) of sesame seeds, citron leaves, citron peel, peel of Lebanese apples, and quince.

Stash the jars away. Whenever needed, take some pieces out and present them on a platter (*jām*), God willing.

Another *ahlām*:

Slaughter a calf, disjoint it with the skin on, and wash it very well with water. Boil vinegar and cook the disjointed meat in it until done. Transfer the pieces to cold water and take them piece by

¹ Sometimes the dish is mentioned as *halām*. Its name may have been derived from *halīm* ‘anything that sticks to something else’ (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. هلم). In this dish, the skin of the cooked animal is not removed and in the process of cooking, it sticks to the meat.

² This includes shanks and trotters.

³ Judging from the following recipe.

⁴ In Istanbul MS (fol. 73r) the piece of cloth is called *kirbāsa* ‘linen’ or ‘cotton’ (Steingass).

piece and strip skins clean of hair. Set pieces aside on a plate until they become even in color.⁵

Now take good quality vinegar and pour it into a big wide bowl (*jafna*). Add galangal (*khūlanjān*), root of asafetida (*maḥrūt*), cassia, thyme, parsley, quince, citron, nigella seeds, (60v) and salt. Add the meat to this mixture and let it macerate overnight.

[In the following morning,] put the meat with the vinegar mixture in large, big-mouthed jars (*barānī*) or big, green-glazed earthenware jars (*ghaḍār*).

When you wish to eat it, take some out of the bowl and serve it on a platter (*jām*) garnished with saffron and nigella seeds.

A recipe for *hallām* of Kid:

Scald a kid and scrape the skin thoroughly until it is clean of any dirt [and hair]. Split it open from the breastbone (*qaṣṣ*) to the hips (*wirkayn*) to flatten it. Next, slit open the thigh from the inside down to the joints.

Pour 10 *raṭls* (20 cups) wine vinegar that has been whitened with flour.⁶ Add water to the vinegar and let it be more than the amount of vinegar used. Put the prepared kid in the liquid, and let it cook until done.

Take the meat out and wash it in cold water and *andarānī* salt.⁷ Spread it on a wide low table (*khūwān*), putting clean pieces of thick cotton cloth on top and underneath it. Put a heavy weight on it to press it flat. You should remove all the bones before pressing it like this.

You need to prepare the appropriate sauce (*ṣibāgh*) for it [while it is cooking and being pressed] using whitened vinegar that has been prepared the night before.⁸ [To this whitened vinegar add] thyme, asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*), parsley, and rue. Put the pressed meat in this sauce and add asafetida root (*maḥrūt*) and citron leaves.

To serve the meat, you need to prepare small bowls, one filled with cheese, one with olives, another with a dipping sauce (*ṣibāgh*)

⁵ I slightly amend the edited text following Istanbul MS (fol. 73r), which has the word written as (يصفو ل) *yasfū l*, the initial *lām* occurring at the end of the line, which I interpret as the first letter of (لونه) ‘its color.’

⁶ See Chapter 21 above for directions to bleach vinegar.

⁷ Good quality rock salt with white translucent crystals.

⁸ According to the recipe in chapter 21, the whitened vinegar should be set aside overnight to give it time to bleach.

prepared with sour juice of grapes and one with [sauce] made with pomegranate seeds mixed with mustard, ginger, black pepper, and salt. In addition to these, a bowl of *maḥshī* (condiment of dressed eggplant),⁹ and another one filled with clean and picked-over thyme.

Spread a big tray with a variety of endive leaves (*hindibā'*), parsley, and *buqūl* *Khurāsāniyya* of all kinds.¹⁰ Put the prepared meat in the middle.

Also prepare ten kinds of *bazmāward* (rolled sandwiches) filled with conserves (*murabbā*) of walnut, citron, quince, (61r) apple, and gourd (*qar'*).¹¹ Slice them, and arrange the pieces around the meat.

When served, this dish will look like an orchard (*bustān*). Let there be with it *sharāyih mubazzara*,¹² God willing.



⁹ See Chapter 45 below for recipes.

¹⁰ Vegetables from the Persian region of *Khurāsān* such as varieties of sorrel, leeks, and parsley. See Glossary, Section 14.1, s.v. *kurunb Khurāsānī*, and Section 9, s.v. *Kurrāth Fārisī*, *karafs Fārisī*.

¹¹ See Chapter 23 above for sandwich recipes and Chapter 125 for conserves.

¹² Thin slices of tender meat, rubbed with ground spices, and fried or roasted. See Glossary, Section 6.

فِي حَمْلِ الْبَوَارِدِ مِنَ اللَّحْمِ وَالْمُحْمَرِّ وَالضَّافِ

MAKING COLD DISHES (*BAWĀRID*) WITH GAME MEAT AND MUTTON

***Bārīda* (cold dish) of roasted rabbit by Yahya bin Khālīd:¹**

Chop roasted rabbit meat as fine as sesame seeds and put it in a *ghaḍāra* (green-glazed bowl).

Take vinegar and *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) and mix them using the required amounts to produce a balanced taste. Add 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) asafetida root (*maḥrūt*), 1 *dānaq* (½ gram) asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*) 1 *dirham* (3 grams) caraway seeds, 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) chopped rue, and 2 *ūqiyyas* (2 ounces) different spices (*abzār*). Also add 4 *dirhams* (12 grams) *zayt maḡsūl* (washed olive oil),² and 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) white sugar.

Put two whole onions in the sauce but discard them before serving the dish, God willing.

Rabbit meat is the lightest of game meat (*laḥm al-waḥsh*). It has the capacity to rejuvenate semen (*taqwīyat al-māʾ*).³ The most delicious part of the rabbit is its lower tenderloin (*kishṭamāzija*). It is at its best when cooked as *nārbāj* (sour pomegranate stew), *maḡshū*,⁴ and *sharāʾih mubazzara*.⁵

¹ Nicknamed al-Barmakī (the Barmacide), mentor and vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 805).

² See Glossary, Section 7.

³ Semen is sometimes referred to as *māʾ* (water).

⁴ Cooked and dressed in sauce, as in the given recipe. Medieval texts are consistent in using the term *maḡshū* to designate such dishes (derived from v. حشأ). See, for instance, Chapter 45 below, which gives recipes on eggplant dressed dishes. For ‘stuffed’ the term *maḡshū* is used as in *samak maḡshū* (stuffed fish) in Chapter 33 above, and *jedī maḡshū* (stuffed kid), as in Chapter 88 below (derived from v. حشني). See Glossary, Section 10.2.

⁵ Meat sliced thinly, rubbed with ground spices, and fried or roasted. See Glossary, Section 6.

Another *bārīda* dish made with game meat and kid's meat:

Take 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) of raisin juice obtained by soaking raisins in pomegranate juice then pounding and straining the mix. Add a small amount of garlic that has been crushed with 1 *dirham* (3 grams) rue. [Set this aside as a sauce served with the cold dish]

Choose slices of shoulder meat (*mutūn*), tenderloins (*kishtamāzay*), and similar cuts of the best of game meat. Put the meat in a pot and pour on it about 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) water, ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) olive oil, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) salt. Set the pot on a trivet (*yunṣab*) on the burning coals and cook the meat (61v) the way you do with *tabāhijāt* (braised red meat).⁶ When meat is done, add about ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), 1 *dirham* (3 grams) black pepper, and a similar amount of cassia.

Take the pot away from the fire, and while it is still bubbling, add mustard prepared with *zabīb* (raisins), pomegranate seeds, and rue.

Arrange the meat in a *ghaḍāra* (green glazed earthenware bowl), [and pour on it the sauce prepared above]. You may serve the dish hot or cold, God willing.

A recipe for a dish made for Yaḥya bin *Khālīd*:⁷

Thinly slice chunks of red lean meat and sprinkle them with salt. Put a clean frying pan on the fire without adding any fat to it and let it heat until it becomes red. Spread the meat slices on the pan and flip them frequently until they are cooked.

This is the way to prepare *kabāb khālīṣ* (griddled meat, pure and simple).⁸

A recipe for beef *bārīda*:

Take beef from the thigh but do not use any tallow. Cook the meat in water. When it is done, take it out and put it in lukewarm water (*mā' fātir*) [and set it aside].

Take 20 shelled walnuts and finely pound them in a mortar and pestle (*hāwan*). While pounding the walnuts, sprinkle them with a small amount of vinegar and add two sprigs of rue and a little salt.

⁶ For details on cooking *tabāhijāt*, see Chapter 86, below.

⁷ See n.1, above.

⁸ Helsinki MS calls it *kabāb khālīdī*, a feasible name because it was made for *Khālīd al-Barmakī*, as the recipe title indicates.

Let the mixture be rather thick in consistency (*khāthir*) like mustard sauce.

Press dry the cooked beef, and put it in a clean platter (*jām*). Sprinkle it with *mā' kāmakh* (*murri*, liquid of fermented sauce), pour over it the ground walnut mixture, and drizzle it with *zayt anfāq* (oil pressed from unripe olives). Take boiled eggs, cut them into quarters, and garnish the meat with them. Sprinkle the dish with a little rue, deck it with herbs, and serve it.

Another beef *bārīda*:

Take beef chunks from the shoulders and cook them in water and salt. When the meat is done, slice it into big pieces, [and set it aside].

Put 50 whole onions (62r) in a soapstone pot (*burma*) and sprinkle them with a little vinegar and *mā' kāmakh* (*murri*, liquid of fermented sauce). Light the *tannūr* and put the pot in it to roast the onions. Then chop some rue on them and serve them [with the prepared meat].

Another *bārīda* of gazelle meat (*lahm ghazāl*) by al-Wāthiq:⁹

Cut meat [of gazelle] into large chunks taken from shoulders and thighs. Using a knife, make slits in the meat chunks and stuff each slit with skinned almonds and pistachio and if desired, a small amount of garlic.

Cook the meat in wine vinegar, salt, parsley, rue, citron leaves, cassia, galangal, coriander seeds, and black pepper. [When done] take the meat out of the liquid (*maraq*) and let it cool down.

Sprinkle some chopped parsley, rue, and *na'na'* (cultivated mint) on the meat and serve it, God willing.

A stuffed dish (*maḥshū*) by Ibn al-Mahdī:¹⁰

Clean [a long piece of] large intestines (*mib'ar*).

Break 10 eggs into a big bowl (*ghadāra*), add to them onions cut into wedges (*yuqatta' shabābir*), cilantro, and rue [chopped]. Also add *sukkar Sulaymānī* (hard sugar-candy), the quantity depends on how sweet you like it to be. Beat the egg mixture and pour it into the prepared intestine. Tie both ends with a thread and boil it in hot water until eggs set. Take it out of the pot and fry it in sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*). Add a piece of cassia, galangal, and fresh or dried

⁹ Abbasid Caliph, known for his big appetite and love for food (d. 842).

¹⁰ Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839).

thyme. Fry the sausage until it browns then take it out, slice it into *darāhim* (like coins), and serve it on a platter.

A recipe for *mamqūr* (meat soured in vinegar), eaten hot and cold:

Choose fatty pieces of lamb from the loins (*khāṣira*). Clean the meat and start cooking it in vinegar. When it comes to a boil, take the meat out of the pot and pour off the vinegar. Replenish the pot with fresh vinegar and with it add the usual *mamqūr* spices and herbs (62v),¹¹ as well as salt. Return the meat to the pot and let it cook until it is done.

Ladle the meat out into a big serving bowl (*tayfūriyya*) and slice it lengthwise then crosswise. Spread on it all the spices and herbs [cooked with it] and garnish it with whatever is available of large and small sausages, *ṭardīn*,¹² boiled eggs, cheese, olives, and herbs, God willing.

Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥusayn once wrote to a friend inviting him to an assortment of [leftover] *bawārid* dishes, which he himself put together:¹³

Hurry up to our only pot. But we also have braised meat cold and set,
 And our cook I believe still has leftovers of the cold lentil dish,
 Saffron-gold and sweet and sour which an ailing stomach can cure.
 Rows of *dirhams* of eggs it used to have, all picked out by the shrewd.
 Some fried sparrows we also have, first at the table they will be served.
 At your arrival, my esteemed friend, some surplus chicks will be tossed to us.
 We have dense honey pudding like cornelian. It wearied the hands that stirred.
 Awe stricken diners when first see it, will prostrate fall for it.
 Do not tarry then, brother, or else I will satirize and slur wife and mother.

These verses are by Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Aṭawī:¹⁴

We have fish *kabāb*, cut to pieces, a span long each.

¹¹ See Chapter 37 above for *mamqūr* dishes.

¹² A variety of meat patties. See recipe in chapter 36, above.

¹³ Known as *Kushājīm* (d. c. 961).

¹⁴ An Abbasid poet famous during the time of al-Mutawakkil (d. c. 865).

And our servant boy has ready for us *janb mubazzar*.¹⁵
 Two pullets, as well, which have been fed for a while
 Hearts of wheat in the village of Kaskar.¹⁶

Abū al-Faṭḥ has a poem in which he describes a basketful of *bawārid* dishes:¹⁷

Whenever your appetite quickens, we have a basketful ready for you,
 Which the cook finely bedecked for us,
 (63r) Like when the falling rain the gardens with marvels dress.
 Here it comes with the best of foods laden:
 A roasted kid of whose intestines *‘uṣbān* were made,¹⁸
 Garnished with mint and tarragon,
 A wide-throated chick, well and long fattened for you,
 A grouse and a pullet excellently braised for you,
 Eggs dyed red next to olives,
 Fried *sanbūsaj* overlapping with *ṭardīna*,¹⁹
 And open-faced sandwiches (*awsāt shaṭīrāt*) with olive oil smeared,
 Which even the surfeited finds most appetizing and his hunger quick-
 ens.
 Such a marvelous aroma they exhale like *nidd* with ambergris knead-
 ed.²⁰
 Sharp cheese the filling of sandwiches (*awsāt*) makes,
 And *ṭalʿ* like pearls embedded in necklaces of the beautiful ones.²¹
 Vinegar, sharp, and sour; hits the nose even before unsealed.
 Eggplant *Būrān* dish will enchant you,²²
 As will certainly asparagus do, for I know how much you relish as-
 paragus,
Lawzīnaj in oil and sugar buried,²³
 A jar of cooked wine I have in store for you and a bottle (*qinnīna*),
 too.²⁴

¹⁵ Spiced side of ribs.

¹⁶ A village near the city of Basra, famous for its poultry.

¹⁷ *Kuṣḥājīm*. This poem can be found in al-Masʿūdī's *Murāj* (694).

¹⁸ Slices of meat wrapped in intestines and roasted in the *tannūr*. See Chapter 87 for a recipe, and Glossary, Section 6, s.v. *‘uṣbān*.

¹⁹ Filled pastries, and thin meat patties, respectively. See Chapter 36 above for recipes.

²⁰ *Nidd* is a perfume compound made of musk, ambergris, and aloe wood. See Glossary, Section 9 for information on these ingredients.

²¹ *Ṭalʿ* is cluster of the first appearing dates enclosed in the spathe, served cooked and raw. See Glossary, Section 8.

²² The dish is named after Būrān, wife of the Abbasid Caliph al-Maʿmūn (d. 885).

²³ Almond confection. See Chapter 99 below for recipes.

²⁴ The wine jar is called *dastīja*, made with handles. The cooked wine is *maṭbūkh*, a permissible drink. See chapters on wine below, and Glossary, Section 1.

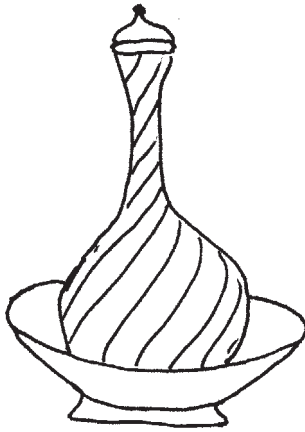
A cupbearer (*sāqī*) whose playful moves and dimpled chin joys promise.

In words, he might be stern, but with glances, beckons.

A singer coos like a *qumrī* (white pigeon) with tunes never heard before.

You, I know, are a sad lover, who from the abode of his affection is far,

You cannot but in his agony, yours echoed see.



في صفة الصلابة والأنواع والأسماء وطبائعه

BOILED [VEGETABLE] DISHES (*ṢALĀYIQ*), THEIR VARIETIES, NAMES, AND PROPERTIES¹

Foods are boiled in a variety of ways, and people tend to consume the ones with which they are more familiar. However, you need to know that all vegetables usually eaten raw can be consumed cooked, but not all vegetables usually consumed cooked can be eaten raw. People's appetites differ, each according to his own humoral properties.

When preparing the vegetable of your choice, heat water in a pot and let it come to a full rolling boil. Pick over the vegetables and tie them in bundles or just add them to the boiling water. There should be more than enough water to cover the vegetables. Keep a hot steady fire under the pot. When you add the vegetables, do not let the fire go any lower. On the contrary, feed it with more fuel.

While vegetables are boiling, cover the pot with a lid otherwise they will turn yellow. Moreover, do not add cold water while the vegetables are boiling as this will also cause them to turn yellow. Once vegetables are cooked, take them out of the pot, and arrange them on a platter (*jām*).

If the boiled vegetables are asparagus (*hilyawn*) or hops (*junjul*),² then season them with olive oil and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). Leeks (*kurrāth*), carrots (*jazar*) and similar vegetables are seasoned as suggested in the chapter on vegetable cold dishes (*al-bawārid min al-buqūl*) [Chapter 45].

Vegetables usually served as *ṣalāyiq* (boiled):

Asparagus (*hilyawn*), cauliflower (*qunnabīṭ*), hops (*junjul*), white soy beans (*lūbyā Yamāniyya*), leeks (*kurrāth*), orach (*qaṭaṭf*), *ghūshina* (variety of mushroom), chard (*silq*), cabbage (*kurunb*), carrot (*jazar*), turnip

¹ This chapter deals with vegetables only. The following chapter deals with meat.

² Only the young shoots are used. Ibn al-Bayṭār says it is similar to asparagus and is popular in Damascus (176).

(*saljam*), spinach (*isfānākh*), fresh fennel (*rāzyānaq*), chard root (*aṣl al-silq*), gourd (*qarʿ*), and eggplant (*bādḥinjān*).³

Asparagus dish recommended for coitus from the book of Ibn Māsawayh,⁴ which al-Maʾmūn and Ibn al-Mahdī used [for this purpose]:⁵

Boil asparagus just until done, do not overcook them. Serve them seasoned with olive oil and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). Cook the remaining liquid with some bees' honey and cilantro and rue (64r) bundled together and tied with a string stripped from a date palm leaf (*khūṣ*). When the herbs are cooked, take them out. Add a bit of aniseed (*anīsūn*) and black pepper to the pot. Let it boil then set it aside to cool down. Strain the liquid and make a drink with it mixed with honey or cooked wine (*ḥilā*).

Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn once recited a poem to me describing asparagus:⁶

We have spears with leaning tips, but the rest is straight like ropes
firmly twisted.

Good-looking and free of knots, with heads out of bodies peering.
By the Everlasting One made, tender and brittle as arrows standing
erect.⁷

In green silk clad, draped on glowing garments steeped in red.
Red as if mixed with the redness of a cheek that a furious palm im-
printed,

Thus, the redness of the cheek and hand with it are mingled.⁸

You see them on a platter after being cooled,
Like tiered piles of shields of gold, arrayed.
Like spread embroidered silken dress, displayed.

If only they stay forever like this!

They were the gems of rings that the chaste ones wear,
With *murrī* running between ebb and flow,

³ The last vegetable is mentioned in Istanbul MS only. For descriptions of all the vegetables mentioned in the chapter, see Glossary, Section 14.1

⁴ The Nestorian physician who served Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors (d. 857).

⁵ Al-Maʾmūn was son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ibn al-Mahdī was al-Maʾmūn's uncle.

⁶ Kushājim (d. c. 961). This poem can be found in al-Masʿūdī (695).

⁷ I amend here (في القراح) or (الفراخ), meaningless in the given context, to (كالفداح) 'like arrows', based on al-Masʿūdī's version (695).

⁸ I amend here (فد تنخذ), meaningless in the given context, to (خد ويد) 'cheek and hand', based al-Masʿūdī's version (695).

Dressed as if with a sumptuous gown of oil,
Which, once it settles, turns to spread nets of silver or gold.
Their sight alone would ravish the devout,
The mouths would water and they break the fast.

CHAPTER 44

صفة الصلح فاس من الأطراف الجرا والأخراف

BOILED DISHES OF EXTREMITIES (*AṬRĀF*) OF KIDS AND SHEEP⁹

The first to cook *ṣalīqat al-jedī* (boiled kid's meat) was Abū Samīn 'Abdullāh bin Samīn.¹⁰ Al-Ma'mūn used to choose the fattest of kids for this dish.¹¹

Here is how to make it:

(64v) Take the extremities (*aṭrāf*) of a kid along with the head and liver. Clean them and put them in a pot. Pour a lot of water on them. When pot comes to a boil, skim froth, add chard, carrot, and salt. When meat is almost done, add 10 eggs.

When fully cooked, take the meat out and let it cool down. Next, remove the outer skins on the meat, divide it into small portions, and spread it on a big platter, or a shallow big bowl (*ṭayfūriyya mabsūṭa*). Put the head in the middle of the plate after you remove the brain.¹² Loosen the bone joints.¹³

Pound the liver and color it with saffron, [and set it aside]. Put the egg yolks on the left cheek of the head.¹⁴

Pound walnut, stir it with some pistachio [oil] to make it like

⁹ *Aṭrāf* may include the lower parts of hands and legs (shanks) and trotters (*akārī*); and from the head, tongue, lips, and ears (e.g. *Tāj al-'Anūs*, طرف). However, the recipes in this chapter seem to specify *aṭrāf* as the lower parts of the legs and hands (i.e. shanks) excluding the trotters. For instance, the second and the third recipes mention *akārī wa aṭrāf* (trotters and extremities).

¹⁰ He was the cook of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭhiq (d. 847), as one of the recipes in chapter 32 clearly indicates. See Appendix.

¹¹ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Raṣīd (d. 833).

¹² The recipe does not say what to do with the brain. However, judging from traditional practices in modern Iraq, it is served in a separate dish because it is softer than the regular meat.

¹³ To make serving the portions to diners easier.

¹⁴ In Istanbul MS (fol 75v), the egg yolk is said to be set aside (على حدة), but

mustard in consistency,¹⁵ [and set it aside].

Make mustard in a big bowl (*uskurruja kabūra*) and pour it all over the head and meat. Pour also some sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*).

Now, spread a layer of the prepared walnut on the meat, top it with a layer of the chard followed by a layer of the prepared liver. Do this until the layers are four fingers' width high.

You need to have on hand some chopped rue and liver to scatter as garnish for the top. Then further decorate it with whatever is available such as pomegranate seeds, sumac, and almonds. Drizzle the dish with *zayt al-mā'* and serve it,¹⁶ God willing.

Şilāqa recipe, Byzantine Style (Rūmiyya):

Here is the basic way to prepare *şilāqāt*:

Take the head, trotters (*akāri'*), neck (*raqaba*), and extremities (*aṭrāf*) of a kid. Put them in a pot, and add salt, a handful of chickpeas, and sprigs of dill (*a'wād shabat*). Pour oil and water into the pot, and let it cook until done.

Put a lot of mustard sauce in a big deep bowl (*qaṣ'a*), and ladle the meat with some of the broth into the bowl. Serve it hot or cold, God willing.

A recipe for şilāqa, Persian style (Fārisiyya):

Boil the head, trotters, and extremities (*aṭrāf*) of a kid. Rinse them in cold water then put the head in the middle of a platter after you remove the jaws and the tongue.

Cut into bite size portions the tongue, cheek meat, and whatever meat there is in the legs and neck. Spread the meat portions around the head along with chard stalks (*asālīj silq*).

Take the foam of mustard prepared with sour buttermilk (*makhūd al-laban al-ḥāmiḍ*) instead of water.¹⁷ Beat the foam with white cane sugar (*tabarzad*) along with drained sour yogurt (*laban thakhīn ḥāmiḍ*). Pour this sauce all over the meat. Pour on the dish some olive oil, chop on it rue and [boiled] egg yolk, and serve it, God willing.

there is no further mention of eggs in the rest of the recipe. Apparently, only the egg yolk is used in the recipe.

¹⁵ The text uses the word (تسقيه), which indicates that liquid is being added here. Besides, since the walnut is to have the consistency of mustard, some sort of liquid needs to be incorporated such as water or vinegar. Istanbul MS is similar in this respect (fol. 75v).

¹⁶ Olive oil extracted using hot water. See Glossary, Section 7.

¹⁷ See recipes for preparing mustard foam in chapter 38 above.

Another *ṣilāqa* recipe:

Take 50 skinned almonds, finely grind them, and beat them into a mixture of mustard foam, vinegar, and fine cane sugar (*tabarṣad*).

Now take the boiled meat prepared as described in *ṣilāqa Fārisiyya* [recipe above] along with the chard stalks. Pour all over it mustard which has been prepared with vinegar, almonds, and sugar. Pour on the dish some olive oil, spread chopped eggs on it, and serve it, God willing.

A recipe for *ghāmiḍ* (sunken?):¹⁸

Boil the liver lightly in water (*salqa khafīfa*) and chop it into fine pieces. Add sifted sumac and salt, the amount of salt should be slightly less than sumac. Pour olive oil on the dish and chop on it some fresh herbs. Also, garnish it with chopped [boiled] eggs. However, you need to separate the whites from the yolks first before chopping them. Mix the chopped egg whites with the fresh herbs when you add them to the dish. (65v) You may add boiled and split stalks of chard.

Another Persian *ṣilāqa*:

Take the head and trotters of a kid, clean them, and put them in a clean pot. Pour water on them and add salt and skinned chickpeas. Cook the meat until done and add Persian thyme (*ṣa'tar Fārisī*).¹⁹ Serve it with mustard, God willing.

A poem by Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Kātib:²⁰

I have, may God your guide be, a dish of cold kid, *ṣilāqa*, and *bawāriḍ*.²¹

The choicest and most tender meat was used, which our slave girls masterly cooked.

Five pots put together were sent to us, looking as if one pot. The daintiest of dishes comprised.

¹⁸ Of the meanings of *ghāmiḍ* that may apply to a dish are 'sunken/submerged,' 'little known,' and 'interesting' (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. غمض). A possibility for misreading the word is unlikely because it is written the same way in the Istanbul MS (fol. 254r). Besides, another *ghāmiḍ* recipe, shrimp this time, occurs in Chapter 46. What they have in common is that both dishes are boiled, seasoned with sumac, and submerged with olive oil. So perhaps 'sunken' may be the one.

¹⁹ A variety with dark green leaves. See Glossary, Section 9.

²⁰ Kushājim (d. c. 961). See Appendix.

²¹ They are varieties of cold dishes.

The wine looks rosy in the glass, the dear child in it but the father has long passed.²²

Honey *ḵhabīṣa*, which wearied the hands that beat and stirred, is thick and chewy.

Good morrow to you my friend and our guest be, so to what I witness my witness be.

He also recited to me a poem by Ibn-Ṣadaqa:²³

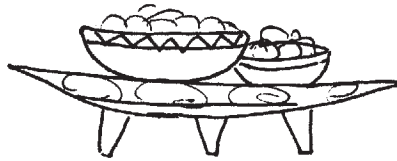
We have a suckling kid, well fed and nourished.

Which the cook perfectly boiled and excellently grilled, 'tis dripping with fat.

Come early and with this kid nourish yourself, and let the best morsels your target be.

Of the most delicious cuts make your pick, shoulder, breast, and thigh.

The wine, I hope, you will not mind since it was made just two months have passed.



²² In this metaphor, the wine is the dear child, and the pressed grapes, the dead father.

²³ He could be 'Uḥmān bin Sadaqa bin Wathḥāb, the Abbasid poet.

فِي صِنْعَةِ الْبَوَارِدِ مِنَ الْبَقُولِ وَحَمْلِهَا مِنْ أَطْرَافِ الْأَصُولِ

MAKING COLD DISHES (*BAWĀRID*) OF VEGETABLES AND THE BEST OF ROOTS

Eggplant:

A recipe for dressed eggplant (*bādhinjān maḥshī*) by Ibn al-Mahdī:¹

Cook [whole] eggplants in water until done. Take them out of the hot water and put them in cold water.

Prepare a small pot. Take a small amount of chopped onion and fresh herbs and fry them in the pot with olive oil. Mix vinegar, *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), *binn* (fermented sauce),² caraway seeds, and cassia, and add them to the fried onion.

Cut off the calyxes of the eggplants, [put them in a plate], and pour the vinegar mixture all over them. Drizzle the dish with a small amount of olive oil and eat it, God willing.



¹ Medieval texts are consistent in using the term *maḥshī* to designate dishes dressed in sauce. For ‘stuffed’ the term *maḥshū* is used as in *samak maḥshū* (stuffed fish) in Chapter 33 above, and *jedī maḥshū* (stuffed kid) in Chapter 88 below. See Glossary, Section 10.2. Ibn al-Mahdī is the Abbasid gourmet prince half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839).

² See Chapter 40 for recipes.

Another dressed eggplant (*bādhinjān maḥshī*), also by him:

Boil the eggplants and chop them into small pieces. Pound walnuts, put them [along with the eggplant] in a bowl, and add salt. Knead mixture with some vinegar, [make it into a patty], and stick it to a big bowl (*ṭayfūriyya*). Smoke the eggplant by pouring some olive oil on a burning fire. Scrape the eggplant patty (*qurṣ*) and flip it to the other side to allow it to smoke.

Stir the smoked eggplant with some vinegar and caraway seeds.³ You may add some onion if you like. Drizzle some olive oil on the dish and serve it, God willing.

Another recipe for dressed eggplant (*bādhinjān maḥshī*) by him, too:

Boil eggplant and chop it into fine pieces. Take a platter (*jām*), and pour on it a little vinegar, white sugar, ground almonds, saffron, caraway seeds, cassia, [and mix]. Spread the [chopped] eggplant and fried onion all over the sauce. Drizzle some olive oil on the dish and serve it, God willing.

***Bādhinjān Būrān* (eggplant of Būrān):⁴**

Choose small eggplants, prick them with a knife, remove their calyxes, and put them in salted water. In a small pot, (66v) pour olive oil and sesame oil (*shayray*), and fry the [drained] eggplants until cooked. Sprinkle them with some *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), black pepper, and caraway seeds. Chop some rue leaves on the dish and serve it, God willing.

Another eggplant recipe similar to [the above]:

Take small eggplants and cut them lengthwise into halves. Let them soak in salted water.

Take a small pot and heat in it a mix of sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*) and sesame oil (*shayray*). Fry the [drained] eggplant [pieces] until done. Sprinkle the eggplant with *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and add to the pot cassia and galangal a piece each. Add as well sprigs (*ṭāqāt*) of rue.

Spread the eggplant on a platter, grind 10 [shelled] walnuts, and spread them over the eggplant while it is still hot. Cover the plate

³ We understand that the eggplant patty disintegrates in the process.

⁴ She is the wife of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn, famous for her eggplant dishes (d. 885).

with a piece of cloth to let the walnuts release their oil. Spread on the dish a small amount of fresh leek (*kurrāth ratb*) which has been fried in olive oil along with cilantro and rue. Serve the dish, God willing.

A recipe for soused eggplant (*bādhinjān mamqūr*):

At the end of their season [i.e. late summer], cut the calyxes of eggplants and cook them in vinegar until done. Take them out, drain them well, and set them aside.

Finely chop some round onions (*baṣal mudawwar*),⁵ along with cilantro, rue, and parsley. Fry them in olive oil until browned. Pour vinegar on them and add some spices (*abzār*).

Arrange the eggplants in wide-mouthed jars (*barānī*) and pour on them the vinegar which has been seasoned with the herbs and spices. Let it cover the eggplants.

Store away the jars. [Prepared like this] the eggplant will stay good for a whole year. Whenever you wish to eat it, take some out and put them in a bowl, garnish them with chopped rue, and serve them, God willing.

Here is a poem by Abū al-Faṭḥ on eggplant:⁶

(67r) Ignorantly he chides me because in eggplant I revel,
While the doctor himself eating it will never quit.
I said to him, 'tis like a lover whose love I won, and like a rival in my
way you stand.
If ever behind my back you eat it, your ally will the cross be.
Eggplant has a taste like saliva a generous lover freely offers.
A pearl in a black gown, with an emerald set from which a stem
extends.
In taste 'tis like no other, whether hurriedly cooked or well done.
Yearning for this little wonder, the witty in hosts hasten to it.
Only fools have no appetite for it. As for the smart, they just love it.

A cold dish (*bārīda*) of dressed carrots (*jazar maḥshī*):⁷

Boil the carrots, cut them [crosswise] into rings like *dirhams* (coins), and set them aside.

Chop onion, fresh herbs, and rue. Fry them very well in olive oil and pour on them *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) and vinegar. Add as

⁵ For kinds of onion, see Glossary, Section 9, s.v. *baṣal*.

⁶ Also known as *Kushājim* (d. c. 961).

⁷ See n. 1 above for meaning of *maḥshī*.

well cassia, black pepper, galangal, coriander seeds, caraway seeds, ginger, spikenard, and cloves, all ground. Bring the pot to a good boil, and pour the vinegar mixture all over the carrots, which have been put on a platter. Chop rue on it and serve it, God willing. Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥusayn composed a poem describing this dish:⁸

Dīnārs of carnelian and gold in a vessel so delicate, it may almost melt and flow.

All radiating with luster like carnelian shimmering on pearls.

In the vessel harmoniously combined, here together and there disperse.

The spices emitting fragrance like wine mingled with sweet breeze.

(67v) On top are pearls and silver decked with gems,

Which the cook delicately fashioned, a gorgeous dish with flavor and perfume.

The scattered rue is flowers of turquoise gems, vibrantly green,

Jiggling with *murrī* and olive oil, ebbing and flowing with sheen.

A recipe for *bārīda* of fava beans (*bāqillī*) by Ibn Māsawayh:⁹

Take fresh fava beans, snip off both ends (*yūqarraḍ*), and boil them. Next, discard the jackets and skin the beans. Put them on a platter and pour on them *murrī* and vinegar which have been boiled with juice of fresh onion, coriander seeds, cumin seeds, cassia, spikenard, cloves, and caraway.

Chop some parsley on the dish and serve it, God willing.

Another *bārīda* of fava beans by Ibn Abī Nūḥ al-Kātib:¹⁰

Snip off both ends of fresh fava beans and boil them. Next, discard the jackets and skin the beans. Pound them in a mortar and pestle (*hāwan*) along with boiled chard leaves, shelled pistachio, walnuts, and almonds.

Take the mixture out of the mortar and fry it in a pan (*miqlā*) with olive oil, sesame oil, and the [chopped] white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*). While still in the frying pan, add to the mixture (68r)

⁸ Also known as Kuṣḥājīm (d. c. 961).

⁹ The Nestorian physician who served the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Raṣḥīd and his successors (d. 857).

¹⁰ He is the son of Abū Nūḥ al-Kātib, the secretary of al-Faṭḥ bin Kḥāqān, vizier of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861).

black pepper, cloves, spikenard, cassia, coriander seeds, cumin seeds, and *murri* (liquid fermented sauce).

Spread the mixture on a platter and arrange skinned almonds on the surface so that they look like [scattered] stars. Color some almonds yellow with saffron and garnish the dish with them. Serve with mustard foam (*zabad al-khardal*),¹¹ God willing.

Here is a poem Abū al-Faraj composed.¹² It is on fava beans and picnicking in a pleasure boat (*ḥarrāqa*).¹³

Comely-skinned fava beans, musk of the earth, harvested honey, tender
and juicy.
Its luster beautifies the sorest of eyes; so soothing, grievances of the
heartsick it heals.
The place, so cool, away from the stone-melting heat, delightfully re-
freshing from the summer gentle drizzle.
Fava beans, like unthreaded necklace or gems in virgins' hands,
Or virgin pearls enclosed within folds of shells of emerald.
Harvested today, not a single day deferred, nor was it from hand to
hand transferred.
Sweeter than slumber after a sleepless night, or a promise of a ren-
dezvous fulfilled.
Sweeter still than when a frightened heart is secure.
I came early even before the songs of birds,
And the sun like a dagger was still unsheathed,
I came with a group of promising youths:
Nobles, gluttons, opportunists, heirs to thrones, the smart, and the
good-for-nothing.
We all swooped like a flock of locusts, handsomely clad and most
admirably joined,
Guided by the fragrance fava bean imparted. God bless it, no more
provisions you need to carry.
Cooked by the hands of the graceful ones.
An exquisite gazelle summoned us,
Bringing us red wine, as rosy as his cheeks, generously offered, of which
our fill we had,
Induced by the delightful singing, splendidly delivered.

¹¹ See Chapter 38 for recipes.

¹² Kuṣḥajīm (d. c. 961).

¹³ Originally, *ḥarrāqa* was a light and fast fire ship. Such boats were used in Basra to attack the enemy ships (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. حرق). However, medieval references to the boats, as in al-Aṣḥbahānī's *Al-Aghānī* (1290), indicate that they were also used as pleasure boats by the Caliphs and the leisurely classes. There, they used to eat, drink wine, and listen to music and singing.

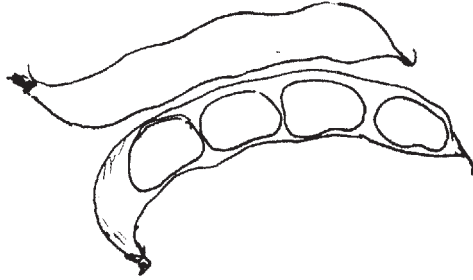
What a wonderful meal it was!

Worthy of praise is living thus, and equally worthy are those who invited us.

(68v) Cold dishes (*bawārid*) of vegetables prepared with yogurt:

The vegetables used are gourd, roots and stalks and leaves of chard, mallows (*ghasūlā*), and purslane (*riḡla*).

Whatever vegetables you choose, boil them in water first then chop them and put them in a vessel. Next, add fine-tasting, sweet drained yogurt (*shirāz tayyib ‘adhb*). Add enough to cover the vegetables. Mixing the yogurt with ground mustard seeds and *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil) will make it even more delicious.



ما يأكل النصارى من الطعام المزور في الصيام

SIMULATED DISHES (*TA'ĀM MUZAWWAR*) WHICH
CHRISTIANS EAT DURING LENT (*ṢIYĀM*)¹

A cold dish of chard (*bāridat silq*) by 'Allūn:²

Take chard, boil the leaves (*warāq*), and press out their [extra] moisture.³ Pound the leaves with fresh herbs (*abzār ruṭb*), rue, and a handful of boiled fava beans. When the mixture becomes smooth, add salt, coriander seeds, black pepper, cassia, galangal, and cumin, all pounded.

Take the white head of fresh onion and the green stalks, too. Fresh onion is the best for this dish. [Chop it, and] fry it in a pan using sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*) then add the chard mixture. After you fry them together, spread them on a platter. Sprinkle some chopped rue on the dish and serve it, God willing.

Truffles (*kam'a*):

Truffles can be cooked in two delicious ways: *mukabbaba mamlūla* (cut up into pieces and buried and baked in hot ashes), eaten with coarse salt and black pepper. The other is *kam'a mamlūla* (whole truffles buried and baked in hot ashes). These are peeled while still hot, put in a bowl, and bruised with a *fīhr*.⁴ They are given a sprinkle of salt and a little black pepper then mixed and eaten.

Al-Dihqān⁵ used to wash and peel the truffles (69r) and put them in an earthenware pot with a narrow top. If this is not available,

¹ *Muzawwarāt* dishes (simulated, fake, or mock) were meant to give the semblance of the original versions usually prepared with meat. They are sometimes referred to as *kadhḍhāba* 'false,' as in the anonymous medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id* 100–01. Christians made them during Lent and physicians prescribed them for the sick because they were deemed lighter and easier to digest. See Chapter 105 below for recipes. Also, see Glossary, Section 6, for more information on the dishes.

² He could have been a famous singer. Al-Maḡarrī in *Nafh al-Ṭīb* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>, 559) mentions that 'Allūn was one of the first Abbasid singers to migrate to al-Andalus during the rule of al-Ḥakam bin Hishām (d. 822).

³ The chard stalks are not used for this recipe.

⁴ A large stone used for crushing drugs and spices and cracking nuts.

⁵ He is Ibn Tammām al-Dihqān, from Kūfa (d. c. 961).

substitute it with a new *kūz* (cup-like vessel with handles). He used to pour on them sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*) enough to cover them. Then he would add salt or *murrī*, as needed, dried or fresh thyme, and river mint (*būtanaj nahrī*).⁶ He would then seal the pot with mud and put it in the *tannūr* fire for about an hour. When done, it is taken out and served. It will be delicious, God willing.

Truffles are very nice, they can be prepared in many wonderful ways such as baking them whole (*shawī*) or cutting them up into pieces and grilling them (*kabāb*). They may be incorporated in all kinds of cooked dishes and used with other ingredients to stuff roasted kids and sheep [e.g. chapter 88]. They may be cooked with *ʿujaj* (omelets) or prepared as *maqluwwāt* (fried) with onion, spices, and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). They may be also be fried as *Būrān* with olive oil,⁷ black pepper, and *murrī*. It is absolutely wonderful.

They can also be skewered and grilled as *kardanāj* (on a rotating spit) or buried in hot ashes [i.e. *mamlūl*]. They may be prepared as *muraqqaqāt* (pounded and shaped into thin patties).⁸ [When prepared like this,] coriander and cassia are added [to the pounded truffles,] then the mix is flattened into thin discs, fried in oil, and arranged on a platter. Boiled beans (*lūbya maslūqa*) are shaped by pressing them by hand into small balls and arranged between the truffle patties then the dish is served.

All truffle dishes are accompanied with mustard.

A recipe for fried truffles:

Take the pounded truffles that are shaped into discs....⁹

A recipe for a cold dish of beans (*bāridat al-lūbyā*):

Boil the beans and press out their moisture. Put them in a bowl and pour sweetened mustard (*khardal muhallā*) and equal amounts of sweet vinegar (*khall ʿadhb*) and sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*). Sprinkle a generous amount of ground walnut on it, garnish it with chopped parsley and rue, and serve it, God willing.

⁶ Another name for it is *fūdhanaj nahrī*, also called *habaq al-māʾ* (water mint) and *naʾnaʾ barrī* (wild mint). See Glossary, Section 9.

⁷ A fried dish named after Būrān, wife of the Abbasid Caliph al-Maʾmūn. Originally, the dish was prepared with eggplant (recipe in Chapter 45), later it included other vegetables, such as truffles and gourd, fried the same way. Būrān did not use onion in her fried dishes.

⁸ The name derives from *raqīq* ‘thin.’

⁹ This is written on the margin of the MS (editors’ comment, 120, n.35). There is enough to tell us that fried patties are made from the truffles.

Another *bārīda* of beans:

Boil the beans and press out their moisture. Put them on a platter and pour on them sumac juice, juice of unripe sour grapes (*mā' ḥiṣ-rim*), or lemon juice. You can also sprinkle ground sumac on them. Chop rue on the dish, drizzle it with olive oil (69v), and serve it, God willing.

***Bārīda* of purslane by Ibn Dihqāna:¹⁰**

Soak purslane until it is wet then wash it very well. Put it in a clean pot, add an equal amount of chopped fresh onion (*baṣal raṭb*), a bunch of cilantro, and fresh rue. Add olive oil, the same amount as that of purslane. Pour a handful (*kaff*) of water and cook it until done.

Add pleasant-tasting vinegar (*khall tayyib*), just enough to make it taste good, and a similar amount of fine-tasting *murri* (liquid fermented sauce). Of the dry spices, add coriander seeds, black pepper, cassia, ginger, spikenard, cloves and caraway, all ground.

Let the pot simmer for a while (*sā'a*, one hour) and when the time comes to put it away from the fire, sprinkle it with a small amount of grape wine. Take the pot away from the fire and ladle the food into dishes. Chop rue on it and serve it, God willing.

Preparing *gunnābirī* (water moss):¹¹

Pick the tender tips of *gunnābirī* and spread them in a shaded place for three days until they wilt. Grind sweet salt [free of bitterness]. Put the *gunnābirī* in a bowl, sprinkle the salt on it, and rub it into the leaves until you see some juice oozing out of them. At this point, press out the liquid [and discard it] and put the *gunnābirī* in a big earthenware jar (*hubb*) in layers. Sprinkle each layer with a mixture of ground salt and a good amount of bruised coriander seeds to allow their flavor to penetrate into the vegetable. [Set the jar aside]

Whenever you want to eat it, take out the amount you need and

¹⁰ In the edited text, the vegetable occurs as *farharā* (فرهرا) and *farfirā* (فرفير). I assume it is a corruption or misreading of two of the many variations on the name of purslane in Arabic, namely *farfahan* (فرفهين) in the first case, and *farfir* (فرفير) in the second. Istanbul MS does not include this recipe. See Glossary, Section 14.1, s.v. *baqla ḥamqā*. Ibn Dihqāna was boon companion of Abbasid Caliphs, see Appendix.

¹¹ A wild herb, which resembles wild endive but with smaller leaves. See Glossary, Section 14.1.

put it on a platter. Pour on it vinegar and olive oil and eat it. This is the Christians' *mamqūr* dish eaten during Lent.¹²

Preparing simulated *rabīthā* without *rabīthā* (shrimp):¹³

Pick over shelled lentil and finely grind it. Add enough salt to it, and pour water, enough to cover it. Set it aside for a day and a night.

[To serve it], smear some of it on *ruqāq* (thin and flat bread) with olive oil and thyme. Nobody would guess it is not *rabīthā*.

A recipe for *ṣaḥnāt* (small fish relish) without using fish:

Take newly cropped *habbat khadra* (green terebinth berries) and pound them until all the seeds (*ʿajam*) are completely crushed and they have the consistency of *damāgh* (brain i.e. mushy) (70r).

Finely chop radish, and pound it with the terebinth. Pound into mixture some thyme and salt, as much as needed. Put the mixture in an earthenware jar (*jarra*) and store it away. Use it whenever needed, God willing.

Making milk (*laban*) without udders (*ḍarʿ*):

Peel off the dark skin of a whole [shelled] coconut. Chop the nut finely with a knife and put it in a vessel of thin glass (*ināʾ qawārīr laṭīf*). Pour water on it and rub it with the hand thoroughly until it tastes like milk.

Press down the coconut very hard into a strainer. The resulting liquid will be similar to thick and rich milk. Put it in a container, cover it, and set it aside for a while [in a warm place], as you do when you make yogurt. It will develop a sourish taste [like yogurt].

Making *libaʾ* without milk:¹⁴

Take *shahdānāj* (hemp seeds) and finely grind them. Add water to them, and press and mash the mixture well. Then strain it in a fine sieve (*munkhul shaʿr*). Strain again through a fine piece of cloth (*khirqā raqīqā*).

¹² *Mamqūr* is meat preserved by sousing it in vinegar.

¹³ Relish of crushed shrimp. For recipes of the true condiment made with shrimp and small fish (*ṣaḥnāt*) in the next recipe, see Chapter 40 above.

¹⁴ The first milk secreted by a mammal, also known as beestings. It is relatively thicker than regular milk.

Put the liquid in a pot, cover it, and cook it on a low-heat fire until it thickens. Cool it down to prevent the liquid from further evaporating, which might cause it to scorch. When you take it out of the pot nobody would guess it is not real *liba*'.

Omelet ('*ujja*) without eggs:

Boil chickpeas until they become as mushy as bone marrow (*mukh*). Boil some onion and pound it with the chickpeas. Add to the mixture, a small amount of olive oil, *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), coriander seeds, black pepper, and *mā' al-ṣamgh* (gum Arabic dissolved in water). Spread this mixture in a frying pan and cook it with some olive oil until it is done, God willing.

***Kāmakh* without milk, can be consumed the day it is made:**¹⁵

Grind and sift *ka'k* (dry ring cookies), and grind *zabīb* (raisins) after removing the seeds.

Take spikenard, cloves, and cumin, $\frac{1}{2}$ *ūqiyya* (15 grams) each. Also take 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) cassia, 4 *mithqāls* (18 grams) cloves, and 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) black pepper. Pound and sift all these spices.

Mix all the ingredients with honey, vinegar, and some *murri* (liquid fermented sauce).

A recipe for *shīrāz* (drained yogurt) without milk:

(70v) Remove the seeds from citron pulp. Pound skinned almonds and add them to the citron pulp. If you like, add to the mixture rue, parsley, and nigella seeds (*shūnīz*). It will come out like *shīrāz*.

WAYS FOR COOKING SHRIMP (RŪBYĀN)

A recipe for *ṭabāhija* (braised dish) of shrimp:

Clean the shrimp, boil them, and take them out of the water. Gently press out moisture or just be patient and wait until they drain.

Put the shrimp in a pot with chopped onion and fry them in olive oil. Add some dry spices (*abāzīr yābisa*). [When dish is done,] sprinkle it lightly (*yunaḍḍah*) with vinegar, scatter some chopped rue on it, and serve it.

¹⁵ To appreciate this recipe, compare it with the laborious ones given in Chapter 40 above.

A recipe for *ghāmiḍ* (sunken?):¹⁶

Clean and boil the shrimp. Arrange them on a silver platter and pour sumac [juice] and sweet olive oil (*ẓayt ṭayyib*) on them [to submerge the shrimp] then serve the dish.

A shrimp recipe for *maghmūma* (potpie):

Clean and boil the shrimp. Put them in a pot along with onion sliced [crosswise] like *dirhams* (coins). If you are using carrot and eggplant, then slice them the same way.

Arrange the shrimp and vegetables in layers [in a pot] sprinkling each layer with some hot dry spices (*abāẓīr yābisa ḥirṛifa*). Pour on them vinegar, olive oil, and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). Cover them with a piece of flat bread (*raghūf*) and cook the pot until it is done then serve it, God willing.

***Sanbūsaj* (filled pastries) of shrimp:**

Clean and boil the shrimp. Pound them with a knife along with boiled taro root (*qulqās*) if in season and you wish to use it. Sprinkle on the shrimp a small amount of the white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*) and the juice extracted from sliced onion. Sprinkle, as well [ground] dry spices (*abāẓīr yābisa*) and aromatic spices and herbs (*afāwī*). Add *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). If you like it tart, add sumac juice.

Wrap mixture in thin sheets of bread (*ruqāq*) and make them into *sanbūsaj*.¹⁷ Fry them in sweet olive oil (*ẓayt ṭayyib*) and serve them. They are scrumptious.

Shrimp prepared as *mamqūr* (preserved in vinegar):

Clean and boil the shrimp then arrange them in a wide-mouthed jar in layers alternating with a mixture of salt, coriander seeds, and chopped parsley. Pour vinegar to submerge them and store the jar away.

When needed, take some out and put them on a platter. They are tasty served like this. Alternatively, you might take them out of the vinegar, fry them in fine-tasting olive oil, and pour on them the vinegar they were soured in, God willing.

¹⁶ See n.8 in Chapter 44 above, for a comment on the name of the dish.

¹⁷ See Chapter 36 above for instructions.

Shrimp prepared as *maṣūṣ* (cooked in vinegar):

(71r) Clean and boil the shrimp. [Put them in a pot] and add to them chopped parsley and equal amounts of cilantro and rue. [Add vinegar] and cook them until they are done.¹⁸ Ladle them into a bowl and serve. Saffron may be used in this dish if desired.

VARIOUS KINDS OF [LENT] DISHES¹⁹***Harīsa* recipe (porridge) by ‘Abdūn:²⁰**

Cook rice in water until it is almost done. Add boiled leeks that have been shredded into thread-like strings.²¹ Add liquid of cooked *qurṭum* (safflower seeds), and continue simmering until porridge thickens and resembles *harīsa*. It is a wonderful dish. You might also substitute the *dasam* (animal grease) with ground sesame seeds and ground almonds. It will come out delicious, too.

Other kinds of dishes may be made the same way. For instance, when cooking *sikbāj* (beef stew with vinegar), add the usual *sikbāj* spices and herbs to vinegar and let them boil with a bunch of parsley. When the spices and herbs are cooked, add saffron, flour, salt, and spices to the pot. Serve it the way you usually serve *sikbāj*.²²

Making *maḍīra* (white stew cooked with sour milk):

Take flour, whip it with vinegar, and put the mixture in a pot. Instead of meat, use skinned sprouted fava beans (*bāqillī manbūt*). Cook it the same way you cook *maḍīra* until it thickens then serve it, God willing.²³

Follow the same method when cooking *isfidhbāj* (white stew) and similar dishes. However, you need to replace *dasam* (meat and its

¹⁸ Vinegar is an essential ingredient in this dish, perhaps al-Warrāq forgot to include it or thought it was too obvious to mention.

¹⁹ The following are some popular dishes in which no meat or animal fat is used to make them fit for Lent. Therefore, it is the cook's task to prepare them in such a way that they resemble the original versions.

²⁰ Known as ‘Abdūn al-Naṣrānī (the Christian), he is brother of Ṣā‘id bin Muḥallad, vizier of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu‘tamid (d. 892). See Appendix.

²¹ To compensate for the thread-like meat shreds used in the traditional dish.

²² See Chapter 49 below for recipes.

²³ To see how it is made, go to Chapter 69 below.

grease) with flour. When frying, use sesame oil (*shayraq*) instead of *duhn* (animal fat).²⁴

CHAPTER 47

عمل النخل والزيت في التبريد والتخبز المفتوت

MAKING ‘VINEGAR AND OLIVE OIL’ DISHES USING CRUMBLED BREAD (*KHUBẒ MAFTŪT*)²⁵

A recipe for *khall wa zayt* (vinegar and olive oil):

Prepare a deep platter.

In a big cup (*qadah*), put 3 *ratls* (6 cups) wine vinegar, a piece of ice, and water. Stir the mixture until ice dissolves. (71v) Add to the mixture, a lump of sugar, a bit of salt, and dry well-leavened white *ka’k*.²⁶ Stir the mixture with a spoon. Take the *ka’k* out, put it on the platter, and pour the remaining liquid in the cup over it.

Pour olive oil over it, and chop on it pulp of small and smooth cucumber (*khiyār*), fresh thyme leaves, pungent (*hīrrīf*) fresh basil (*bādhārūy*), and a little salt.

Serve the dish, God willing, with hot [roasted] pullets.

Another recipe by Ibn ‘Alyūn:²⁷

Take a crusty round bread made with fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free).²⁸ Make slashes on the top crust with a knife, pour on it some fresh juice of sour unripe grapes, and chill with ice. When the bread is saturated, flip it on the other side and do the same thing. Put the bread on a big platter.

²⁴ Such as *samn* (clarified butter) and *zubb* (butter).

²⁵ The dishes are vegetarian *tharīd*, reminiscent of Middle Eastern *fattūsh* salad prepared by mixing stale pieces of bread—previously soaked and drained—with vinegar, olive oil, and chopped vegetables and herbs. The name *fattūsh* quite likely derives from *فتت* ‘crumble,’ and *fatūt* or *maftūt* (crumbled).

²⁶ Dry cookies traditionally shaped into rings. See Chapter 13 above for a recipe.

²⁷ I have not been able to identify the person. However, he may well be the same Ibn ‘Allūn al-Kātib, mentioned in Chapter 83 below, where his *tharīd* dishes are given.

²⁸ *Raghīf samīdh lahu ḥarf* رغيف سميد له حرف.

Take 20 almonds, skinned and ground, mix them with fresh juice of sour grapes, and add olive oil to them. Pour the mixture all over the bread.

Spread on the bread, finely shredded breasts of roasted pullets, chopped pulp of small and smooth cucumber (*khīyār*), *na'na'* (cultivated mint), and basil (*bādhārūj*). Chill the bread with ice.

Another recipe:

Cut round bread made with fine *samādh* flour (high in starch and bran free) into small pieces. Pour on it a mixture of vinegar colored with saffron, a lump of sugar, cassia, asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*), and pounded [dried] thyme. Shred breast of [roasted] chicken on it, pour some olive oil, and set it aside to let the bread absorb the moisture.

Spread on the bread pulp of small and smooth cucumber (*khīyār*), *na'na'* (cultivated mint), and basil (*bādhārūj*), all chopped. Give it a sprinkle of salt and serve it, God willing.

Nabatean *khall wa zayt* (vinegar and oil):²⁹

Put wine vinegar in a vessel and add what equals half of its amount ground sugar. Stir in a little salt.

In another container, cut bread into pieces, pour water on it, set it aside for a while (*sā'a*, one hour) and then drain it. Chop on the bread some pulp of small and smooth cucumber (*khīyār*), a small amount of the white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*), sharp cheese (*jūbn hīrrīf*), *na'na'* (cultivated mint), tarragon, parsley, (72r) thyme, and basil (*bādhārūj*). Mix well.

Pour enough of the vinegar-sugar mixture all over the bread to submerge it. Drizzle as well 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil) all over the bread.

Arrange on top of the bread some small and smooth cucumbers sliced like *dirhams* (coins). Spread on top some crushed ice. Using your fingertips, sprinkle the dish (*yurash*) with rose water syrup (*jullāb*) mixed with a small amount of vinegar.³⁰

It will be a fabulous dish, God willing.

²⁹ The Nabateans are indigenous to the region of Iraq. See Appendix, s.v. Nabaṭī.

³⁰ Sprinkling is done by dipping the tips of the fingers in the prepared syrup and shaking off whatever syrup the fingers are carrying on the dish. The syrup bowl should be quite close to the dish.

عمل طيخ الماء والملح والصباغ الفجر

MAKING *MĀ' WA MILḤ* DISHES¹ SERVED WITH SAUCE
MADE WITH RAW MUSTARD [SEEDS]²

Properties of the meat of wild ass (*ḥimār al-waḥsh*) and ways to prepare it:

Wild ass raised in farms yields less harmful meat than that of the wild ones (*barī*), particularly meat of the young ones (*jaḥsh*). Meat of old, wild ass generates bad blood. It is hard to digest and causes putridity. As for the bitten and bruised ones (*musahḥaj*),³ they hardly ever heal.

The best part of the wild ass is the navel (*surra*). Many people like its skin [prepared] by scalding it first [to get rid of hair] and then grilling it. They find it similar in taste to chicken breasts. Its tallow [*shahm*] cures melasma (*kalaf*) when smeared on the skin. It is also good for backache and pain in the kidneys caused by phlegm and dense winds (*riyāḥ ḡhalīẓa*).

The best way to cook game meat is to prepare it as *mā' wa milḥ* (meat simmered in water and salt), *nārbāj* (pomegranate stew), *ṭabāḥijāt* (braised dishes), and *sharā'ih mubazzarāt*.⁴

To prepare a delicious treat that is easy to digest, good for curing backaches, and stimulates semen (*zāyid fi 'l-mā'*), briefly boil the navel of a wild ass, take it out, season it with hot spices and olive oil, and sprinkle it with a little vinegar and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). Then stuff some bruised cloves of garlic into the inner skin (*ṣifāq*), lower it into the *tannūr* and let it roast until done.

¹ Literally, 'water and salt.' They are basic dishes of meat simmered in water and salt.

² My addition in the title is based on the title al-Warrāq provides in his initial list of chapters. Besides, as the sauce recipe in this chapter shows, it is the mustard seeds that are raw and not the sauce.

³ I am amending the edited text here with the help of Istanbul MS (fol. 256v). The words *sahḥaja* and *musahḥaj* are mostly used in relation to the wild ass when they fight and bite each other.

⁴ Thin meat slices, rubbed with ground spices and fried or roasted. See Glossary, Section 6

The more you chase and fatigue the wild animals, the lighter their meat gets (**72v**). It will be easy to digest and hence more nutritious and less harmful to the body.

The Arabs claim that the first to chase the wild animals on horseback was Rabīʿa bin Nizār.⁵ When he chased a wild cow, it hid behind a lote-tree (*sidra*). He took pity upon it and quit chasing it.

Meat of wild cows (*baqar al-wahsh*) generates blood closer to black [bile]. The belly (*baṭn*) is the most delicious part. It is cooked in vinegar until almost done then the vinegar is discarded and replaced with a fresh batch. Wild cow meat might be cooked as *nārbāj* (stew soured with pomegranate juice) and *summāqiyya* (stew with sumac). It is at its most delicious when prepared as *ṭabāḥija* (braised) and *sharāʾih mubazzarāt*.⁶ Of these two dishes, whatever varieties cooked with vinegar will taste even better.

I appreciate the verses Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥasan composed on hunting wild ass with arrows (*nushshāb*), and the swords that look like crescents. As for using arrows, he said:⁷

When the morn arose, and “‘Tis unveiling!” was heard and the night retired and “‘Tis leaving!” was heard,
When the wind blew its redolent breeze as if with ambergris fueled,
We set off early on lean horses with slim waists, more ambitious than a lover’s gaze.

Faster than lightning they traveled, clad in embroidered garments.
Some were black and white and others rustic and tan.

When onlookers descried a row of asses

Approaching and almost visible, the sharpest of sight, exultingly rejoiced to next of him, “Do you see? Do you see? Do you see?”

At which, one held his arrow, and one tightened, while another has already shot his arrow and missed, and one was still holding, most worthy to win.

But I was the longest to hold.

(**73r**) For I did not want to be the first, nor did I wish to boast. When

I perceived that now I could,

I astounded all by being the first, and the likes of me do awe command.

Achievers are those who wait and see,

And he who starts right will end up right.

⁵ A pre-Islamic ancestor.

⁶ See n. 4 above.

⁷ *Kushājim* (d. c. 961). He has a book on hunting and chasing wild animals, entitled *Al-Maṣāyid wa ʿl-Maṭāʾid*, which al-Warrāq evidently used. See Introduction, Section IV.3.

We've seen many of the wild asses covered with dust,
 Saffroned red with blood.
 Not that I took any of the meat, it for the army was its treat,
 Thanking God for his bounty was my purpose for this feat.
 The Prophet, indeed, was right to say, "Catch a wild ass and you
 have it all."⁸

Of hunting wild ass using the crescent-like swords, he said:

When the night its pitch-black clothes took off,
 And the sleepy star was no longer bright and clear,
 And the morning was still dim yet, and the dark still glum,
 We took off on our lean frowning horses.
 They galloped with hands [outstretched with swords] as if by demons
 of the wilderness possessed, like pitch-dark storms,
 Or like the stars swooping into their destined courses,
 Or like the ship's sails that not even the night birds could reach.
 Of the enclosed wild ass they 'took care,' like luminous meteors
 charged.
 Crescents they are indeed, but with their deeds they do bring woe,
 Not by the darkness of the night flung but the rivals of the moon,
 Their handles look as if they on their blades are sitting.
 Hunting is not cherished if the gallant's heart it does not capture with
 awe.

On meat of antelopes (*ẓibā'*):⁹

Antelope meat generates blood closer in properties to black bile. Even so, it is less harmful than beef. Cooking it as *mā' wa milḥ* (meat simmered in salted water) is a good way to prepare it. Cooking antelope meat as *kūshṭābiyya* (كوشتابية) is exceptionally delicious.¹⁰ It was the favorite dish of the Persian kings. Its name derives from *koshṭ*, which is shoulder meat (*matn*) cooked in onion juice.¹¹ *Koshṭ* in Persian is the name of the

⁸ The proverbial expression in Arabic is (كل الصيد في جوف الفرا), i.e. nothing compares with catching a wild ass (*firā*) because it is the fastest to run in hunting sessions. See Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Jamharat al-Amthāl* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 171.

⁹ This section is almost identical with a passage in a tenth-century book on hunting, *Al-Bayzara* 44, written by the *bāzyār* (falcon keeper) of the Fatimid Caliph al-'Azīz bi-Allāh (d. 996). It is quite likely that the source for both books is *Kushājīm's Al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-Maṭārid*. See Introduction, Section IV.3.

¹⁰ The dish is succulent fried meat. See Chapter 85 for recipes and the story behind the invention of this dish. In Helsinki MS the dish is written as *kūshṭābiyya* (كوشابية).

¹¹ I amend here *kawshab* in the edited text to *koshṭ*, based on Istanbul MS (fol. 257r), and the almost identical passage in *Al-Bayzara* (44). See n. 9 above.

shoulder meat cut (*matn*). Antelope prepared as jerked meat (*qadūd*) is the most harmful because (73v) the meat gets even drier when it is cured. The meat does not improve either when cooked as *sikbāj* (stew soured with vinegar) or roasted (*shiwāʾ*). The best part of the animal is its liver, which is at its most delicious when roasted. Tallow of antelope is extremely nutritious.

Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥasan al-Kātib once wrote to a friend inviting him to a cold dish of [roasted] kid and *kushṭābiyya* of gazelle meat (*laḥm ghaẓāl*):¹²

We have a kid, not a yearling yet, as if cotton is fluffed under its skin.

We tended it when it was a suckling still and fattened, and now it no equal has.

Kushṭābiyya of antelope we also have, chased and fatigued by our falcons.

In hue, like a *shāḍin*'s cheek it will look when cooked with wine.¹³

Long rejection will your penalty be if you do not hurry and with your dearest dine.

A recipe for *māʾ wa milḥ* of game meat (*laḥm al-waḥsh*) by al-Maʾmūn:¹⁴

Take the best parts of game meat such as the top back (*sanām*) and navel (*surra*). Cut the meat into big chunks and put it in a pot. Pour water on it and let it boil until it becomes firm. Take the meat out and put it in cold water. Discard water in which it boiled.

Drain the meat pieces very well and return them to the pot. Pour water and sweet and mellow olive oil (*ẓayt ʿadhb*). Add as well whole and chopped onions, sticks of galangal and cassia, a bunch of dill, and a handful of salt. Let the meat cook, and when it is done, add dry spices such as ground coriander seeds, black pepper, cumin, and ginger. Put them while the meat is still in the pot.

To serve, pour the broth into a big wide bowl (*ṭayfūriyya kabīra*) and arrange meat pieces in it. Garnish the dish with whatever varieties of large sausages (*maḥāshī*) you wish. Chop some rue on it and present it with sauce (*ṣibāgh*) [recipe at end of chapter], God willing.

¹² Kushājim (d. c. 961).

¹³ *Shāḍin* is a male fawn with sprouting horns, strong enough to be independent of its mother, the antelope.

¹⁴ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 833).

A recipe for mā' wa milḤ cooked *Khurāsānī* way:¹⁵

(74r) Take big chunks of rump (*uṣūl al-qfkhādḥ*) and tenderloin (*bishḥ*).¹⁶ It may be from game meat or sheep. Boil the meat chunks in a big pot then discard the water. Cut up the meat into smaller pieces.

[Return the meat to the pot] and add 1 *ūqīyya* (2 tablespoons) sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*), sweet salt, galangal, cassia, ginger, dill, [chopped] white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*), and whole [skinned] onions. [Add water to the pot and] let it boil.¹⁷

Add to the pot, *qibba* (omasum tripe) which has been stuffed with pounded meat [and other ingredients].¹⁸ Continue boiling until the tripe is completely cooked.

Take the cooked meat out of the pot, put it on *khiwān* (low board or table), and cut it into suitable portions. Arrange them in a big wide bowl (*tayfūriyya*) taking care not to crowd its edges with meat. Do not use any of the meat broth. Next, put the *qibba* in the middle, cut it open, and sprinkle it with ground cassia. With your [cupped] hand, sprinkle it lightly with a little *murri* (liquid fermented sauce).¹⁹ Give it a sprinkle of pungent, white mustard [sauce].²⁰

A recipe for *qibba* (stuffed omasum tripe):

Pound together tender meat, the white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*), and cilantro. Sprinkle dried and pounded [coriander seeds],²¹ black pepper, and cassia on them. Add to the mixture, a small amount of chopped tender leek leaves (*kurrāth baql*) and a small amount of rice.

Fill the omasum tripe (*qibba*) very well with the stuffing, and sew it

¹⁵ From *Khurāsān*, a Persian region.

¹⁶ More commonly known as *bishtamāzak* and *kishtamāzak*.

¹⁷ I am amending the word *تقلبه* (fry it) to *تغليه* (boil it) because none of the recipes in this chapter call for frying, and it is easy to mistake one for the other.

¹⁸ *Qibba* is the third compartment of the ruminant stomach. It is round like a ball, which explains why it is called *rummāna* 'pomegranate' (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *قَبَب*). See Glossary, Section 11.1. The following recipe will describe how to stuff it.

¹⁹ For sprinkling liquids lightly the verb is *naddaḥa* *نَضَحَ*, cf. *rashsha* *رَشَّ* 'sprinkle.'

²⁰ The verb al-Warrāq uses, *rashsha*, indicates that liquid is being sprinkled here. For dry ingredients such as ground sugar or pepper, the verbs *nathara* *نَثَرَ* and *dharra* *ذَرَّ* are used.

²¹ The name of the spice is missing in both manuscripts and the recipe is not included in the Istanbul MS. However, since the previous herb was *kizbara raṭba* (cilantro), it is feasible to assume that *yābisa* is meant to be *kizbara yābisa* (coriander seeds).

closed with twigs of *khilāf* (willow). If you like, add to the filling finely minced liver.

[When stuffed tripe is ready] add it to the pot in which *mā' wa milḥ* is cooking.

***Mā' wa milḥ* cooked with innards (*buṭūn*) by Abū Samīn:**²²

Take whatever you may from *buṭūn* of kids only.²³ Scrape them clean and wash them thoroughly using salt and parsley. Wrap the pieces around tallow of kidneys and caul fat (*ṭharb*), press out their moisture, and put them in a pot. Pour enough water to cover them. Add sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*), a little bit of salt, and just one piece of galangal.

Let the pot simmer until the meat pieces are cooked. Take them out of the pot and arrange them in a bowl (*ghudāra*). Immediately, dust the dish with ground cassia and sprinkle it (74v) with onion juice. It is fantastic (*ghāya min al-ghāyāt*).

***Mā' wa milḥ* of gazelle meat (*lahm ghazāl*):**

Cut gazelle meat into big chunks. [Put them in a pot and] add to them a lot of salt, soaked chickpeas, galangal, and cassia. Add as well sprigs of dill (*ʿidān shabat*), black pepper, round onions, and ½ *usukruja* (¼ cup) olive oil. Pour enough water to cover the ingredients in the pot and let it cook until the meat is done.

Break *barāzīdhaj* bread into small pieces [in a bowl,²⁴ and ladle on it] the meat and its broth. Pour on the dish some liquid mustard (*mā' khardal*) and sour juice of unripe grapes (*mā' ḥiṣrim*) then serve it, God willing.

A recipe for sauce (*ṣibāgh*) served with *mā' wa milḥ*:

Take 1 part [ground] walnut; 1 part [ground] almonds; 3 parts liquid of ground *zabīb* (raisins), which have been steeped in vinegar; 2 parts of mustard sauce made with raw seeds (*khardal ma'mūl fuḷḷ*); and 1 part aged *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). Add as well ½ part sugar, and ½ part good quality rose water if you wish. Beat together all these ingredients.

[To use], pour sauce on the *mā' wa milḥ* dish after you sprinkle some

²² He is the cook of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭhiq. See Appendix.

²³ They are the contents of the animal's abdomen, mostly tripe and intestines such as *dawwāra* (small intestines), *mib'ar* (large intestines), *banāt al-laban* (the coiled part of small intestines), *ʿirq* (diaphragm known as skirt steak), liver, and spleen.

²⁴ Fine leavened white bread. See Chapter 13 above for recipes.

[ground] cassia on it. Alternatively, you may serve it separately as a condiment (*ṣibāgh*) in a small bowl (*uskurruja*).²⁵

‘Abdullāh bin Ṭāhir composed these verses on *mā' wa milḥ*:²⁶

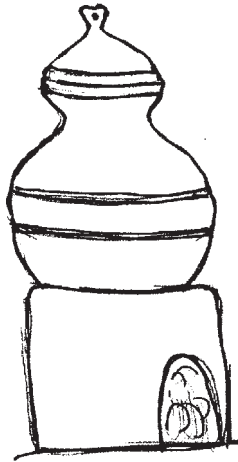
Mā' wa milḥ has a distinguished taste of its own. It far surpasses *maḍīra* and *sikbāja* dishes.²⁷

Choice cuts of loins of wild ass in it and sundry pieces of game meat, lean and fatty.

Put in a bowl with meat of wild calf surrounded, with francolin interspersed,

And in the midst a stuffed tripe sits.²⁸ Better than any *sikbāja* and *zīrbāja* dishes.²⁹

It comforts my heart to see it with sauce furnished. Most nourishing for the tired and the famished.



²⁵ The small bowl is equal to ½ cup. It is used as a measuring unit and a serving bowl.

²⁶ He was described as the most famous of the Abbasid governors (d. 844). See Appendix.

²⁷ Meat dish cooked in sour milk, and beef stew soured with vinegar, respectively.

²⁸ *Qibba maḥshuwwa*, recipe in this chapter.

²⁹ A delicate bird stew.

فِي عَمَلِ السَّكْبَاجِ وَالْثَرِيدِ وَالْمَلْبَقِ

(75r) MAKING BEEF STEWS SOURED WITH VINEGAR
(*SIKBĀĠĀT*), BREAD SOPPED IN BROTH (*THARĀTID*),
AND BREAD SOFTENED IN FAT (*MULABBAQĀT*)

Of the stories told of Kisrā Anū-Shirwān,¹ he once said to a number of cooks testing them, “Let each one of you prepare his best dish,” He let them cook in separate places but they all came out with *sikbāġa*. *Khosrau* called it the ‘queen of all dishes’ and used to spend 1,000 *dirhams* on it daily. It is also said that this dish was first prepared for him to stimulate his poor appetite. For a long time he ate nothing but this dish. He prohibited others from eating it but after a while he allowed his secretaries (*kuttāb*) to enjoy it. Until Persia lost its power, only Kisrā’s household and secretaries were permitted to eat it.

Here is how to cook it:

Take 4 *raṭls* (4 pounds) choice cuts of lamb and a similar amount of fatty beef. Also take one plump chicken that has been slaughtered and kept overnight dangling upside down [to drain its blood] with its feathers still on. Scald the chicken to remove its feathers and split it in half. Use also 4 plump chicks.

Wash the beef thoroughly and put it in a pot. Pour enough sweet vinegar (*khall ‘adhb*) on it to drench it. Put the pot on burning coals (*fahm*) and let the meat come to a boil three times (*thalāth ghalyāt*) until it is almost done.²

Take the beef out of the pot [discard the vinegar, return meat to the pot,] and add the lamb after cutting it into pieces and washing it well. Pour enough undiluted vinegar (*khall ṣirf*) to submerge it and top it by four fingers’ width. Bring the pot to several boils (*yaghli ghalyāt*).

¹ *Khosrau*, a Persian king (d.579).

² For details on such culinary expressions, see Glossary, Section 10.2, s.v. *fawwara*.

Clean and disjoint the chicken and add it to the meat in the pot. Add equal amounts of fresh watercress (*jirjir*), parsley, and cilantro. Add as well a few snips of rue (*jazzat sadhāb*) and 20 medium-size fresh leaves of *utruj* (citron). Let the pot boil until the meat is almost cooked. (75v) Discard all the greens in the pot once they wilt.

Clean the chicks and put them whole on the meats in the pot. Bring the pot to a boil just once. Then add 30 *dirhams* (3 ounces) ground coriander seeds that have been loosely tied in a bundle of cloth and a small bunch of *shāhasfaram*,³ bruise it before adding it. Thread 10 *dirhams* (1 ounce) of whole garlic cloves in toothpicks (*khilāl*) and drop them into the pot. Let it cook on burning coals until everything is fully done.

Now add to the pot bees' honey (*asal al-naḥl*) or sugar syrup (*asal al-sukkar*), the amount of which should be a quarter of the amount of vinegar used. You may add more syrup if the vinegar is exceptionally sour. Add as well 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) ground saffron or as much as it takes, so long as it does not overpower the taste of the dish. Also add 2/3 *dirham* (2 grams) ground lovage (*kāsham*). [Stop feeding the fire and let the pot simmer in the remaining heat of the coals] until all indications of boiling and simmering subside (*ḥatta yahda*). Take the pot off the fire and ladle it, God willing.

Yūsuf bin Ibrāhīm, *mawla* of Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, said:⁴ Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī had a slave girl who was *ṣafrā'* *muwallada*.⁵ Al-Rashīd gave her to him as a present when he came back from an expedition in Damascus. She was an exceptionally skillful cook and was the most-gifted expert in making *bawārid* (cold dishes) and desserts (*ḥalwā*). She was the best, ever.

Yūsuf continues. When al-Amīn heard some of the stories about her excellence,⁶ he told abū Ishāq (Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī) that he craved to eat *sikbāja* of beef prepared by her and that the pot should

³ A species of fragrant mint with small leaves, also called, *ḥabaq ṣa'tarī* (thyme-mint) because it smells like thyme. See Glossary, Section 9.

⁴ According to al-Ṣūlī, Yūsuf is Ibn al-Mahdī's maternal cousin (*Ash'ār Awlād al-Khulafā' wa Akhbārihim*, <http://www.alwaraq.net>, 8). Ibn al-Mahdī is the Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 839). Of the meanings of *mawlā*, relevant in this context, are cousin, brother, and foster brother. See Appendix.

⁵ *Muwallada* indicates she was born and raised among Arabs but was not of pure Arab blood. She was *Ṣafrā'*, i.e. originally Rūmiyya, from Bilād al-Rūm (Byzantium).

⁶ He is an Abbasid Caliph, one of the sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd, (d. 813).

also be cooked with lamb, kid's meat, and poultry. His only condition was that she should cook nothing else on that day but this dish and were other kinds of dishes to be presented before or after serving it, he would not touch any of them. All he desired was to eat that dish and drink after it until he got intoxicated before washing his hands.

So Ibrāhīm went home and ordered the slave girl be brought to him. Her name was Bid'a.⁷ He said to her, "Bid'a, your master al-Amīn, *amīr al-mu'minīn* (commander of the faithful) wants me to serve him *sikbāj*. He said you cooked it once for al-Rashīd and that he had it with him and liked it a lot. It was made with different kinds of meat." She replied, "I hear and obey the commands of *amīr al-mu'minīn*."

Ibrāhīm ordered the kitchen manager (*wakīl al-matbakh*) to make available whatever Bid'a asked for and needed to make the dish. So the kitchen supplier (*ṣāhib khidmat al-matbakh*) provided all the ingredients she asked for. When Bid'a woke up in the morning, she started working on the dish. She asked for 1 *mithqāl* (4½ grams) ambergris and 2 *mithqāls* (9 grams) Indian 'ūd (aloe wood) to fumigate the meat and all the ingredients after washing them. She spread them on a basket (*salla*) or a *qafas* turned upside down, or a *mishjab*.⁸ Then she covered them with a bucket (*na'ār*) or a *jubb* (quilted garment) with a wide opening. The *mishjab* may be draped in *kisā*,⁹ or anything else that traps the fumes inside it. This should be done before the water and vinegar start boiling in the pot. Besides, the pot itself may be fumigated after washing it thoroughly as I mentioned earlier [chapter 1] as well as the serving bowl (*ṭayfūriyya*) before ladling the food into it. Adding a small amount of musk to the pot after you put it away from the fire and before you ladle it [will be good too].¹⁰

Abū Yūsuf continues. When the table was set and *sikbāj* was brought in, its aromas filled the air and it exhaled the wonderful fragrances of the perfumes and spices that were in it. Al-Amīn looked at it appreciatively, how excellently it was made and garnished with all kinds of decorations (*tazāyīn*), different kinds of large sausages (*maḥāshī*

⁷ Her name means 'one who excels in everything.' See Appendix.

⁸ *Qafas* is cage-like basket made of the stems of date palm fronds. *Mishjab* is a bundle of sticks tied near the top and the bottom ends are spaced. It functions as a clothes hanger.

⁹ Thick coarse piece of cloth used as a blanket.

¹⁰ Al-Warrāq gets into the story here and gives us a bit of his own culinary wisdom and practical remarks.

wa mabāʿir), *bazmāward* (sliced sandwiches), *ṭardīnāt* (thin meat patties), *sanbūsajāt* (filled pastries), and *laqāniq* (delicate sausages). These were all beautifully interspersed with all kinds of vegetables and herbs, systematically arranged in layers, and festooned around a small bowl of pungent white mustard. It looked like a flower orchard embellished and ornamented with all kinds of adornments, like an illustrious bride or a decorated sword (*sayf muḥalla*).

When the dish was presented, al-Amīn was with the exclusive company of Ibrāhīm, Ishāq al-Mawṣilī,¹¹ and just one of his attendants—he was his favorite. Al-Amīn was all admiration when he looked at it and its aromas hit his nose. When he tasted it, he found it quite delicious and started sampling all the varieties that were in it. (76v) He then said, “Uncle, this dish contains thirty kinds of food, which makes any other dishes unnecessary. This dish has more varieties and is more delicious than the one I had with al-Rashīd, Commander of the Faithful. I had previously ordered it to be made for me but it did not come out as excellent as this one.”

Ibrāhīm said to him, “Commander of the Faithful, I have been greatly blessed with God’s grace today, and great is his favor to me for the Commander of the Faithful has deemed me fit to pleasure him and gratify his appetite and commands. May God increase his bounty, favors, piety, and honor.” He then ordered drinks (*sharāb*) to be brought to the table and they did not wash their hands or had the table cleared until they were all intoxicated. After that, the company departed.

Al-Amīn sent Bid’a a necklace as a gift for which he paid 30,000 *dirhams*. As for Ibrāhīm, he sent him three cases of top quality perfumes, three boats that belonged to al-Rashīd, and three bags of money along with this poem:

Here comes Bid’a with her dish, looking like a garden in spring.¹²
 Approaching thus, the dish looks clad in gowns of light.
 Bursting in color and aroma, as if from a perfumer ‘tis just been
 fetched,
 Emitting scented whiffs and steam, carried by a damsel dazzling the
 eyes with sheen.
 Gorgeous with eyelashes like daring knives of fire in hearts of men.
 The dish what it needs of sour vinegar and fragrant spices is given.
 And saffron plays around in the dish, palms and nails dying.
 Sundry meats plump and innards in it and poultry, too.

¹¹ A famous Abbasid singer (d. 850), also known as Ibn al-Nadīm, after his father Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, the boon companion.

¹² The word is *ādḥār* ‘March,’ the beginning of spring.

(77r) Eggplant generously put, with a delicate sharp knife expertly peeled.

At the sight of this dish a fasting pious can hardly resist and break his fast.

Set at the table saturated in colors, like an orchard with flowers festooned.

Ibrāhīm answered back:

Witty and noble, no equal has, best of friends.

Virtuous leader, generous, and pious.

Descendent of the line of prophecy, the caliphate, salvation, sovereigns, and the free.

You and your company did me honor with your visit, most welcome guests.

Thank you for the favors bestowed upon me: your generous bounty and the rhymes.¹³

Now let us explain how to make *sikbāj*.¹⁴

The *sikbāj* recipe, Bid‘a made for al-Amīn:

Take delicious beef cuts such as *bāṭina* (innards), *sanām* (top back), *quṣayrā* (lower neck), *bawāṭin al-afkhādh* (inner thighs), and *matn* (shoulder).

Take all the innards—*‘irq* (diaphragm, skirt steak), *dawwāra* (small intestines), *mib‘ar* (large intestines), *rummāna* (omasum tripe),¹⁵ and *banāt al-laban* (coiled part of small intestines).¹⁶ However, use none of the liver and spleen.

[All the aforementioned meats] are to be washed thoroughly several times in salted water and parsley. Put them in a big pot that has been fumigated with aloe wood. Pour undiluted vinegar to cover them all and some additional water. Add 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*), a little salt, a bunch of rue, a bunch of parsley, and another of cilantro.

When the pot comes to a boil, take a skinned kid (*maslūkh*), cut it up into big chunks, and add it to the pot.

¹³ There is play on the two senses of the word *nathr*, ‘bounty’ and ‘prose.’

¹⁴ This recipe is from the Oxford MS and the following one is from the Helsinki MS. They are rather different (editors’ note, 135, n.75).

¹⁵ It is a “folded structure” comprising the third chamber of the ruminant’s stomach. The literal meaning in Arabic is ‘pomegranate,’ called so because it is round and firm like this fruit. This part is also prepared as *qibba*, stuffed with meat and rice, and boiled. See recipes in Chapter 48 above.

¹⁶ The literal meaning is “daughters of milk,” because of the white fat adhering to them. See Glossary, Section 11.1.1.

When the pot boils twice,¹⁷ take a whole lamb that has been scalded and cleaned, (*samīl*) and add it to the pot. Let it lie on its chest, with the fore and hind legs tucked underneath it (*bārik* kneeling position). Add as well (77v) 3 excellent quality chickens (*dajāj fāyiq*), 5 plump young fowls (*fīrākḥ*), and 5 pullets (*farāṭī*). Add them one after the other. Then choose some small birds such as quails (*sammān*) and sparrows (*‘aṣāfir*), and add as many of these as the pot can hold.

When all the meats are cooked, add a handful of salt and a handful of ground coriander seeds. Add as well eggplant that has been peeled and boiled in vinegar in a separate pot along with carrots and onion. [Finally] after you stop feeding the fire, add 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) saffron if it can take that much. Otherwise, use half this amount. Then [keep the pot on the remaining heat and] wait until it settles (*tahdaʿ*) and stops bubbling.

When the pot reaches this stage, take the deepest, largest, and widest bowl available. Put in it pieces of bread cut like triangles (*shawābīr*) and ladle enough broth onto the bread to saturate it.

Now take out the kneeling lamb (*al-kharīf al-bārik*) and place it in the middle of the bowl, as it is—kneeling (*bārik*). Place the chickens and chicks all around it. Arrange the beef chunks into sections around them, and use the kid meat portions as dividers between beef sections.¹⁸ Take out the innards, cut them into *shawābīr* (triangles), and spread them on top of the meat. [Before you do this,] spread the eggplant, onion, and carrots on the meat, interspersed with portions of the pullets, sparrows and small birds. Decorate the dish with *bazmāward* (slices of rolled sandwiches), *ṭardīn* (thin meat patties), *laqāniq* (sausages of small intestines), *maḥāshī* (very large sausages of lower intestines), *mabāʿir* (sausages of large intestines), stuffed omasums (*qibāb maḥshuwwa*),¹⁹ and pieces of cheese. Arrange these as dividers between sections. Whatever empty spaces you see in the dish, fill them in with some nice-looking green herb.

Scatter chopped parsley and rue all over the dish, and serve it with mustard, God willing.

¹⁷ For details on such culinary expressions, see Glossary, Section 10.2, s.v. *fawwara*.

¹⁸ Al-Warrāq uses the word *qisma* (dividing into portions) for the beef and *taḥṣīl* (used as dividers) for the kid meat.

¹⁹ The third compartment of the ruminant stomach. See n. 15 above.

A recipe for *sikbāj*:²⁰

Take choice cuts of beef such as *bāṭina* (innards), *sanām* (top back), *quṣayrā* (lower neck), or the inner thighs (*bawāṭin al-afkhādh*), and shoulders (*matn*). Take all the innards such as ‘*urūq* (diaphragm, skirt steaks), *dawwāra* (small intestines), *mib’ar* (large intestines), *rummāna* (omasum),²¹ *banāt al-laban* (the coiled part of small intestines).²²

Put all these meats in a soapstone pot (*burma*) after you wash them and cut them into equal parts [and boil them in wine vinegar and water]. When they are almost done, take them out and put them on a plate.

Choose some excellent plump chickens, [clean them,] and put them in the pot with a fresh batch of wine vinegar, [return the almost-cooked meat,] and let them cook.

When the chicken is done, add 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) coriander seeds, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) ginger, 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) saffron, and 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) each of black pepper, parsley, and rue.

Cut bread into *shawābīr* (triangles).²³ Ladle enough broth for the bread to sop it. Arrange the meat and chicken in an organized manner. Garnish it with *bazmāward* (slices of rolled sandwiches), *ṭardīn* (thin meat patties), *laqāniq* (sausages of small intestines), *maḥāshī* (very large sausages of lower intestines), and *mabā’ir* (sausages of large intestines). Scatter pieces of chopped cheese all over it and serve it with mustard, God willing.

***Sikbāj* with musk (*misk*) by al-Rashīd:**²⁴

Take the best of innards (*buṭūn*) and cut them as you wish. Put them in a clean pot and let them boil. Take them out of the pot before they are fully cooked and spread them on a tray. (78r)

Now take [other] meat, cut it into pieces, put it in a pot, and let it cook. When the meat comes to a boil, take it out and spread it [on a tray]. Let it cool.

Take good quality wine vinegar and pour it into a pot. Add a small amount of water so that the dish does not taste too sour. If the vinegar is weak, then do not dilute it. When it comes to a boil, add the meat to

²⁰ The version of Helsinki MS.

²¹ See n. 15 above.

²² See n. 16 above.

²³ Instead of bread خبز the recipe mentions cheese جبن. This is obviously a misreading on the part of the copyist.

²⁴ Hārūn al-Rashīd, the famous Abbasid caliph (d. 809).

it. Wash the [set aside] innards and add them to the pot, as well.

Add watercress (*jirjūr*), parsley, onion, and a little salt. Add the onion tied (*marbūt*) [in a bundle]. Add as well coriander seeds, black pepper, and cumin, all ground.

When the meat is almost done, take it out. Strain the broth using a clean, tightly woven piece of fabric (*khirqā safiqa*) to get rid of all spice particles. Return the strained broth to the pot along with the meat. Let it cook until the meat is done. Then add to the pot saffron, and 1 *qīrāt* (¼ gram) musk. If the stew comes out a little too sour, then add as much sugar as needed [to balance its taste].

Cut the bread into pieces [in a bowl] and ladle the broth on it. Arrange the meat as you do in the rest of *sikbāj* dishes.

A recipe for *mulabbaqa* (soft *tharīda* saturated in fat):²⁵

Take pith of bread which has been baked in the *tannūr* and pith of bread baked in the brick oven (*aqrāṣ al-furn*). Let the pith be a little dry and stale. Crush it between the fingers and sift it in a sieve. Put it in a pot and pour on it fat from the *sikbāj* stew (*dasam*).²⁶ Start the fire underneath the pot and slowly add a small amount of sesame oil (*shayraq*). However, if there is enough of the *sikbāj* fat in it, there is no need to add the extra sesame oil.

Add to the pot, a bit of sugar, cassia, spikenard, ginger, and saffron, all ground.

Boil some of the *sikbāj* broth, and pour it on the breadcrumbs in the pot. Keep on stirring until the mixture is saturated and thickened.

Ladle the bread into a bowl, and arrange the meat pieces around it along with the stuffed sausages. Garnish it with herbs and vegetables, scatter some chopped rue and parsley all over it, and serve it, God willing.

²⁵ This recipe is a variation on how to serve the *sikbāj*.

²⁶ It is assumed that you already have a pot of cooked *sikbāj*.

عمل الحراسيس الرزّيّات والحنطيات

MAKING PORRIDGES (*HARĀṬIS*) OF RICE AND WHEAT¹

A recipe for rice porridge (*harīsat al-aruzz*):

Wash fat meat and put it in a pot. Pour water on it and add some salt. Let it cook until meat disintegrates and falls off the bones. Put the pot off the heat. Take meat out of the pot and pound it in a mortar and pestle (*hāwan*) if it is still chunky.

Next, pick over white rice and wash it three times. Pour strained milk on the meat broth and bring it to a boil. Add the rice and continue cooking until it is done. Return the pounded meat and keep on stirring until rice grains are crushed. Pour into it butter (*zubb*), clarified butter (*samn*), a mixture of equal parts of rendered fat (*duhn maslūʿ*) and sesame oil (*shayraj*),² or milk (*laban*).

Beat the mixture continuously until it is completely crushed. Keep on stirring and beating until it looks like *nāṭif* [thick and chewy nougat] and meat looks like threads integrated into the rice.

Serve the porridge with a bowlful (*uskurruja*) of *murri* (liquid fermented sauce),³ God willing.



¹ All the porridges in this chapter are beaten and crushed to a smooth thick consistency, and hence the name *harīsa*, the crushed and beaten.

² Rendered fat is made by cooking chunks of sheep's tail fat until they melt then strained and used.

³ *Murri*, as well as black pepper and cinnamon are believed to aid digestion of *harīsa* by breaking up its density. The way to eat it is to scoop some of the *harīsa* with a piece of thin *ruqāq* bread. The morsel is dipped in bowl of *murri* followed by a light dip in a bowl of black pepper then cinnamon. As described in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī *Al-Baṣāʾir wa 'l-Dhakhāʾir* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 162.

A recipe for *harīsa* made with bread:

Take three fatty chickens, which you scald, clean, and grill. While the chickens are grilling, put underneath them a container to receive all the fat drippings.

Shred the meat of the breasts into thin threads and put it in a clean pot. Pour on it $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) olive oil or sesame oil and add enough water to cover the shredded chicken. Let the pot cook until most of the moisture evaporates. Add sifted pith of white fine bread (*khubz samīdh*) it.

Now, let there be a vessel filled with milk (*laban ḥalīb*) next to you. Pour the contents of the container that received the chicken drippings (79r) into the pot. Keep on cooking and stirring it, adding of the milk besides you whenever needed to replenish the evaporated liquid. Continue doing this until the porridge becomes thick in consistency, thicker than the usual *harīsa* made with wheat.

Ladle the porridge [into a bowl] and serve it with Nabatean *murri*,⁴ God willing.

***Harīsa* with tripe (*kurūsh*) by Ibn al-Mahdī:⁵**

Wash and scald the tripe, cut it into pieces, and wash it repeatedly until it is very clean. Boil it the way you boil the meat then shred it into thin threads, the thinnest you can get them.

Return the shredded tripe to the pot and pour enough milk to cover it. Add cassia and galangal, a piece each. Add as well melted chicken fat and ground rice. Stir the porridge until it thickens. Season it with enough salt and moisten it with kidney tallow, which has been rendered in a frying pan.

Ladle the porridge into a big serving bowl (*ṭayfūriyya*) and sprinkle it with a small amount of ground cassia. Eat it with *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), God willing.

⁴ Liquid, bread-based fermented sauce, indigenous to Iraq. See Glossary, Section 3.

⁵ The gourmet Abbasid prince (d. 839).

***Harīsa kānūniyya* (cooked on a brazier), can be eaten at the place where it is cooked.⁶ Abū Samīn used to make it for al-Wāthiq:⁷**

Shred finely roasted chicken breasts. Boil together milk and ground rice until cooked. Add the shredded chicken to the pot and beat the mixture very well. Beat into it strained melted chicken fat. Add pure salt as needed and [continue] beating the porridge.

Ladle it into a bowl and serve it with *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), God willing.

Another recipe for *harīsa kānūniyya* (cooked on a brazier):

Combine in a clean pot, meat and hulled and crushed wheat after washing both of them. [Add water to pot, and] put it on the *daykadān* (trivet),⁸ as you do when you put pots in the *tannūr*.

Continue cooking until all the ingredients fall apart (*yataharraʿ*). Beat the porridge [while the pot is still cooking] on [the trivet] (79v) until it is thick.

Alternatively, you may cook the meat and wheat separately then combine them. You may pound the meat in a stone mortar (*ḥajar*) after cooking it, mix it with the wheat then beat them together.

Alternatively, half the amount of grains used may be wheat and the other half rice. Whether the rice used is whole or ground, it will certainly enhance the flavor of the milk [which is added after the grains and meat are cooked, as in the above recipe].

The most delicious fats used in making this porridge are butter and [rendered] fat of ducks and chicken. Indeed, it will make it comparable to the food of notables (*taʿām al-surāt*). Equally delicious will be making it with chicken breasts and bread pith.

Moreover, it can be made with chicken breasts, rice, milk, and sugar. This is called ***muhallabiyya***.⁹

⁶ Portable braziers were used to cook such dishes while traveling and picnicking.

⁷ The Abbasid Caliph famous for his love for food and big appetite (d. 847). Abū Samīn was his cook.

⁸ A three-legged stand made of metal used for supporting cooking vessels that need to be raised above the burning fire. The Arabic name is *minṣab*.

⁹ After the name of al-Muhallab bin Abī Ṣufra, (d. 702) governor of Iraq during the Umayyad period (628–702). See Appendix.

A recipe for *khayṭiyya* (porridge with threadlike meat-shreds):

Choose fatty meat from the ribs (*aḍlāʿ*), rump (*aʿjāz*), and sheep's tail (*alya*). Cut them into smaller pieces and put them in a clean pot. Add 2 *dirhams* (1 teaspoon) fine-tasting olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*) and pour enough water to cover the meat. Add a stick of cassia and a piece of galangal and let the pot boil until meat is almost done. Add hulled wheat that has been cracked and boiled separately, and let the pot boil once or twice. Add rice that has been washed repeatedly and dried in a piece of cloth. Do not stir the pot at this point.

When the pot gets dry, replenish the liquid with milk, and let it cook under slow fire. Keep on replenishing the milk as needed, and continue cooking under low heat until enough milk is added, and the porridge is fully cooked. Add salt and stir the pot gently.

For best results, at the early stage of cooking the porridge keep on skimming the froth from the surface whenever it shows up to ensure a porridge clean of any undesirable particles of scum.

Ladle the porridge into a big wide bowl (*ṭayfūriyya*) and put a small bowl (*ʿuskuriya*) of *murī* in the middle, God willing.

Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Adīb recited to me this poem on *harīsa*:¹⁰

The most delicious food one may ever eat when April the arrival of
summer heralds,

And when kids and lamb are at their best, is *harīsa* made by *niswān*
(women).

(80r) With skilled hands, tastiest *harīsa* they make, birds and lamb
combining.

Fats and oils are added to pot, and meat and tail fat and tallow.

Then geese and quails and fair wheat and grass pea follow.

Next, milk and rice, which the miller perfectly ground,

And salt and galangal. It wearied the hands that beat and stirred it.

Like the shining constellations in the sky,¹¹ it puts all other dishes to
shame,

As it comes carried by the slave boys, embraced by bowl and tray,

Above it is a bamboo vault, which roof and walls support,

Domed and rounded. The slave boys did uncover it and offer,

¹⁰ He is ʿAbdullāh bin Muḥammad bin al-Nāshīʾ Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Anbārī known as Ibn Shirshīr al-Adīb (d. 906). See Appendix, s.v. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Adīb.

¹¹ *Ẓubra* and *Nisrayān*. I amend here *zubb* (butter) to *zubra* 'a star' or 'the eleventh mansion of the moon' to go with *Nisrayān* constellations of the Eagle and the Lyre (meanings from Steingass). The poem can be found in al-Masʿūdī (695). However, this part of the line is not included in his version.

Its radiance dazzles the eyes.¹² With *murrī* brought, just what it needed.

Coveted by the hungry and the full, craved by host and guest alike.

Among its peers it reigns, mind and intellect clearing,

Eating it does the body good. Sāsān in his days invented it,¹³

And Kīsrā Anū *Shirwān* loved it.¹⁴

If the famished catch sight of it, they will scramble for it.

He also recited to me this poem:

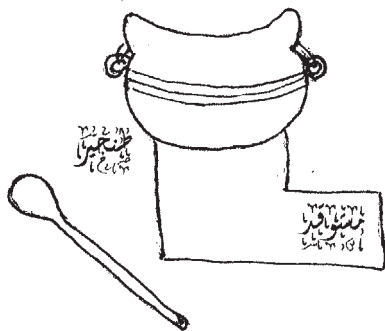
Banū Qamar, valiant ones, *Banū Munīr*,¹⁵ sons of the luminous sun of the day.

Brothers in humanity, but also from the same tribe descended.

I invite you to direct your steps towards my house, this Saturday, shortly before noon, before the heat of noon.

(80v) We'll have for you *harīsa*, our chef expertly cooked; and plenty of *sikbāja*, too!¹⁶

At the sight of which *zīrbāja* will, after *maḍīra*, follow suit and with envy slap itself.¹⁷



¹² I here fill in a lacuna in the edited text (تفتر من لهيبها العينان) using al-Mas'ūdī's version (see note above).

¹³ Father of the founder of the Sassanide dynasty in Persia.

¹⁴ A Sassanide king (d. 579).

¹⁵ Names of Arabian tribes.

¹⁶ Beef stew soured with vinegar.

¹⁷ 'A delicate bird stew' and 'meat stew cooked with sour milk,' respectively (recipes in Chapters 57, 69). The poet plays on the word *qafā* in this line. The first meaning is 'after,' I translate as 'follow suit.' The other is 'nape of the neck,' through which the poet also conveys the idea that frustrated and envious *zīrbāja* will slap itself against the nape of *maḍīra*.

عمل الارز رياس الملبّس السافوجا

MAKING SIMPLE RICE PORRIDGES (*ARUZZIYYĀT*) WITH MILK¹

A recipe for *aruzziyya sādḥaja* (simple rice porridge) by al-Wāthiq:²

Clean lamb (*lahm ḥaml*) and put it in a pot. Add a few drops of olive oil, a stick of cassia, a piece of galangal, and a handful of salt, or as needed. [Add water] and cook the pot until meat is done. [While cooking] you need to remove the scum as it comes up so that nothing remains of it.

Now take the rice, wash it several times until it is clean and then put it in the center of the pot,³ and cook it under a slow fire (*nār layyina*). Add the milk gradually and as needed until the porridge is thickened and fully cooked. Let it settle for a while and ladle it into a clean *ṣahfa* (big, wide, shallow bowl). Serve it with a small bowl (*uskurrija*) of *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) put in the center of the dish, God willing.

Simple *aruzziyya* with milk by al-Mutawakkil:⁴

Put clean milk in a clean pot and let it slightly boil with cassia and galangal [sticks]. Discard the cassia and galangal and add rice, which has been picked over and washed very well. Let it cook until completely done. Then stir the porridge vigorously to let the rice disintegrate into a mush. Add salt as needed.

Continue cooking, adding milk whenever it gets dry. Keep on doing this until the porridge thickens and absorbs enough milk and cannot take in any more. Let it simmer and thicken on slow-burning coals (*jamr ḥādī*).

¹ In this chapter, the porridges are made exclusively with rice, some with meat and some meatless. What differentiates them from the recipes in the previous chapter is that the rice does not necessarily have to be crushed and beaten to a smooth consistency.

² Abbasid Caliph (d. 847).

³ We are to understand that the meat pieces will be pushed towards the sides of the pot.

⁴ Abbasid Caliph (d. 861).

If you wish, add what equals a quarter of its amount white sugar, the way the Persians used to do. If you choose to add the sugar, then add with it fresh and sweet clarified butter. [Do this gradually] until the porridge takes enough of the butter and thickens. (81r) When it is no longer boiling, take it off the heat and ladle it [into a bowl], God willing.

Al-Ḥāfiẓ recited to me these lines on *aruzziyya*.⁵ He imitates (*yuʿārid*) a poem Ibn al-Mahdī composed on *shaljamiyya* (turnip stew),⁶

What a wonderful *aruzziyya*, cooked to perfection, like a full moon in the middle of the sky.

Purer than the doubly condensed snow that the winds and dew tinted.

As white as a large pure pearl spread in a bowl.

It dazzles the eyes with its sheen. Behold moonlight even before the evening is seen.

The sugar on its sides, like lustrous light projected from the skies.

A recipe for rice with milk (*aruzz bi-laban*) by al-Wāthiq:⁷

Wash the rice and let it soak in milk overnight. Put water in a *ṭinjīr* (large copper pot) or a regular pot (*qidr*), [according to your estimate, the amount should be] enough to cover the rice or a little less. Add fat to water. It can be clarified butter from cows [milk], almond oil, or fresh sesame oil. Let the pot boil once.

Add the [soaked] rice and a suitable amount of honey. Wait until it is almost cooked then start adding milk gradually until rice is fully cooked and it has absorbed all the milk. Take the pot away from the fire.

It would be even more delicious if you substitute honey with ground white sugar. Besides, you need to soak the rice in fresh milk that has just been milked. [Soaking the rice overnight in milk] can only be done in cold weather.

⁵ In Chapter 58 below, al-Warrāq mentions him as al-Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad bin al-Wazīr. In al-Masʿūdī's passage on food poems (*Murāj al-Dhahab* 695), his name is mentioned as Muḥammad bin al-Wazīr known as al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dimaṣḥqī. Al-Warrāq says that al-Ḥāfiẓ recited the poem to him, '*anṣhadanī*'. In Helsinki MS it is written as "he [?] recited to me a poem by al-Ḥāfiẓ." The poem can be found in al-Masʿūdī (695).

⁶ The gourmet Abbasid prince (d. 839). His poem is in Chapter 54 below.

⁷ Abbasid Caliph (d. 847).

***Aruzziyya* by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:⁸**

Take chunks of lean rump and chunks of sheep's tail fat. Slice them thinly and smoke them until meat looks brown (*aḥmar*, literally red). Heat some olive oil in a pot and fry the meat slices in it until done. Sprinkle them with a little salt and water, but avoid using *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) lest it should discolor the dish.

Take a big pot, fill it up to its half with milk, (81v), and bring it to a boil. Add galangal and cinnamon, a stick each. Add salt as needed.

Now take some rice, wash it very well, and add it to the milk. When it is done and thickened, add the prepared meat slices with the oil in which it was fried.

Stir the rice very well and serve it, God willing.

Here is a poem by Ibrāhīm on this dish:

Aruzza with milk of any blemishes free.
 Made simple with one kind of grains, drowned in fat.
 How marvelous is the meat in it, with fat almost as much as the
 meat.
 The meat slices like fresh dates, moist and tender. How pretty in the
 huge bowl it looks.
 A closer regard will make you think it is the full moon but blemish-
 free.

⁸ The gourmet Abbasid prince (d. 839).

في عمل الحنطيات الثلاثة

MAKING WHEAT DISHES (*ḤINTIYYĀT*)[AND] THREE-GRAIN DISHES (*MUTHALLATHĀT*)¹

[....]:²

Cook lean and fatty meat with hulled wheat (*qamḥ maqshūr*) [and water] until the grains are cooked. However, do not let it get to the point where the wheat falls apart and gets mushy.³ Add bruised (*mashdūkh*) pieces of cassia and galangal to the pot.

You may substitute [white] wheat with green wheat (*qamḥ akḥḍar farīk*).⁴ You may pour into it some milk. In fact, you can use milk with the wheat we mentioned first, add as much as it needs. If wished, you can sweeten the dish with sugar, but not much.

Another recipe for *thulāthiyya*:⁵

Do it the same way [as above] but you need to make sure that you do use the cassia and galangal here. For this dish use rice, lentil, and white beans. Let the lentil be the least amount added [of the grains and legumes]. If wished, add bruised chickpeas (*himmaṣ marḍūd*). Let the amount be equal to that of lentil.

After you ladle it [into a platter], pour over it some heated fat (*duḥn maqlū*), (82r) and arrange around it thin flat breads (*ruqāq*). Let some be spread flat (*manshūr*), and others rolled up (*malḥūf*).

Another *thulāthiyya* made with rice and cooked in the *tannūr* (*aruzziyya tannūriyya*):

It can be made with rice only, with or without browned onion [slices]. It can also be made with red or white beans. It should be of medium

¹ The word *muthallathāt* or *thulāthiyya* derives from *thalātha* (three) and designates dishes that combine three grains and pulses. The second recipe, for instance, calls for rice, lentil, and white beans.

² There is no title for the recipe and Istanbul MS does not have one either. However, the recipe directions indicate that it is *ḥintiyya*.

³ Dishes of grains and legumes in this chapter are not meant to be creamy and mushy in texture like *harīsa* in Chapter 50.

⁴ *Farīk* is wheat harvested when it is still green. See Glossary, Section 2.

⁵ Or *muthallatha* as in Helsinki MS.

consistency, thick but still have some liquid (*maraq*) in it, and the grains themselves should not stick to each other. It is also cooked with extremities (*aṭrāf*).⁶

[This dish is to be further cooked in the *tannūr*] with a whole kid or fat lamb suspended above it [and roasted].⁷ Instead of a whole lamb, a whole side of ribs (*janb*) or a whole chicken may be used. You can cover the dish with *ruqāqa* (thin flat bread) and you may spread some *ʿuṣbān* all over the top so that their fat may melt down into the cooking dish.⁸

When all liquid is absorbed [and the suspended meat is roasted], serve this dry dish (*nāshif*) in a big wide bowl (*ṭayfūriyya*) and arrange the *ʿuṣbān* around it. As for the roasted sides, slice through each two ribs and spread them around the dish. You may serve the roasted meat separately and not in the *ṭayfūriyya* itself, God willing.

CHAPTER 53

في عمل اللسان والخارج والكرفيات

MAKING SPINACH AND CABBAGE DISHES

Isbanākhiyyāt (spinach dishes) and *kurunbiyyāt* (cabbage dishes) are cooked the same way. The only difference is the vegetable used. Whichever vegetable you choose, start by cleaning it of any unwanted weeds, and cutting off and discarding roots and stalks. Boil it in water until almost cooked, take it out, and put it in cold water.

Now cut medium-size pieces of meat taken from *aṭrāf al-mulhā* (from the backbone area), the first few ribs (*awāʿil al-aḍlāʿ*), and some fatty cuts of meat. Put them in a clean pot and add to them [chopped] white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*), a few drops of sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*), and galangal and cassia, a stick each. Sweat

⁶ This will include shanks and trotters. The recipe describes the initial stage in preparing the dish, which involves cooking it on open fire before putting it in the *tannūr* with meat suspended above it, as in *jūdhāba* dishes (Chapter 92).

⁷ At this stage the dish is prepared as *jūdhāba*.

⁸ *ʿUṣbān* are intestines of kids and sheep, cleaned and cooked sometimes like meat as in Chapter 83 below. They may designate strips of lean meat tied with these intestines and cooked as in this recipe. In the *ʿuṣbān* recipe in Chapter 87 they are roasted.

the meat [until all moisture evaporates].⁹ Then pour water over it, enough to cover, [and let it boil,]. Skim the froth and impurities as they come up.

When meat is cooked, wash for it some rice, and add it to the pot along with salt as needed, and a little black pepper. Add the vegetables, let the pot cook for a short while then serve the dish.

If you like, (82v) add to the pot [while still cooking] whole carrots. Take them out when cooking is done, slice them into rounds like *darāhim* (coins), and arrange them on the ladled out dish. Serve it with *murri*, God willing.



⁹ I amend here (عرقفه) *gharrafahu* 'he ladled it' in the edited text to (عرقفه) '*arriqhu* 'let it sweat.' I take it as a misreading on the part of the copyist. Istanbul MS does not include this phrase. 'He ladled it' is irrelevant at this stage in cooking the dish. The same misreading occurs in Chapter 55 below.

'*Arraqa* derives from *ta'riq*, a common cooking technique, according to which the meat pieces are quickly fried in some oil or rendered sheep's tail fat. In the process, the frequently stirred meat will first ooze its juices (i.e. it sweats), which will then quickly evaporate leaving behind the slightly browned meat and the fat. This method is extensively used in al-Baghdādī's thirteenth-century cookbook. Some cooks in modern Iraq still follow the same method.

عمل الفجل والسنجاب

MAKING DISHES OF RADISH AND TURNIP

Fujliyyāt (dishes with radish) and *shaljamiyyāt* (dishes with turnip) are cooked the same way. Recipes for one kind can be applied for making the other.

A recipe for *shaljamiyya* (turnip dish) by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:¹

Choose fatty pieces of meat, large and small intestines, and skirt steak (*ʿirq al-karsh*).² Clean them and cook them with some white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*) [and water].

When meat is almost done, add turnip cut into large pieces, and skinned whole onions. When turnip and onion are cooked, take them out of the pot and crush them into fine mush in a stone mortar along with $\frac{1}{4}$ *ūqiyya* (7½ grams) coriander seeds,³ $\frac{1}{2}$ *ūqiyya* (15 grams) cumin, and 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) black pepper, all ground. Return the turnip mix into the pot, let it simmer gently on the fire, and serve it.

You may cook the dish with gourd and onion when turnip is not in season. You just cook them, crush them, and add the spices [as described above]. This will be a good substitute for turnips, God willing.

Another *shaljamiyya* recipe also by him [Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī]:

Cut the meat into pieces, as big as a fist each, and let it be marbled meat (*laḥm mujazzaʿ*). Clean it and put it in a pot with chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*), bruised chickpeas, and galangal and cinnamon, a stick each. Add as well, chopped cilantro, salt, olive

¹ The gourmet Abbasid prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 839).

² It is the diaphragm of the animal.

³ In Oxford MS, it is *raṭl* (pound), but this would be a lot of coriander and disproportionate with the other measurements. Therefore, *ūqiyya* is probably what he meant to put. The other two MSS do not give measurements.

oil, and water enough to cover the meat. Let the pot cook until meat is almost done.

Peel whole turnips and boil them in hot water [in another pot]. Take them out and let them cool down. Slice some of the turnips into rounds, [and set them aside]. Mash the rest of the turnips in a stone mortar with coriander seeds, ground skinned almonds, and a small amount of soaked chickpeas. [Return the crushed turnip mixture into the pot]

Soak some rice [and set it aside].

Pound lean meat and the white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ ‘aṣal*) in a stone mortar. Add to the meat, a little *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), coriander seeds, black pepper, cassia, and cumin [all ground]. (83r) Shape the meat into balls (*yukabbab*), and take them closer to the cooking pot. When it starts boiling, add the meatballs, and stir. When they are almost done, add to the pot some milk, and continue cooking until everything in it is fully cooked.

Add [the set-aside] turnip slices and soaked rice to the pot. Continue cooking until everything is fully cooked. Season the pot with ground cassia, black pepper, and spikenard then put it away from heat.

Another *shaljamiyya* by Ibn al-Mahdī:

Take breasts of chicken or any other birds, slice them thinly, and put them in a pot with a lot of fat. Pour enough water to cover the meat, [bring the pot to a boil,] and skim the froth. Add chickpeas, olive oil, and [chopped] white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ ‘aṣal*). When meat is done, sprinkle black pepper, and cumin on it.

Boil some turnips then mash them very well and strain them in a sieve.⁴ Add them to the pot.

Take skinned almonds and pound them in a stone mortar very well along with a piece of cheese. Break 5 eggs and add the egg whites only to the almond mixture. Continue pounding until mixture is soft. Add it to the pot of turnips.

If you have used milk in cooking the turnips [as in the previous recipe], add a little spikenard. Let the pot simmer gently [in its own heat] until it stops bubbling. Serve the dish with mustard.

⁴ This is done to ensure that the turnip is fully mashed. The sieve here works as a ricer.

Ibn al-Mahdī composed a poem on this dish. It is the same poem which al-Ḥāfiẓ imitated (*‘āraḍa*) in his “*Aruzzīyya*”:⁵

A deep bowl of *shaljamiyya* did strike me with its luster.

Dispersed on it are *dirhams* of turnip, which the payday overseer will not muster.

Like a splendid full moon, decked with the stars of the night.

It looks as if of silver ‘tis made, cast in light.

Having had its fill of milk, it now looks as if wearing a mask so bright.

If fasting believers should see it, they will indeed, every single evening hurry up to it.



⁵ In Chapter 51 above.

فِي عَمَلِ الْمَخْلُوطَاتِ مِنَ اللَّارِزِيَّاتِ وَاللُّوبِيَّاتِ

MAKING MEDLEYS (*MAKHLŪṬĀT*) WITH RICE AND BEANS

A recipe for *Ishāqiyya*:¹

Choose the fattest meat you can get from the lower loins, sides, and ribs. Cut them into small chunks, wash them, and put them in a clean pot. Add 2 *dirhams* (1 teaspoon) olive oil, a stick of galangal, and a stick of cassia. Add as well 1 *dirham* (3 grams) white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*) [chopped].

Sweat the meat [until all moisture evaporates].² After that, pour enough water to cover it by half. When the meat is half done, add white beans that have been gleaned of all red or black ones. The meat and the beans should both be done at the same time.

Add rice to the pot. The amount should be one and half times more than the beans. Add milk enough to cover the contents of the pot. Replenish the milk whenever you notice the pot is drying out. Do this until the dish has enough milk and thickens. While the pot is cooking, keep stirring it frequently and watching it lest it should scorch.

Finally, pour into the pot 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) rendered fat of sheep's tail and stir it. Add salt as needed. [Remove the fire from underneath the pot and] wait until it is no longer simmering and bubbling. Ladle it [into bowls] and serve it, God willing.

A recipe for *niḥrīriyya* (the crafty dish):

This dish is done exactly like the previous one except that you substitute the beans with lentils that have been picked over, skinned,

¹ It could have been named after any of these: *Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī*, *Abū Ishāq al-Ṣūlī*, or *Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī* whose agnomen is also *Abū Ishāq*. See Appendix.

² I amend here (غرفه) *gharaḥahu* 'he ladled it' in the edited text to (عرقه) '*arriqhu* 'let it sweat.' I take it as a misreading on the part of the copyist. Istanbul MS does not include this phrase. 'He ladled it' is irrelevant at this stage in cooking the dish. The same misreading occurs in Chapter 53 above (see n. 9).

and pulverized. Add washed rice, the amount of which is one and a half times more than the lentils, or whatever you think is suitable.

Prepare the dish as you did with the other one [above], [but make sure to] use the rendered fat and the *murri* (liquid fermented sauce).³ [When you serve it,] everybody would believe it to be *jullubāniyya* (dish of grass pea).⁴



³ He did not mention *murri* in the previous recipe, but it was usually served with such dishes to help with flatulence and ease digestion.

⁴ This last statement explains why it is called 'the crafty one.'

عمل الديكبريكات المزعفرات والسوافج الكوفيّات

MAKING *DĪKABRĪKĀT* WITH SAFFRON (*MUẒAʿFARĀT*),¹
AND PLAIN *KŪFIYĀT*²

A recipe for *dhājibrija*,³ Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī made for al-Muʿtaṣim:⁴

Take 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) of scalded (*masmūṭ*) lamb, (84r) and put it in a pot. Pour on it 3 *ūqīyyas* (1/3 cup) *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil).⁵ Add a piece of galangal, 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) whole [skinned] onions, 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) *andarānī* salt,⁶ and whatever the palm and the fingers can hold of [chopped] cilantro. Add water enough to cover all the ingredients by four fingers' width.

Let the pot boil until the onions are almost done, then take them out and set them aside.

Pour into the pot 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) wine vinegar and give it a stir. Let the meat cook until it is done or almost done. Add some seasonal vegetables (*baql al-zamān*). They can be a bunch of leeks (*kurrāṭh*) and carrots [in winter], or eggplant and gourd [in the summer]. Cover the pot, [and continue cooking].

Now crush the set aside onion with 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) coriander

¹ The name occurs as *dhākirkāt* (ذاكركات) in Istanbul MS (fol. 80r). I suggest the name of the dish *dīkabrika* (ديكبريكه) derives from the Persian *dīg* 'meat in a pot,' and *barīk* 'fine, delicate' (meanings of words from Steingass). Thus, the name of the dish can be translated as 'delicately soured meat stew.' Besides, allusions to this dish in medieval sources support this interpretation. *Dīkabrika* is described as the sister of *sīkbāj* (beef stew soured with vinegar) but its sourness is less pronounced (Ibn Ḥamdūn 1103). An anecdote compares a written letter to *dīkabrika*. Put less vinegar in it and it turns into a fried dish, simple and ordinary. Put vinegar more than it needs and it turns into *sīkbāja*, pronouncedly sour and heavy (al-Ābī 571). See Glossary, Section 6.

² Named after Kūfa, a city south of Baghdad. The chapter does not include recipes on such dishes, but from the name we learn it is the specialty of Kūfa, and that it is plain and not sour (*sādhaja*).

³ ذاجبرجة a variation on *dīkabrika*.

⁴ Abbasid Caliph (d. 842), son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and nephew of Ibn al-Mahdī. See Appendix.

⁵ See Glossary, Section 7.

⁶ White translucent crystals of rock salt.

seeds, $\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* (1½ grams) black pepper, and 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) caraway seeds. Put mixture in a bowl and pour on it, 2 *ūqīyyas* ($\frac{1}{4}$ cup) Nabatean *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and a small amount of the stew liquid. Stir mixture very well, return it to the simmering pot, and continue cooking.

[When stew is done,] put the pot away from the fire immediately while it is still boiling hot. Add a small amount of chopped cilantro and cover it with the lid. When it stops simmering and bubbling, ladle the stew and serve it, God willing.

I recited a poem Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī composed on this dish:

The cook approached with a bowl, as round as the rising sun,
Filled with *zībrāja*,⁷ well done and clean, by an expert dexterously
ladled.

Skillfully decked with what it needs, like a necklace a goldsmith thread-
ed with gems.

Pearls of skinned onion alternating with emerald gourd, immaculate
and pure.

Delicate carrots in it, too, like sheets of the purest gold of girdles.

Colored with saffron, easily mistaken for anemones (*shaqā'iq*).

(84v) Eggplant in it does make its presence, saffroned, like carnelian
golden red.

Emitting aromas of camphor, musk, and ambergris. As luscious as
pure honey in taste.

When *dībrāja* approaches, 'tis like no other. An orchard flower or a
garden blossom.

Tharīd encircled with meat, like a girdle of gold around a white gath-
ered dress.⁸

'Tis more scrumptious to me than the most valuable of the precious.

⁷ The poem is about *zīrbāja* (delicate bird stew, recipes in next chapter). Towards the end of the poem he calls it *dībrāja* (ديبراجة), a variation on the name of the main dish in this chapter. Both of them are delicate stews, moderately soured.

⁸ *Qarāṭiq* (sing. *qurṭaq*) women's wide pants with gathered hems.

في عمل الزير باجاس والذير احميات

MAKING STEWS OF *ẒĪRĀJĀT* AND *IBRĀHĪMIYYĀT*¹

***Zīrbāja* (delicate bird stew) by al-Ma'mūn:**²

Take some pullets, scald them [to remove feathers], and clean them. Put them in a pot and pour fresh water, *zayt anfāq* (olive oil of unripe olives), bruised and soaked chickpeas, mustard [seeds], salt, and onion.

When pot boils, add vinegar, leeks (*kurrāth*), and cilantro. Continue cooking until meat is done. [Cut the heat from the pot,] let it rest then color the stew with saffron.

White *zīrbāja* (delicate bird stew) by Ibn al-Mahdī:³

Choose a plump chicken, disjoint and clean it, and put it in a clean pot. Pour on it $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* (1 cup) fresh water, $\frac{1}{2}$ *ūqiyya* (1 tablespoon) sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*), and a small amount of [chopped] white part of fresh onion (*bayād 'aṣal*).

Bring the pot to a boil then pour on it $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* (1 cup) strained white vinegar. Add 2 *ūqiyyas* (2 ounces) white sugar, 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) skinned almonds, and 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) rose water. In a piece of thin fabric, tie [whole] black peppercorns, cassia, and ginger. This is done so that the spices do not discolor the stew.

Let the pot simmer for a little while until stew thickens. After you set it aside to rest, ladle it and serve it, God willing.

¹ *Ẓīrbāja* is a combination of the Persian *zīr* (gold, golden), or *zīr* (delicate, dainty, thin), or *zīra* (cumin seeds); and *bā* (liquid, broth) (meanings of words from Steingass). There were many variations on the dish; however, it was essentially a delicate light stew made with birds, yellowed with saffron, seasoned and spiced with a light hand (some with cumin), and lightly soured with vinegar, with some sugar to balance the taste. Based on this, I translate the dish as 'delicate bird stew.' *Ibrāhīmiyyāt* are named after Ibrāhīm al-Mahdī, the gourmet Abbasid prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839).

² Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 833).

³ See n. 1 above. This recipe and the last one in the chapter are called *Ibrāhīmiyyāt*. *Al-Ibrāhīmiyya* is a variation on *zīrbāja*, distinguished by its white color (no saffron added) and a slightly sweeter taste.

Green *zīrbāja* (delicate bird stew) by Abū Samīn:⁴

Choose meat from below the ribs and cut it into medium pieces. Scald and clean a chicken; (85r) discard the head, neck, and entrails; and quarter it. Put both meats in a clean pot and pour on them water and rose water, enough to cover the meat. Add as well whole [skinned] onions. Light a slow fire (*nār layyīna*) underneath the pot [and let it cook].

Now take fresh parsley, a sprig of rue, and a handful of shelled pistachio. Crush them all together thoroughly and add them to the pot along with a little salt or *mā' kāmakh* (*murri*, liquid fermented sauce). Add as well coriander seeds, black pepper, and cassia, all ground.

Wipe clean the inner sides of the pot [to remove all particles that might have stuck to the sides while cooking] and serve it, God willing.

***Zīrbāja* (delicate bird stew) with quince (*safarjal*) by Ibn al-Mahdī.** He used to call it *muṣliḥat al-ma'ida* (the stomach fixer) and *burmat al-ma'ida* (soapstone pot of the stomach):⁵

Disjoint plump pullets and put them in a clean pot along with a piece of galangal, a handful of skinned soaked chickpeas, 1 *ratl* (1 pound) whole [skinned] onions, and a little salt. Pour water enough to cover the meat and add 3 *ūqiyyas* (1/3 cup) olive oil. Let the pot cook on fire until onions are done. Take out all onions and discard them.

Pour into the pot ¼ *ratl* (½ cup) vinegar and let it boil until vinegar is cooked. Add ½ *ratl* (1 cup) quince juice freshly pressed. Add as well ½ *ūqiyya* (15 grams) coriander seeds, ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) black pepper, ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) spikenard, 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) cumin, and 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) breadcrumbs. Put the pot away from heat and wipe clean the inner sides of the pot. Wait until it rests and serve it, God willing.

***Zīrbāja khamīriyya* (delicate bird stew made with bread yeast) of young pigeons by al-Wāthiq:**⁶

Choose 4 young plump pigeons, old enough to fly (*nawāhid*). Split them in halves and wash them thoroughly. Put them in a pot along with a handful of skinned soaked chickpeas, a little salt, ½ *ratl* (½ pound)

⁴ He was the personal chef of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāthiq (d. 847). See Appendix.

⁵ In other words, like a cooking pot, it helps food digest in the stomach with its hot properties. See Introduction, Section IX for information on the medieval theory of digestion.

⁶ Abbasid Caliph, famous for his love for food and big appetite (d. 847).

chopped onion, (85v), a bunch of chopped cilantro, $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* (1 cup) fresh sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt raṭb ‘adhb*), and enough water to cover the birds. Let the pot cook until meat is half done.

Pour into the pot, $\frac{1}{3}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{2}{3}$ cup) good quality wine vinegar, ground coriander seeds, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), let it be whitish in hue.

Now take dough yeast (*khamīr*) made of *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), the size of two walnuts. The yeast should have been fermenting for days. Mix and blend it (*yumras*) with $\frac{1}{3}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{2}{3}$ cup) *nabīdh rayḥānī*.⁷ Mix with it black pepper, *dār fulful* (long pepper), cassia, and ginger, $\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* (1½ grams) each. Add as well 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) cumin. Beat all these ingredients very well together and add them to the pot.

Continue cooking until the fermented dough is done. Put the pot away from heat and cover it tightly with a lid or something to prevent any steam from escaping the pot until the time you need to serve it, God willing.

White *zīrbāja* (delicate bird stew) with quince by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:

Disjoint two chickens and put them in a pot. Add to them [chopped] white part of fresh onion (*bayād ‘aṣal*) and bruised chickpeas.

In another pot, cook quince in water and take it out when it is cooked. Crush it and press it through a sieve.

Add to the [cooking pot], black pepper, coriander seeds, cassia, a little *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), and vinegar. Add as well the mashed quince along with finely chopped *na‘na‘* (cultivated mint) and tarragon.

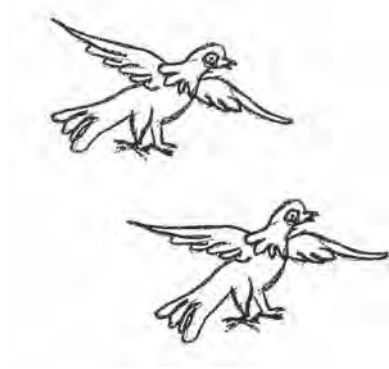
You can ladle the dish after you let the pot boil first then simmer and rest. You should have prepared as well small and big sausages, all cooked and ready. To serve the dish, ladle the stew on broken pieces of bread put in a bowl and arrange the sausages around it.

If the stew turns out to be too sour for your taste, fix it with a little sugar. However, you need to add it at the point when you add the quince and while the pot is still boiling, that is, before you let it simmer and rest (*qabla taskīniḥā*). Serve it as described earlier, God willing.

⁷ Sweet smelling wine, usually served undiluted.

Here is a poem by al-Ḥāfiẓ on *zīrbāja* (delicate bird stew):⁸

(86r) *Zīrbāja* is a unique dish, which of all the living creatures only the
 smartest relish.
 Languishing in yellow, like flowers and sprouting grass in spring,
 Having had its fill of saffron crushed. Free of flaws and blemish.
 It comes in a bowl of silver shining white, as if from the light of the
 moon stealing.
 Approaching thus brightly colored, all you see is silver with gold
 stuffed.
 Chicks are in it and almonds, sugar, saffron, and vinegar lusciously
 sweet,
 With rose water and spices. Then fire and fuel took care of it and
 cooked.
 If wished, plump chicken instead you use, and it will in the pot a
 wonder be.
 Only a deft hand, cordial and generous, surpassing others, can cook
 this dish.



⁸ In the next chapter al-Warrāq will mention him as al-Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad bin al-Wazīr.

في عمل الحمّاضيّات والرّمانيّات

MAKING *HUMMĀḌIYYĀT* (CITRON-PULP STEWS) AND *RUMMĀNIYYĀT* (POMEGRANATE STEWS)

A recipe of *ḥummāḍiyya* (stew soured with citron pulp) by al-Ma'mūn:¹

Cut meat into medium-size pieces. [Put it in a pot, and] pour on it water enough to cover it. Add chopped onion and cilantro, *zayt anḡāq* (olive oil from unripe olives), crushed chickpeas, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) salt. [Bring pot to a boil].

When meat is done, add chunks of citron pulp (*ḥummāḍ al-utruj*) or pulp of *utruj* bred with lemon (*laymū*).² The amount of citron is to be the same as that of the meat.

Continue cooking. If the stew turns out to be too sour, balance the taste with juice of sweet pomegranate and a lump of sugar. Season the pot with black pepper, coriander, and ginger.

When the stew is cooked (*laḡaqa*),³ prepare *ṭharīd* for it [of broken pieces of bread in a bowl, pour the stew over it,] and arrange the meat pieces around it.

***Ḥummāḍiyya* (stew soured with citron pulp) by 'Ibāda:**⁴

Take pullets or 2 young fowls and scald them, clean them, and disjoint them. Put them in a clean soapstone pot (*burma*) and add to them a handful of bruised and skinned chickpeas, a piece of galangal, (86v) and a stick of cinnamon. Pour water enough to cover the birds and start cooking the pot. As soon as the pot comes to boil, start skimming the froth as it comes up using a ladle until nothing remains.

¹ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 833).

² See, Glossary, Section 8, s.v. *laymūn murakkab*.

³ This is the meaning of the verb in the Iraqi vernacular to this day. Otherwise, the verb means 'follow' or 'catch up with.'

⁴ He was one of the cooks of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). His father used to cook in the kitchens of al-Ma'mūn (d. 833). He learnt the profession from him and excelled in it (Ibn *Khillikān* 118). See Appendix.

Add a handful of chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayād ‘aṣal*) and continue cooking. When meat is almost done, add coriander seeds and black pepper, as needed. Cover the pot with the lid and continue cooking until birds are cooked.

Add 1 *uskurruja* (½ cup) chunks of citron pulp, no need to press the juice out. Make sure to remove pips and peel. Add as well ground cassia, as much as the tips of three fingers could hold.

Let the pot cook for about an hour or until citron pulp falls apart. Pour into the pot one ladleful juice of sour unripe grapes and sprinkle on it 10 almonds that have been skinned and ground. Let the pot rest for a while, God willing.

***Rummāniyya* (stew soured with pomegranate) of ʾĪtākh:⁵**

Quarter a plump and tender chicken, wash it, and put it in a pot along with 1 *dirham* (3 grams) salt. Start the fire under the pot. When all liquid evaporates, add to the pot juice of pounded round onion, as well as soaked skinned chickpeas, and galangal and cassia, a stick each.

Pour olive oil into the pot and stir-fry (*ḥarrik qalyan*) the chicken. Add a little water and continue cooking the chicken under a slow-burning fire so that it does not burn.

When the liquid evaporates, pour on the chicken 1½ *raṭls* (3 cups) juice of red and sour pomegranate. Skim as needed, sprinkle it with a little ground cassia, and chopped rue, God willing.

***Rummāniyya* (stew soured with pomegranate) by ʿAjīb al-Mutawakkilī:⁶**

Cut to pieces one chicken and 2 pullets, wash them, and put them in a pot along with chopped onion and ½ *uskurruja* (½ cup) [water].

⁵ He was the chamberlain of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭḥiq (d. 847). See al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 3368. Variations on such stews, called *nārbājāt* are in Chapter 67 below.

⁶ Possibly he is Abū Ishāq al-Mutawakkilī al-Aṣbahānī, one of the boon companions (*nadīm*) of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ* (43). The recipe in the Istanbul MS is given more precise measurements:

Take 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) breast meat from bustard (*hubārā*), francolin (*durrāj*), grouse (*ṭayḥū*), or sand grouse (*qaṭā*). Cut meat into thin slices and put it in a pot. Pour ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) *zayt al-māʾ* (olive oil extracted using hot water) and sweet and sour pomegranate juice (*muzz*), add enough to cover the meat. Cook the pot until meat is done. Add to it, *anjūdḥān* (asafetida leaves), thyme, sumac,

Pour olive oil on them and bring the pot to a boil. Then pour juice of 2 sour pomegranates. The third pomegranate may either be sweet or sour.⁷ Continue simmering.

Add to the pot, a small amount of *murī* (liquid fermented sauce), black pepper, coriander seeds, (87r) caraway seeds, and cloves. Continue simmering the pot until meat is done and serve it, God willing.

***Hummādiyya* (stew soured with citron pulp) *Ibrāhīmiyya*:**⁸

Take 4 *raṭls* (4 pounds) of fatty meat from [slaughtered] kid, cut it into chunks [and set it aside].

Take about 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) of boneless lean meat from its thighs, or use its *kishtamāziya* (tenderloin) and a small amount of its tallow or fat tail, or whatever you wish. Pound the meat [in a stone mortar] and cook it in a pot on burning coals until it is done. Sprinkle the meat with a sour liquid such as lemon juice, wine vinegar, sumac juice,⁹ or citron pulp. Continue cooking the meat until all moisture evaporates. Take the pot away from the fire. Make *sanbūsqaj* (filled pastries) using this meat [for the filling] and stiff dough, which you have kneaded very well.¹⁰ Set the filled pastries aside.

Alternatively, you can fry the pounded meat in oil and mix it with *maṣl* (dried yogurt whey), cilantro, and coriander seeds. Make *sanbūsqaj* using this meat mixture and the prepared stiff dough. Set them aside.

and juniper berries (*ubḥul*), 2 *dirhams* each (6 grams). Add as well 2 *ūqiyas* (¼ cup) *murī* (liquid fermented sauce) and 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) mustard made with vinegar. Stir the pot and put it away from heat. It will be quite delicious, God Almighty willing (fols. 81r-v).

⁷ Usage of ثلث in (ما رمانتين حامضتين ثلث حلو وثلث حامض) is rather ambiguous here. It can be ‘third,’ ‘three,’ or the imperative *thallith* ‘use a third one.’ The last option is the most feasible.

⁸ Named after Ibrāhīm al-Mahdī, the gourmet Abbasid prince (d. 939). The Oxford MS recipe is different from the Helsinki MS version. Therefore, both versions are given one after the other (editors’ note, 156, n. 45). I am not including the Helsinki version because it is rather confused and some steps are missing.

⁹ To get sumac juice, soak sumac berries in hot water, rub them then strain the liquid and discard the berries (as instructed in Chapter 68 below).

¹⁰ For *sanbūsqaj* recipes see Chapter 36 above. Helsinki and Istanbul MSS mention it as dough for making *khubz al-māʾ*, i.e. yeast dough (Chapter 13 above). The Istanbul MS specifies that *sanbūsqaj* pastries boiled in broth are shaped like *khushkanānāj* cookies—half moons and crescents (fol. 58v). See Chapter 101 on *khushkanānāj*.

Now wash the [set aside] chunks of meat and put them in a pot along with a handful of soaked and split chickpeas (*mufallaq*),¹¹ 2 pieces of cassia—about 2 *dirhams* by weight (6 grams), and one piece galangal—about 1 *dirham* by weight (3 grams). Add as well, chopped cilantro, a suitable amount of white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*), 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt ‘adhb*), and a little salt. Add juice of citron to the pot, enough to cover the meat, and cook the pot until meat is done. Add some dry spices such as coriander seeds, black pepper, and a little bit of ground ginger.

Gently add the prepared pastries (*sanbūṣaj*) to the cooking pot and wait for a short while until they are done then add 1 *dirham* (3 grams) chopped fresh rue leaves. Leave the pot on the remaining heat of the coals until it stops simmering, and ladle it.¹²

[Instead of using citron juice only] you may mix it with juice of sour unripe grapes or juice of sour apples. The dish has also been made with [sour] Levantine mulberries (*tūt Shāmī*), small sour plums [*ijjās*], and rhubarb (*ribās*).^(87v)

In fact, if you mix mulberry juice with black *murī Rāzī*,¹³ then cook the dish the way you do with *rakḥbīna*,¹⁴ and add spinach to it and serve it, the eater will easily mistake it for a delicious true *rakḥbīna* and spare himself its harmful and putrefying effects.

Al-Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad bin al-Wazīr once described *ribāsiyya* (sour rhubarb stew):¹⁵

Whenever you crave a dish, which in summer it both black and yellow
bile suppresses,
Take a chicken and disjoint it piece by piece.
Wash it with water and keep on washing until immaculately clean.
Put it in a pot and drizzle it with oil, fresh and clear as water.
Get a round onion and rip off its heart,
Mince it finely and add it to meat before the water you add.

¹¹ I replace *maqlū* مقلو (fried) with *mufallaq* مفلق (split) based on Helsinki's version because it is more relevant to the text.

¹² *Sanbūṣaj* pastries cooked in liquid as in this recipe are reminiscent of the Italian stuffed ravioli and the Middle-Eastern *shishbarak*.

¹³ Liquid fermented sauce named after al-Ray, a Persian region. See Glossary, Section 3.

¹⁴ For recipes, see Chapter 81 below. *Rakḥbīn* is buttermilk, dried and stored. When needed it is dissolved in liquid and used.

¹⁵ In al-Mas'ūdī's passage on food poems in *Murūj al-Dhahab*, his name occurs as Muḥammad bin al-Wazīr known as al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dimashqī (695). See Appendix.

Now the rhubarb you pound and through a strainer into a vessel press its juice,
 Which you pour into the pot and of the sugar put as much.
 Ahwāz sugar or *ṭabarzad* let it be.¹⁶ Then pour enough water to cover all,
 And sliver white rose water add, redolent like musk in women's fumigants.
 Then skim off the foam and all the scum.
 Now the skinned almonds you pound until white butter they resemble.
 When the pot is done and the dish is succulent, pure, and fair,
 The almonds you add, and leave the pot on smoldering coals to rest.
 Then ladle it into a bowl, clean and white like a shining pearl,
 And a sprinkle of rose water give it so that a fragrant whiff it emits as you dine,
 (88r) Once you're done, best of men, double your pleasure with a glass of virgin wine.

CHAPTER 59

عمل الاسفند باجماع الصغرتان والمخضرات

MAKING *ISFĪDHĀJĀT* (WHITE STEWS),¹⁷ BOTH *ṢUGHDIYYA*¹⁸ AND *MUKHADDARA* (COLORED GREEN)

It is told of Abū Samīn that he once said the first to make the *isfīdhāj* popular was Badhān al-Ṣughdī.¹⁹ It was not an elaborate dish at first, but more like *mā' wa milḥ* (meat simmered in water and salt).²⁰ The only difference was that cheese, dough, pounded meat, and onion were used. Badhān ordered that cooks should leave out the dill and pound the cheese. [According to his directions,] either eggs beaten with cheese or dough filled with pounded meat and spices are added. He also ordered that onion juice rather than the whole vegetable itself should be used. When served, he had it garnished

¹⁶ Ahwāz is a Persian region. *Ṭabarzad* is white cane sugar.

¹⁷ The name is composed of *isfīd* 'white' and *bāj* 'broth' (Steingass).

¹⁸ After the name of Badhān al-Ṣughdī. Ṣughd is a district in Samarqand, famous for its fruit orchards.

¹⁹ Abū Samīn was the professional chef in the kitchens of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāthiq (d. 847). Badhān al-Ṣughdī was son of Sāmān, the first of the Persian kings to convert to Islam. See Appendix.

²⁰ For recipes, see Chapter 48, above.

with stuffed sausages and other kinds of delicacies. It turned out to be a fantastic dish and people started cooking it his way. They called it [*Sughdiyya*] after his name.

**Here is a recipe for *isfīdhbāj* speckled with truffles
(*murammala bi kam'a*):²¹**

Cut meat into small pieces, wash it, and put it in a pot. Add soaked chickpeas, *zayt magħsūl* (washed olive oil),²² galangal and cassia, a piece each, chopped onion, chopped fresh herbs, and a little salt.

Pour some water into the pot and let it boil, skimming the froth as it comes up. Add black truffles, chopped into small pieces like the meat. However, you should cut the truffles before you do the meat.²³ If truffles are not available, substitute with carrots or gourd, also chopped like the meat. Add them to the pot along with black pepper, coriander seeds, *Kirmānī* cumin,²⁴ and a small amount of cheese and ground cassia.

Garnish the top with many poached eggs,²⁵ and allow the stew to settle and rest for a while. Ladle and serve the dish, God willing.

Green *isfīdhbāja* by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:²⁶

Take 4 *ratls* (4 pounds) (88v) meat of a sheep in its third year (*thanī*),²⁷ and cut it up into bite-size pieces (*luqma luqma*). Put the meat in a pot with a piece of cassia, 1 *ratl* (1 pound) chopped onion, 1/3 *ratl* (2/3 cup) olive oil (*zayt*), salt as needed, and water enough to cover the meat.

²¹ The word derives from *rumla* (black stripes on legs of animals that are otherwise dominantly white).

²² See Glossary, Section 7.

²³ This remark is needed here so that the truffles do not pick up the greasy odors of uncooked meat.

²⁴ A variety of cumin darkish in hue, named after the Persian city, Kirmān. See Glossary, Section 9, s.v. *kammūn*.

²⁵ When food is done cooking, the pot is left to simmer. At this point eggs are broken on the stew in the pot, which will then be covered so that the eggs poach in the remaining heat. Judging from the poem at the end of this chapter, the eggs are left undisturbed (sunny-side up), looking like eyes.

²⁶ The Abbasid prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 839).

²⁷ *Thanī* is a reference to the shedding of the first four front teeth, designates the age of the slaughtered animal. A camel would be 6 years old, a horse, 4 years old, and an ox or ram, 3 years old (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ثني*).

Place the pot on *nāfikh* *nafsihi* or *kānūn* ‘*ajlān*.²⁸ When meat is half done, add to the pot, 4 pieces of cheese, each weighing 5 *dirhams* (15 grams). When meat is almost done, add to the stew $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* (1 cup) juice of cilantro and parsley. Add as well, a handful of ground coriander seeds, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) black pepper, and $\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* (1½ grams) cassia.

Let the pot simmer in the remaining heat then take it away from the stove and serve it, God willing.²⁹

Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī composed these lines on the dish:

What a splendid green dish Qamar cooked.³⁰ Amazingly beautiful,
free of flaws.

Put in midst of a bright silver platter with eggs on top, a show-stop-
ping scene!

Green emerald embossed in silver, surrounded with eyes cast in
gold.

²⁸ *Nāfikh* *nafsihi*, as the name suggests, is a stove that blows its fire by itself (i.e. it does not need the cook to blow its fire to keep it going). It is a slow-burning stove, which allows for delicate pots and foods to keep on cooking for a long time without causing the food to spoil. *Kānūn* ‘*ajlān* is another slow-burning stove. See Glossary, Section 10.1 for more details.

²⁹ There is a second recipe in Helsinki MS on the same dish. It is more or less the same. I used it in filling in quantities used for cheese and coriander seeds. Instead of parsley, the recipe uses $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) juice of *lūṭn* leaves, which might be *lūf* (dragonwort, elephant’s ear, as identified by Steingass). The young leaves of this plant were used as a vegetable, but they were also medicinally beneficial (Ibn al-Bayṭār 645–46).

³⁰ I take this as the name of the female cook who prepared the dish. It is a common proper noun, which means ‘moon.’

فِي حَمْلِ الْبَقْلَاتِ السَّوَادِجِ وَالْمَرْيَاتِ

MAKING VEGETABLE DISHES, SIMPLE AND ELABORATE

A recipe for white *baqliyya* (vegetable dish) by al-Ma'mūn:¹

Take tender meat and chop on it the white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*). Pound both with two knives until they resembles bone marrow (*mukhl*) in consistency. Put the meat in a pot and add soaked chickpeas, *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil),² galangal, cassia, water as needed, and salt. Start cooking the pot.

Boil together roots of chard (*uṣūl al-silq*) and white leek bulbs (*uṣūl al-kurrāth*). The amount of both should be equal to that of meat. Pound them with a knife and add them to the cooking pot along with coriander seeds, cumin, cheese cut to pieces, and [pitted] and chopped olives. Stir the pot to mix the ingredients.

Break 4 eggs on the meat mix. Pound another piece of cheese with (89r) skinned almonds and mix them with the egg white. This will help the dish to set.³ Take the pot away from the fire, God willing.

***Baqliyya* (vegetable dish) with livers (*kubūd*) and gizzards (*qawāniṣ*) by him, too [al-Ma'mūn]:**

Boil chicken livers and gizzards until they are almost done and all moisture evaporates.

Take another pot and put in it chicken fat and sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*). Add chopped onion, pounded coriander seeds, soaked and pounded chickpeas, a piece of cassia, and a small amount of water. Put the pot on the burning coals, and fry the onion and all other ingredients until they are done. Add the cooked livers and gizzards to the pot.

¹ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 833).

² See Glossary, Section 7.

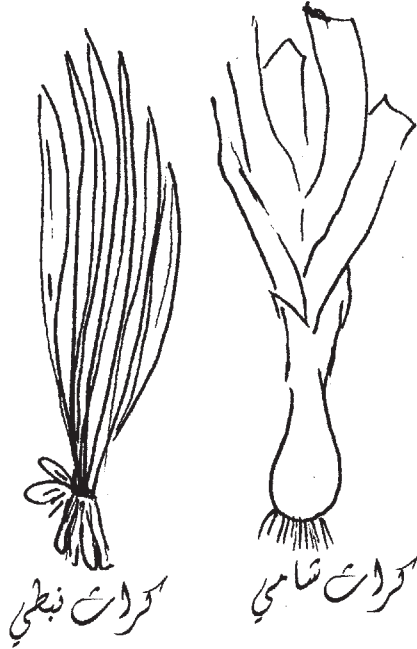
³ It is not clear what to do with the eggs. I assume the pounded cheese and the almonds are stirred with the white of the eggs already in the pot, and the yolk is left to set whole.

Take a suitable amount of *mulūkhiyya* (Jew's mallow) and chard [leaves] (*silq*), boil them, press out extra moisture, and crush them with $\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* (1½ grams) black pepper, 7 *dirhams* (21 grams) coriander seeds, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) ground cassia, and 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) grated sharp cheese. Crush the mixture until it resembles bone marrow (*mukh*). Add it to the pot, and stir it to blend with the ingredients. Let the pot come to a good boil.

Take 10 egg yolks and beat them thoroughly with a small amount of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). Pour the egg yolk into the pot and stir it so that the egg mixes with the rest of the ingredients.

Now take 10 egg whites and beat them with a small amount of *murrī* and [ground] cassia. Pour it all over the dish, but do not stir it.

When the egg white sets, turn the dish over onto a big wide bowl (*qaṣ'a*). Serve it with *sanbūsj* (pastries) filled with pounded meat and fried in oil.



فِي عَمَلِ التَّرِيدِ الْمَفْتُونِ بِمَا لِحَمِّصٍ وَالْبَاقِلِيِّ الْمَنْبُوتِ

MAKING *THARĪD* DISHES¹ WITH BROTH OF
CHICKPEAS AND SPROUTED FAVA BEANS
(*BĀQILLĪ MANBŪT*)

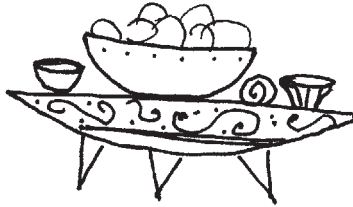
Broth of chickpeas (*mā' ḥimmaṣ*) by al-Ma'mūn:²

Take ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) chickpeas and soak them in water until they puff.

Put in a clean pot, 2 disjointed plump pullets, (89v) and 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) whole cumin seeds tied in a piece of linen cloth, and enough salt. Pour on these the chickpeas liquid [in which they were soaked] and add half the amount of the soaked chickpeas.

Set the pot on the fire and let it cook until the meat is half done. Add 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) small whole onions and 7 pieces of aged sharp cheese, each piece weighs 1 *dirham* (3 grams).

When the two pullets and the onions are done, add to the pot 1 *dirham* (3 grams) black pepper. Break on them 7 eggs, [and leave them undisturbed so that] they look like cows eyes (*ʿuyūn al-baqar*).³ Put the pot away from the heat [and let the eggs set in the remaining heat and steam of the pot].



¹ They are dishes of broken pieces of bread drenched in rich broth, with meat and vegetables.

² Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 833).

³ The equivalent of the English 'sunny side up.'

Break white bread into pieces [in a bowl] and pour broth all over the bread [enough to saturate it]. Distribute the pullet pieces and onions over the sopped bread, but do not put any of the chickpeas.⁴ Pour about ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt ‘adhb*) all over the dish and serve it, God willing.⁵

Another recipe for broth of chickpeas (*mā’ himmaṣ*):⁶

Take 4 plump pullets, about 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) onion, a suitable amount of salt, and 3 sprigs (*a’wād*) of dill. Also, prepare 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) [whole] cumin seeds and a stick of galangal put in a bundle [of linen cloth]. [Put all these ingredients in a pot and] pour on them 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt ‘adhb*), 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) *zayt rikābī* (olive oil extracted from unripe olives). Pour also the water in which chickpeas have been soaking [until puffed] along with the soaked chickpeas. Cook the pot until all ingredients are done.

Take the crusts (*hurūf*) of *khubz jardaḡ* (thick and coarse round bread), break them into somewhat large pieces, and put them in a clean pot. Pour on them most of the broth and oil of the cooked pullets, and let bread cook on low heat until it sops up all the broth. Empty the contents of the bread pot into a wide big bowl (*qaṣ’a*). Spread all over the bread, the pullet pieces, the onions, and a small amount of the chickpeas, and serve the dish, God willing.

⁴ Chickpea broth was deemed more nourishing than the chickpeas themselves, which were condemned as highly gaseous.

⁵ It is to be assumed that the eggs are used to garnish the dish.

⁶ Although the chapter’s title includes *ṭharīd* made with broth of sprouted fava beans, both recipes are done with chickpeas. It is to be assumed that both are cooked the same way.

فِي حَمْلِ الْخَضِرِ مَيَّاسٍ وَالْبَسَاتِيَّاسِ

STEWES SOURED WITH JUICE OF UNRIPE GRAPES
(*ḤIṢRIMIYYĀT*) AND STEWS COOKED WITH
ORCHARD PRODUCE (*BUSTĀNIYYĀT*)

***Ḥiṣrimiyya* (stew with sour juice of unripe grapes) by Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm:¹**

Prepare meat cuts from a yearling sheep (*ḥawlī*), taken from the side of ribs (*janb*), around the collarbone (*qaṣṣ*), *mulḥā'* (middle section of the back), and shoulder (*katīf*). (90r) Cut the meat into medium size pieces, wash it, put it in a pot, and pour juice of sour unripe grapes, enough to submerge the meat. Add to the pot, a handful of pounded chickpeas, a handful of finely chopped onion, and chopped cilantro, let it be half the amount of the onion. Add as well a similar amount of leeks (*kurrāth*), a ladleful of *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil),² a piece of galangal, a stick of cassia, and salt as needed.

Set the pot on a trivet on the fire (*tanṣub al-qidr*), [bring it to a boil] and skim the froth as it comes up. Thread 3 whole cloves of garlic into a toothpick (*khilāl*) and throw it into the pot.³

Now take 3 small and smooth cucumbers (*khūyār*) and peel them. Dice two of them and slice the third into rounds like *dirhams* (coins). Take as well, one bunch of tarragon, a bunch of *na'na'* (cultivated mint), and another bunch of parsley (*karafs Rūmī*).⁴ Discard their stalks and chop the leaves when you chop the cucumbers. Add them all to the pot along with one fresh or dried sprig of *būtanaj* (mint). Add as well a little black pepper and pounded cassia. Crumble between your fingers a small amount of dried *ṣa'tar bustānī* (cultivated thyme) and add it to the pot. [Let the pot cook until done.] The final stew should be moderately sour (*mu'tadilat al-mazāza*).

¹ Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 850), the famous Abbasid singer during the time of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd.

² See Glossary, Section 7.

³ This will make discarding them after the cooking is done much easier.

⁴ Named after Byzantium. It is a variety similar to today's parsley. Also called *Maqdanawī* because it originally grew in Maqdūnya, and hence the names *maqḍūnis*, *ma'dūnis*, *ma'danūs*. See Glossary, Section 9.

Now take a small amount of almonds, skin and crush them in a mortar and pestle (*hāwan*) then add them to the pot.

If you choose to use sour pomegranate juice instead of sour grape juice, then cook the meat with the pomegranate juice and when the meat is done take it out of the pot. Next, take some sour unripe grapes (*hiṣrim*) and press them through a strainer. Add their juice as described above and serve the dish, God willing.

***Bustāniyya* (cooked with orchard produce) from the copy of Abū Samīn:**⁵

Wash small and sour plums and put them in a wet kerchief (*mindīl*) [to hydrate them] if using the dried variety.⁶ If fresh ones are used, [just] add to them some water, press and mash them then strain the liquid.

Cut chicken breasts into finger-like strips and add to them whatever you wish of other meats. [Put them in a pot], add the [strained juice of] cherries,⁷ and let them boil together.

Season the pot with black pepper, *mā' kāmakh* (liquid of fermented sauce), (90v) olive oil (*zayt*), some spices, a small amount of sugar, wine vinegar, and 5 walnuts that have been shelled and crushed.

[When meat is cooked], break some eggs on it and let them set [with the steam of the pot], God willing.

A recipe for *mishmishiyya* (apricot stew):

Clean and wash a plump chicken. Disjoint it and put it aside.

Choose ripe apricots, which are yellow and sour. Put them in a pot with some water and bring them to a boil. Press and mash them with the water they were boiled in, and strain them into a bowl.

Now go back to the chicken, put it in a clean pot and add the white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*), cilantro, and rue [all chopped]. Add as well a piece of galangal, a stick of cassia, and whole pieces of ginger.

⁵ Palace chef of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭhiq (d. 847).

⁶ *Ijās ṣiḡhār hāmiḍ* which al-Warrāq calls *khawkh al-dubb* (literally, 'bear's peaches') in Chapter 40, p. 209. In Ibn al-'Adīm's thirteenth-century *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣā ilā 'l-Ḥabīb*, it is identified as cherries (*qarāṣiyā*) fresh and dried (2: 545). It must have been the sour variety. See Glossary, Section 8.

⁷ In the recipe, it is mentioned as *khawkh*, which, undoubtedly, was meant to be *khawkh al-dubb*. See above note.

Light the fire underneath the pot and let it cook.⁸ Then sprinkle the pot with onion juice and add enough of the strained apricot liquid to submerge the chicken. Season the pot with coriander seeds, black pepper, and cassia, all ground.

Let the pot simmer until [chicken is] cooked and serve it.

CHAPTER 63

حمّل الكشكيات والموصليات والبابكيات

MAKING *KISHKIYYĀT*, *MAWṢILIYYĀT*, AND *BĀBAKIYYĀT*⁹

***Kishkiyya* from the copy of Muḥammad bin Hārūn:**¹⁰

Wash 3 *ratls* (3 pounds) meat and put it in a pot. Add ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) chopped onion, ¼ *raṭl* (4 ounces) fresh herbs, a handful of chickpeas, 1 piece galangal, and ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) olive oil (*zayt*). Pour water enough to submerge the ingredients in the pot.

Let the pot cook until meat is almost done. Add any of the seasonal green vegetables and a little chard.

When everything in the pot is cooked, add 3 pieces (*ru'ūs* heads) of sour *kishk*, and ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) *kishk* of *Albū-Saḥar*, *Mawṣilī*, or *Bābakī*.¹¹ Pound them into fine powder and dissolve them in 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) *mā' ḥiṣrīm* (juice of unripe sour grapes). [Add it to the cooking pot].

When *kishk* is done, add 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) cumin and an equal amount of cassia. Add a handful of finely chopped (91r) onion. Do not stir the pot. When the onion cooks and falls apart (*yataharra*'),

⁸ Apparently, at this initial point the chicken cooks with the liquid it releases.

⁹ *Kishk*, the main ingredient in the dish, is fermented bulgur dough soured with yogurt, shaped into discs then dried and used as needed (see end of Chapter 40 above for recipes). *Mawṣiliyyāt* named after Mosul, city north of Iraq; and *Bābakīyyāt*, after the Persian king Ardashīr Bābak. See n. 11 below).

¹⁰ He is the Abbasid Caliph al-Amīn, son of al-Raṣhīd (d. 813).

¹¹ All these names indicate varieties of *kishk* made in northern Iraq. *Kishk Albū-Saḥar* could have been named after a town or village in al-Jazīra district, northwest of Iraq. *Albū* means “from the tribe of.” Places in the same areas in modern Iraq still bear similar names such as Albū Kamāl. *Al-kishk al-Mawṣilī* is from al-Mawṣil, the northern Iraqi city, still famous for its *kishk*. *Al-kishk al-Bābakī* is named after the Persian king Ardashīr Bābak (son of Sasān), mentioned in medieval records as founder of several flourishing cities in northern Iraq and al-Jazīra area.

add to the pot 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) cloves and a similar amount of spikenard (*sunbul*).

[Stop fueling the fire,] let the pot simmer and rest [on the remaining heat] then take it down, God willing.

This is how to make [basic] *kishkiyya* and it can substitute for all other kinds. However, you might add variety by making it less or more sour, to suit your taste, and putting whatever other vegetables you prefer.

Here is a poem Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī composed on *kishkiyya*:

The nourishing dish to have when in the gripes of a hangover one craves some food.

If *sikbāja* is missed,¹² *kishk* may replace it when a sour dish he must have.

Made with shoulder cuts of lamb and of tail fat an equal amount is put.

Juice of sour grapes poured to cover will make it good and a dish to savor.

It has onion like pearls, juxtaposed with peeled carrots like gold.

Chard stalks, as well, like silver that no equal has,

Or succulent tubes of threaded pearls. Well, if not pearls, then like pearls.

A dish as flavorful and balmy as the delicate fingers of the gazelle that cooked it.

Its pale hue shimmers like her contour flickering through her sheer gown.

Having eating it intoxicated one will be all anew and the hangover will itself renew.

Whoever shares this meal with us, will pay his favors in full only if of it he has his fill.

¹² Beef stew soured with vinegar.

عمل العريسيات الصفراء والجلبانيات

MAKING DISHES OF YELLOW LENTIL (‘*ADASIYYĀT*) AND GRASS PEA (*JULLUBĀNIYYĀT*)¹

Delicious *Adasiyya* (lentil dish):²

Wash and pick over hulled lentil and cook it until it falls apart and becomes mushy. Cook with it (91v) round onion (*baṣal mudawwar*),³ olive oil (*zayt*), and salt. Add some vinegar.

You have the option of adding to it sugar and saffron. Alternatively, if you do not like to use saffron or onion, put bruised garlic cloves and a dusting of cumin in the pot after adding the vinegar.

Another ‘*Adasiyya*:

Cook meat with chopped onion and olive oil (*zayt*). When the pot comes to a boil, remove the froth and add hulled lentils. Cook it until it becomes mushy (*yataharra*). Then pour on it vinegar, and season it with coriander seeds and cumin. Add garlic, too.

If wished, use pounded cheese with it. You may color it yellow with saffron and add stalks of chard (*adlāʿ silq*). In this case, however, use neither cheese nor garlic. Add some sugar to it if liked. Moreover, the meat in this *muṣaffara* (yellowed with saffron) can be finely shredded and pounded like *harīsa*, and whole chunks of cheese with its rind may be added to the pot. When serving the dish, ladle it into a bowl, and put the cheese pieces in the middle.

A recipe using large unhulled lentils (‘*adas jāṭil ghayr maqshūr*):

Pick over the lentils, wash them, and cook them with round onion (*baṣal mudawwar*) and cheese. Also add chard—root, stalks, and

¹ Dishes in this chapter are all about lentil. Judging from the several *jullubān* recipes in the Istanbul MS, it is cooked more or less the same way (fols. 223r–24v).

² The title is provided in Istanbul MS (fol. 266r).

³ Dried variety of onion. For kinds of onion, see Glossary, Section 9.

hearts (tender leaves in the center). Break eggs on them, but leave them whole.⁴

The dish is seasoned with coriander seeds, cumin, and a little cassia and galangal.⁵ Besides, you need to add to the pot before the dish is fully cooked a lot of dill and *fūdanaj*, which is *fulayyā* (mint).⁶

Another recipe:

Cook meat with chopped onion and oil. Add bruised whole pieces of galangal and cassia (*ṣaḥīḥ mashaḍūkh*). Remove the scum, and add to the pot whole lentil that has been picked over and washed. When it is almost done, add pieces of cheese and olives. Season the pot with cumin, coriander, galangal, and black pepper.

If wished, break some eggs on it [while still in the pot]. You also have the option of adding to the ingredients, stalks of chard and sprigs of *fūdanaj*, which is *fulayyā* (mint).

CHAPTER 65

في عمل اللوبيا باس والجلبانبات (92r)

MAKING BEAN DISHES (*LŪBYĀYĀT*) AND GRASS PEA DISHES (*JULLUBĀNYYĀT*)⁷

A recipe for *lūbyāyīyya* (bean dish):

Choose meat cuts from the shoulders, the lower neck (*quṣayrā*), fore and hind legs, and *alya* (sheep's tail fat). Cut them into nice chunks, and put them in a pot after you have washed them. Add [chopped] white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*), a little oil, and a piece of cassia. Pour water enough to cover the meat.

⁴ 'Sunny side up.' They are usually left to set in the remaining heat of the pot.

⁵ Ingredients mentioned here are to be added before breaking the eggs in the pot.

⁶ *Fulayyā* is the Egyptian name of this herb (Ibn al-Bayṭār 529).

⁷ The dishes in this chapter are all about beans. Judging from the several *jullubān* recipes in the Istanbul MS, it is cooked more or less the same way (fols. 223r–24v).

When the pot comes to several boils,⁸ add red beans (*lūbya ḥamrā*), which have been picked over and washed. Let the pot cook until the dish is done.

Render some sheep's tail fat and add it to the pot along with the needed amount of salt.

Ladle it [into a bowl] and drizzle it with some [extra] rendered sheep's tail fat. Serve the dish with mustard, God willing.

If you like to use white beans (*lūbya bayḏā*), then go ahead and do so, God willing.

A recipe for white beans (*lūbya bayḏā*):

Boil the beans and lightly smash them (*yushddakh*). Pour on them vinegar, salt, mustard, and olive oil (*zayt*). Chop on them parsley, *na'na'* (cultivated mint), and rue.

It would be even more delicious if you use *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) instead of salt.

The beans can also be made with just vinegar, *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), and olive oil (*zayt*). Then, the herbs [mentioned earlier] are chopped on them, God willing.

A recipe for red bean dish (*lūbyāyīyya ḥamrā*):

Boil the beans but do not smash them. Mix them with some of the broth [in which they boiled] along with *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) and olive oil (*zayt*).

Chop a little rue and scatter it on the beans. [Arrange on the dish] fried and boiled salted dried fish. Additionally, boil some eggs and slice them lengthwise. They will taste so good with the dish, God willing.

⁸ For details on this culinary practice, see Glossary, Section 10.2, s.v. *fawwara*.

فِي عَمَلِ الطَّفَشِيلِ مِنَ الْمَجْبُورِ وَالْبَقُولِ

MAKING ṬAFSHĪL (PORRIDGE-LIKE DISH)¹ WITH BEANS AND VEGETABLES

Making ṭafshīl of Ṣāliḥ bin ‘Alī:²

Take a portion (*juzʿ*) of lentil, a portion of beans, a portion of chick-peas, a portion of mung beans, and a portion of rice. Let the amount of rice be the least of all other grains used. (92v) Wash them, [soak them in water,] and set them aside.

Choose fatty meat and fatty jerked meat (*qadīd*). Wash them, put them in a clean pot, and pour water enough to cover the meat and a little bit more. Cook the pot until meat is half done. Add boiled chard roots and chard stalks. When the pot comes to a boil, add the soaked pulses along with aged cheese. Pour on it vinegar, mustard, and olive oil (*zayt*), and add coriander seeds, cumin seeds, and black pepper, all pounded. Stir the pot, and let it cook until done. Then rub and mix (*arraka*) some white bread with *zayt anḥāq* (olive oil from unripe olives),³ [put it in a bowl,] ladle the dish all over it, and serve it, God willing.

White ṭafshīla:⁴

Take 8 *raṭls* (8 pounds) of marbled meat (*lahm mujazzaʿ*) and cut it into slices [and set it aside].

Take a suitable amount of soaked chickpeas and double its amount of soaked white beans (*lūbya bayḍāʿ*). Rub off the skins of both beans with the fingers, put them in a pot, and bring them to a boil. Take

¹ For information on the name of the dish, see Glossary, Section 6.

² He is Ṣāliḥ bin ‘Alī Ibn al-Raṣḥīd, Abbasid prince, one of the grandchildren of Hārūn al-Raṣḥīd (d. 809). He was known as *Ẓaʿfarāna*. See Appendix.

³ The bread will be crumbled and oiled in the process.

⁴ According to Istanbul MS, the whole chapter, which includes additional three new recipes besides this one, is from a cookbook called *Kūtāb al-Aṭbikha* (fol. 220r–21r). See Introduction, Section IV. 5. The recipe is described as *badīʿa* ‘wonderful.’

some hulled lentils and boil them lightly in another pot. Also, boil a good amount of chard stalks (*quḍbān al-silq*).⁵

After you wash the sliced meat, put it in a big pot along with 1½ *ratls* (1½ pounds) onions, which you keep whole. Mix 1 *ratl* (2 cups) sour vinegar, which has been whitened with flour,⁶ with 4 *ratls* (8 cups) water. Pour this mixture on the meat and onions. Put the pot on the fire and let it cook until meat is half done.

Take the meat and onions out of the pot. Put the meat [first] in a stone mortar, pound it very well—let it be even finer than sausage meat—and take it out of the mortar. Do the same thing with the onions. Pound also the stalks of chard as well as the boiled chickpeas, beans, and lentil.

When you are done pounding all the ingredients, return them all to the stone mortar, and add coriander seeds, black pepper, fennel seeds (*rāzyānaq*), and 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) garlic. Mix and pound them together.

Now take some sour white vinegar and beat it with 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free). Put it, along with the [pounded] meat mixture, in the pot in which the meat was cooked (**93r**). The pot should still have in it the broth of the cooked meat. Add to it 1 *ratl* (2 cups) sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt ‘adhb*).

Return the pot to the burning coals and keep on stirring, never relaxing, until the mixture becomes as smooth as well-done *harīsa* (wheat porridge). Put the pot away from heat and cover it until needed.

When you serve it, everybody would think it is *harīsa*. You may serve the dish with mustard foam,⁷ God willing.

⁵ This sentence is missing from the edited text, but Istanbul MS has it (fol. 220r).

⁶ For instructions on how to do this, see Chapter 21 above.

⁷ For instructions on how to extract mustard foam, see Chapter 38 above.

فِي عَمَلِ النَّارِ بِأَجَاةِ الْخُلُوعِ وَالْحَامِضَاتِ

MAKING POMEGRANATE STEWS (*NĀRBĀJĀT*),¹ BOTH SWEETENED AND SOURED

***Nārbāj* (pomegranate stew) by al-Ma'mūn:²**

Cut meat into pieces and disjoint some pullets. Wash them all and put them in a pot, which already has boiling water in it, enough to cover the meat. Add soaked and bruised chickpeas, chopped cilantro, *zayt anḡāq* (olive oil from unripe olives), and salt.

When the pot boils, add pomegranate seeds and *zabīb* (raisins), both whole. When it is done cooking, sprinkle on it some *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and pounded black pepper and galangal. Wait until the pot simmers and rests then serve it, God willing.

Following the same recipe:

Pound the raisins and mix them with a little vinegar. Press the mixture and strain it with a sieve. Do the same thing with the pomegranate seeds. Pour the juices on the [cooking] meat in the pot. Apart from this, the dish is done the same way, so you need to know this.

An unusual (*ẓarīfa*) *nārbāja* by Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī³

Cut meat into medium-size pieces and put it in a clean pot. Add a lump (*ḥaṣāṭ*) of salt, the white part of fresh onion (*bayāḡ baṣāl*), and garlic pounded with coriander seeds. Pour into the pot water enough to cover the meat.

Now take two handfuls of fresh almonds (*lawṣ raṭb*) (93v), the freshest you can get, and crush them thoroughly until they have the consistency of ointment (*marham*). Add them to the pot [and cook it].

¹ *Nārbāja* is the Persian name for the Arabic *rummāniyya* for which there are recipes in Chapter 58 above.

² Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 833).

³ The famous Abbasid singer during the time of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd. The recipe is unusual, indeed. Although it is supposed to be cooked with *nār* 'pomegranate', it is soured with wine vinegar, instead.

When meat is done, add to the pot 1 *uskurruja* (½ cup) wine vinegar. Wipe the inside of the pot and let it simmer and rest on the remaining heat of the fire.

It is an unusual dish.

CHAPTER 68

في عمل الساقيات والهاروتيات

MAKING *SUMMĀQIYYĀT* (SUMAC STEWS) AND *HĀRŪNIYYĀT*⁴

***Summāqiyya* stew called *Hārūniyya*:**

Take some choice pieces of meat, cut them nicely, wash them thoroughly, and put them in a pot. Pour sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*), and a little salt, about 1 *dirham* (3 grams). Add a bunch of chopped shallots (*kurrāth al-baṣal*),⁵ then fry the ingredients briefly.

Pour *mā' al-summāq* (strained sumac juice) into the pot. Add enough to cover the meat by four fingers' width.

To make *mā' al-summāq* (sumac juice) you can leave sumac berries soaking in water to heat and mellow in the sun. Alternatively, you may pour hot water on them. However, you need to know that sumac spoils if you boil it with water on the stove. [The juice is then strained and sumac berries are discarded]

So, [after pouring the sumac liquid] add to the pot whatever is available of seasonal vegetables (*baql al-zamān*),⁶ a handful of pounded walnuts, and another handful of [shelled] whole pieces of walnut. Season the pot with coriander seeds, black pepper, cassia, and ground galangal.

⁴ Both kinds of stews are soured with sumac, but *Hārūniyya* is the version of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Raṣīd (d. 809).

⁵ Literally, 'onion leeks.' See Glossary, Section 9, s.v. *kurrāth*. In one of the two versions given in the Istanbul MS (fol. 85r), it is written as *kurrāth al-baql* (tender-leaf leeks).

⁶ I replace here (ما حصرم بقل الزمان), in the edited text, with (ما حضر من بقل الزمان) 'whatever is available of seasonal vegetables' based on Istanbul MS (fol. 267v) because it makes more sense.

Prepare *tharīda* (broken pieces of bread in a big bowl), sprinkle on it some pounded walnut, and ladle the stew all over the bread. Arrange the meat as previously described in similar meat dishes.⁷ Sprinkle the dish with more pounded walnuts and chopped *na'na'* (cultivated mint), God willing.

CHAPTER 69

فِي حَمْلِ الْمَضَايِرِ الْمَعْقُودَاتِ وَالْمَضَايِرِ الْقَطْفِيَّاتِ

MAKING STEWS WITH SOUR MILK (*MADĀYIR*),
CONDENSED (*MA'QŪDĀT*) AND WITH ORACH
(*QATĀFIYYĀT*)⁸

Sour milk stew (*maḍīra*) from the copy of Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:⁹

Take [sour] milk (*laban*),¹⁰ proportionate with the amount of meat used, and let it be medium sour. If it is too sour, let two thirds of it be sour milk (94r) and one third milk (*ḥalīb*). Bring the sour milk to a gentle boil under low heat. Then take it away and cover it for an hour so that the whey separates and comes up to the top. Remove the whey and set it aside.

Choose meat cuts from the shoulders and the lower neck (*quṣayrā*), and cut it into nice small pieces. Wash it and boil it lightly (*salqa khafīfa*) if you are in a hurry. Take the meat out of the pot, submerge it in cold water, and set it aside to drain.

When the meat is fully drained, put it in the pot that has the sour-milk, and start a low-heat fire underneath it. When it comes to a couple of boils, add peeled and chopped eggplant, gourd, and round onions (*baṣal mudawwar*) after you soak them in brine for an hour. When the pot comes to a boil, add a bunch of *na'na'* (cultivated mint) [do not chop it]. When the stew thickens, sprinkle it repeatedly

⁷ See, for instance, Chapter 49 above.

⁸ *Qataf*, also known as *sarmaq*. It is an herb similar to spinach or Jew's mallow (*mulūkhiyya*).

⁹ Abbasid Gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 839).

¹⁰ This milk is called *maḍīr* or *laban maḍīr*. It is left at a warm place for a while to develop a tongue-biting sour taste before it thickens and curdles. See Glossary, Section 4.

with the set-aside whey. Wipe around the inside of the pot and let it simmer on the embers.¹¹

Season the pot with nothing else but cumin. Discard the mint you put earlier and replace it with fresh mint so that the stew is not discolored. If you do not mind the stew developing a darkish hue, use coriander seeds in addition to cumin. When in season, use asparagus (*hilyawn*) as well.

Maḍīra by al-Mu‘tamid:¹²

Take sour milk and meat and use them as directed above. Let the milk be fresh and not too acid.¹³ However, when you add *ḥawāyij*,¹⁴ add with them 1 *ratl* (2 cups) juice of sour grapes, in three batches. Then add spices put together in a bundle of linen cloth. These spices are coriander, cumin, cassia, and galangal, all bruised.

When the sour milk [stew] thickens, sprinkle it with a small amount of the reserved whey [see recipe above]. Wipe around the pot from the inside and let it simmer on the embers.

If you like, pour on it rendered fat of sheep tail, (94v) melted chicken fat, or butter. You have the option of using purslane (*baqla hamqāʾ*) instead of asparagus. *Qataf* (orach) may replace *ḥawāyij* (vegetables), mentioned [in the previous recipe].

[When the pot is done cooking], let it simmer gently on the remaining heat so that the fat rises to the surface then serve it.¹⁵

¹¹ This should be the end of the cooking process. The following paragraph is a list of suggestions followed while the pot is still cooking.

¹² Abbasid Caliph (d. 892). This is the recipe as copied in Oxford MS. Helsinki MS is somewhat different and has more details. Therefore, the editors opted to put it after this one.

¹³ See note 10 above.

¹⁴ I replace here *khūlanj* (galangal), in the edited text, with *ḥawāyij* (ingredients used like vegetables, herbs, spices, etc.) based on Istanbul MS (fol. 268r). *Ḥawāyij* will be mentioned towards the end of the recipe, anyway.

¹⁵ For simmering gently, the verb used in the Oxford MS is *hizzahā*, derived from the noun *hizza* (sound of a pot rolling and boiling gently). The expression occurs as

ثم هزها على النار ليرتفع دسمها ثم اغرفها .

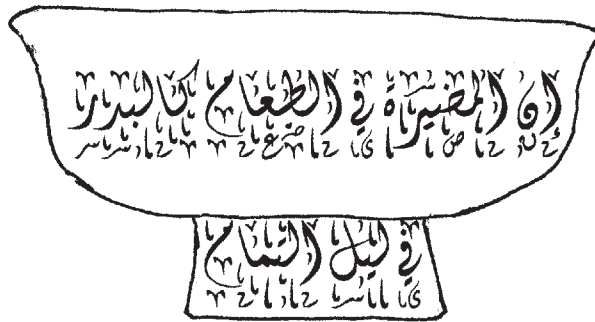
In the Helsinki MS the word is *haddihā*, derived from *hādīʾ* (quiet and gentle). The Arabic expression occurs as ثم هدّ القدر على النار ساعة ليرتفع الدسم على (هدأ , هزر . *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v.)

Another *maḍīra* recipe by al-Mu‘tamid:

[This recipe is a combination of the previous two. The eggplants in this recipe are left whole. They are peeled but the calyxes (*qimʿ*) are kept intact]

Abū al-Ḥusayn recited to me a poem on *maḍīra*:¹⁶

Maḍīra, among all other dishes, the full moon resembles.
 Shining on top of the tables, like light illuminating the dark.
 Like the crescent moon beaming through the clouds.
 Pale upon a platter it looks for fear of being devoured.
 Abū Hurayra admired it when among other dishes it came,¹⁷
 And his love for it overruled his passion to fast.
 Seeing that eating it would benefit him, he hastened to it.
 Refrained he would have, for sure, from rivaling the immaculate
 Imām,¹⁸
 Had it not been *maḍīra*, the healer of man’s maladies.
 To gratify one’s desire, having it is no sin deemed.
 Unanimously acclaimed delicious, exotic, and most wonderful of all
 dishes.



¹⁶ Known as *Kushājim* (d. c. 961). The poem can be found in al-Masʿūdī (696).

¹⁷ The Prophet’s companion (d. 678).

¹⁸ Prophet Muḥammad.

فِي حَمَلِ الْمَصْلِيَّاتِ وَالْقَنْبَرِيسِيَّاتِ

MAKING DISHES COOKED WITH YOGURT WHEY
(*MAṢLIYYĀT*), AND DISHES COOKED WITH YOGURT
CHEESE (*QANBARĪSIYYĀT*)¹

A recipe for *maṣliyya* by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:²

Take meat from a small lamb and cut it into strips like fingers. Put the meat in a pot after you wash it thoroughly. Pour on it sweet olive oil (*ẓayt ṭayyib*), a piece of galangal, and a stick of cassia. Add as well, chopped cilantro and onion. Cook the meat until done.

Lightly sprinkle the meat with black pepper, coriander seeds, and cumin, all ground. Add chard, which has been boiled separately.

Pound *maṣl* first and then add it to the pot.³ (95r) Serve the dish, God willing.⁴

Another *maṣliyya* by al-Wāthiq:⁵

Take marbled meat from the ribs and dice it. Put it in a clean pot after washing it very well. Pour water enough to cover the meat and add chopped onion.

When the pot comes to a boil, add ground walnuts and ground *maṣl* (dried yogurt whey).⁶ Add as well, a small amount of diced eggplant.

Bring the pot to a boil and add spices like coriander seeds and black pepper. When the pot boils with the spices, take it off the fire

¹ All four recipes in the chapter are called *maṣliyyāt*. The closest recipe to *qanbarīsiyya* (dish with yogurt cheese) is the third one. See Glossary, Section 4, s.v. *qanbarīs*.

² Abbasid Gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839).

³ Whey used in such dishes is usually in the form of dried lumps that need to be pulverized.

⁴ The final dish will not be soupy like stew because no water is added to it.

⁵ Abbasid Caliph (d. 847).

⁶ I replace here the word *baṣal* (بصل) onion with *maṣl* (مصل) yogurt whey. Chopped onion has already been mentioned and the instructions in all the recipes are to pound this ingredient. This misreading is repeated in the following two recipes as well as in Chapter 36, *sanbūsaḡ* recipe.

right away lest it should scorch (*tataṣḥyyaṭ*). The [final] dish should have only 2 ladlefuls of liquid remaining in it.

Ladle the dish and serve it, God willing.

Simple *maṣliyya* made for al-Wāthiq:⁷

Take meat with ribs and boil it until it firms up. Take it out and slice it [along the ribs] into thin long strips. Put the meat in a clean pot with bruised chickpeas, a lot of chopped onion, cassia, and galangal.

Now take chard roots, same amount as that of onion, and cut them into thin long slices as you did with the meat. Boil chard in another pot and set it aside. When the meat is cooked, take a handful of pulverized almonds, beat them with the whites of 20 eggs, and set them aside.

Pound *maṣl* (dried yogurt whey) very well,⁸ and spread it on top of the meat in the pot [along with the set aside boiled chard?]. Take 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) sour yogurt (*laban ḥāmiḍ*) and add it to the pot. Now, take the [set-aside] almond-egg white mixture and pour it all over the dish. Let the pot simmer until the eggs set. Wait until it settles and rests then serve it, God willing.

Another *maṣliyya* recipe:

Wash fatty meat and cut into small thin pieces. Put it in a pot along with chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣaḥ*) and pounded chickpeas previously soaked and skinned. Add as well sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt ‘adhb*) and salt. Bring the pot to a boil until meat is almost done.

Now take *maṣl ṭarī* (fresh yogurt whey),⁹ mash it with 5 egg whites, and add it to the pot.

Cut boiled chard stalks into strips (95v) and add them to the pot.

When the meat is done, season it with black pepper, coriander, a little cumin, and 3 cloves of garlic. Allow the pot to settle and rest then ladle it and serve it, God willing.

⁷ Or, according to Helsinki MS, was made for al-Ma’mūn (Abbasid Caliph, d. 833).

⁸ See n. 6 above.

⁹ See n. 6 above. Since the recipe calls for fresh whey, the instruction here is *yushaqq* (mash) rather than *yudaqq* (pound) used with dried whey.

في عمل المعنوقات والنرجسيات

MAKING *MA'SHŪĀT* AND *NARJISIYYĀT* DISHES¹

A recipe for *ma'shūqa*:²

Cut boneless meat into small pieces, the way you usually do with *qaliyya* (fried meat dish).³ Wash it very well. Take a suitable amount of tallow and add a little olive oil (*zayt*) to it. You need to use pounded tallow so that it does not leave any sediments. Put the tallow-oil mix in a clean pot and let it melt on the fire. Add the meat to it after you boil it in a separate pot.

When meat fries, add a little sour juice of grapes. If this is not available, use instead, strained sumac juice,⁴ mixed with finely pulverized almonds. Let the pot cook until you see that the *raṭl* (2 cups) of the juice of sour unripe grapes you have added to the pot has evaporated and meat has browned. If you want to use a little vinegar and honey with the juice of sour unripe grapes, then you need to add them at the same time you add the grape juice.

Season the pot with coriander seeds, a little black pepper, galangal, cassia, and cumin, all pounded. Let the black pepper and the galangal be ½ *dirham* (1½ grams), each. Use a similar amount of salt. Add as well just a tiny little bit of macerated saffron (*rā'ihāt za'farān*).

¹ *Ma'shūqa* is a dish of diced meat with very little sauce. It means 'the loved one,' also called *al-'ashūqa* 'the beloved' or 'the mistress'. Al-Dīnawarī says that the dish's real name is *al-washūqa* 'meat cut into small pieces,' and *al-'ashūqa* is the commoners' name for it. See *Al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 92. *Narjisiyya*, literally, 'looking like narcissus,' is a meat dish with sunny-side-up eggs.

² I here fill in the title using the Istanbul MS (fol. 268v). The editors include Helsingin version after this one (Oxford's), due to some differences. Translating it does not add new information to the recipe.

³ In the Istanbul MS (fol. 268v), the word *qīma* 'cut into small pieces' is written instead of *qaliyya* 'fried dish' of the edited text. Etymologically, *qīma* is an ancient Akkadian word, which conveyed the same meaning (Thompson *Assyrian Herbal* 64). It is used in the same sense in the late fifteenth-century Urdu cookbook *Ni'matnāma* (35), as it is still used in modern Iraq. Interestingly, the word found its way to the modern Greek cuisine, as in the dish *Macaronia me Kīma* 'spaghetti with ground meat' See Clifford Wright, *A Mediterranean Feast* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1999) 648–49.

⁴ See Chapter 68 above, for directions on how to extract the juice.

Get skinned almonds ready. Pulverize part of it, dissolve it in a little rose water [and stir it into the pot]. Coarsely grind the rest of the almonds and mix them with breadcrumbs so that you spread them all over the meat in the pot [later].

Rub the sides of the pot with some rue leaves after you have added the almonds with rose water and stirred the pot. Insert several [sprigs of] rue in the pot and let the sauce absorb their flavor then discard them. [Now, spread the almond-crumble mixture all over the meat, and do not stir the pot].

There should be very little liquid remaining in the pot, equal to the amount of *ṣibāgh* (sauces and dips) or *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) usually served with dishes.⁵

A recipe for *narjisiyya*:

Cut into small pieces meat of kid, lamb, or pullets. (96r) Make it almost as fine as pounded meat. [Put it in a pot, and] mix with it cilantro, white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*), olive oil (*zayt*), salt, and a small amount of water. Let it cook. When meat is done, add skinned fava beans and cook them together. Add to the cooking pot, some coriander seeds, black pepper, and chopped fresh truffles after boiling them.

Break 5 eggs on top of the meat mixture and leave them whole like cow's eyes (*ʿuyūn al-baqar*). [Let the eggs set] then serve the dish, God willing.

A recipe for *ʿashīqa* of birds by al-Ma'mūn:⁶

Take pullets, plump chicken, or any other kind of birds. Scald them, disjoint them, and wash them clean. Put them in a pot in which you have poured water just enough to cook them. Let them boil and skim the froth. When they are done, add cilantro, the white part of one fresh onion, and a stick of galangal.

Pound thoroughly, ½ *ratl* (½ pound) fresh walnuts. Mix them with 1 *ratl* (2 cups) juice of unripe grapes and strain them. Add the [strained] liquid to the pot and let it boil until the liquid stops foaming (*taskun raghwatuhu*). Add ground black pepper, cassia, galangal, and cumin, just enough to give a slight whiff of their aromas.

⁵ These dips and condiments are usually served in *uskurrujāt*, ½ cup capacity each.

⁶ Abbasid caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 833). See n. 1 above, on the name of the dish.

If you like to use *rakḥbīn* (dried buttermilk),⁷ then dissolve it with the juice of sour unripe grapes. Besides, you can substitute the walnuts with pistachio.⁸

A recipe for ‘*ashīqa* by Ibn al-Mahdī,⁹ cooked with olive oil (*zayt*):

Disjoint a bird like *ḥubārā* (bustard), a duck, or a chicken. Clean the pieces and wash them then put them in a pot with olive oil (*zayt*), chickpeas, salt, and chopped onion and cilantro. Bring the pot to a boil, pour in it some water, and let it cook.

Pound thoroughly meat from leg of lamb along with onion, cilantro, coriander seeds, a little black pepper, and cassia. When bird meat is cooked, add the pounded meat to the pot. Pound together almond, walnut, and pistachio, mix them with sour grape juice, and add them to the pot.

You may add (96v) spinach or *sarmaq* (orach) as well.¹⁰ You also have the option of adding *rakḥbīn* (dried buttermilk) dissolved in some sour grape juice.

Ibn al-Mahdī describes *narjisiyya* (meat dish with sunny-side-up eggs) in this poem:

You who asked me about the most delicious food, you indeed have
asked a man in the know.

Take, my dearest friend, meat with ribs, thighs, and more of the tal-
low.

Chop the fatty tender meat and wash it with water pure.

Then put it in the pan on fire and with spices fry it in oil.

When meat is browned, ‘tis time to chop on it onion round.

Green fresh onion as well, and rue and coriander.

Next give the dish *murrī* and ginger and black pepper, too, but spar-
ingly do.

Augment it with asparagus and break on it eyes of eggs.

Like the luminous stars of the celestial spheres, or narcissus flowers
round.

⁷ It is similar to today’s *jamīd* used in making the Jordanian traditional dish *mansaf*.

⁸ Helsinki MS has a shorter version. The editors opted to put it right after this one. The difference is that Helsinki adds leeks to the ingredients, gives sour vinegar as a substitute for grape juice, and uses both walnuts and pistachio.

⁹ The Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 839).

¹⁰ Also called *qaṭaf*, spinach-like leaves similar to *mulūḥhiyya* (Jew’s mallow). See Glossary Section 14.1.

Give it a sprinkle of chopped rue and insert a few erect sprigs of it, too.

Serve it in its pan draped or in a basket of willow sticks.

Then God you praise and may you eat this delectable dish salubriously.

CHAPTER 72

في عمل النباطيات من الطيور المطبوخات

MAKING NABATEAN POULTRY DISHES (NIBĀṬIYYĀT)¹¹

(97r) *Nibāṭiyya* by Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm a-Mawṣilī:¹²

Choose two plump chickens. Clean and disjoint them and put them in a pot. Add chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*), sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt ‘adhb*), soaked and bruised chickpeas, and a stick of cassia. Let the pot cook for a short while.¹³ Pour on it water, enough to cover the chicken. Bring it to a boil twice.¹⁴

Add a large piece of cheese and the needed amount of salt to the pot. Of the spices, add coriander seeds, black pepper, cassia, galangal, spikenard, cloves, nutmeg, *dār fulful* (long pepper), and ginger, all pounded.

When the pot comes to one or two boils after putting the spices, add three handfuls of *iṭriya* made from white dough (*‘ajīn abyad*).¹⁵ Pour 10 *dirhams* (2 tablespoons) rose water and let the pot simmer on slow fire until the noodles are cooked. Shell 5 [boiled] eggs and add them to the pot. Wait until it stops bubbling and rests.

Ladle the dish [into a bowl]. Take out the cheese and the eggs, cut them to pieces, and arrange them around the meat.

You may add a handful of rice and smoked strips of meat [while pot is cooking]. That would be a good thing to do, delicious and scrumptious (*ladhūdh tayyib*), God willing.

¹¹ Named after the indigenous people of Iraq. See Appendix, s.v. Nabaṭī.

¹² The famous Abbasid singer during the time of Hārūn al-Raṣīd. He died in 850.

¹³ *Suway‘a* is diminutive of *sā‘a* hour.

¹⁴ See Glossary, Section 10.2, s.v. *fawwara*.

¹⁵ Dry noodles made with stiff unfermented dough. In this case, fine bran-free wheat flour is used.

Here is a poem Iṣḥāq al-Mawṣilī wrote on this dish:

Nībātīyya with chicken, as pure as ivory it looks.

Eating it on a cold winter day is far more beneficial than eating *sikbāja*.¹⁶

(97v) Swaying like the waves is the fat swimming on its face,

Like a luminous full moon shining through its lofty mansion.

The eggs are stars twinkling from a distance through the dark.

The egg yolk, sitting in the midst of its white, as beautiful as pure *khalūq* put in glass.¹⁷

The cheese bits showing through are like beaded pearls set on a crown.

[The last recipe, called “another wonderful *narjisiyya*,” is repeated at the beginning of the next chapter as “*narjisiyya ‘ūniyya*,” where it belongs. See next chapter.]

CHAPTER 73

فِي عَمَلِ النَّارِجِسِيَّاتِ الصَّيْفِيَّاتِ وَالسَّوْبَاتِ

MAKING SUMMER AND WINTER *NARJISIYYĀT* (DISHS WITH SUNNY-SIDE-UP EGGS)¹⁸

Narjisiyya ‘ūniyya:¹⁹

Slice the meat and chop it to pieces, but do not make them too small. Use some tallow with it, too. Cook the meat with the green stalks of fresh onion (*khudrat baṣal*), and *kurrāṭh Nabaṭī* (tender-leaf leeks), leave them whole. Spread the stalks on top of the meat.

Season the meat with salt, olive oil (*zayt*), (98r) a bruised piece of cassia and another of galangal. Add as well coriander seeds and a small amount of cumin if wished.

¹⁶ Beef stew soured with vinegar.

¹⁷ Women’s perfume made of a combination of aromatics. Saffron, one of its components, gives it its characteristic golden-yellow color.

¹⁸ Literally, the dish means ‘like narcissus.’ The compiler of Istanbul MS explains that the dish is called so because of its colors: yellow, white, and green (fols. 196v–97r).

¹⁹ The name derives from ‘*ūn*, the name of a constellation of luminous stars. Al-Ṣāhib bin ‘Abbād *Al-Muḥīṭ fi al-Lughā* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) s.v. عون .

Break eggs on the [spread] meat, enough to cover the whole face of the frying pan, which, by the way, should be of stone. Let the eggs look like eyes [sunny-side up].

Put the pan as it is on a reed tray (*tabaq khayzurān*) and insert a sprig of rue in the midst of the yolk of each egg. Drape the pan with a big thin bread (*ruqāqa*) making a hole in the middle as big as the circumference of the pan. This is to hide the blackness of the outside of the pan when it is presented at the table.

Another recipe for *narjisiyya*:

This is done the same way as above, using cheese cut into pieces and sprouted fava beans [instead of meat].

Break the eggs on the [cooked cheese and fava beans]. Then using a *dakshāb*,²⁰ break the surface of the yolks and let them run into each other. Cover the pan [to allow eggs to set].

[To serve it,] carefully arrange the cheese pieces so that they show through the eggs. Garnish it with *laqāniq* (sausages), *sanbūsaj* (filled pastries), and fried thin bread cut into pieces (*ruqāq maqlū*). It is delicious served with [cooked] young fowls and pullets, no need for red meat (*luḥūm majmū'a*).²¹

²⁰ A paddle-like wooden stirring utensil.

²¹ The term is used to describe red meat such as mutton, usually boiled in a big pot, called *jīmā'* (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, s.v. جمع).

فِي عَمَلِ الْمَغْمُومَاتِ السَّوَادِجِ وَالْمُخَلَّلَاتِ

MAKING *MAGHMŪMĀT* (POTPIES)¹
PLAIN (*SĀDHAJĀT*) AND SOURED WITH VINEGAR
(*MUKHALLALĀT*)

A recipe for a tasty *maghmūma* by Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī:²

Take some fatty meat and cut it into thin slices, the thinnest you can get them. Take some round onions (*baṣal mudawwar*) and slice them thinly crosswise into discs like *dirhams* (coins).

Now prepare a clean pot of soapstone (*burma*). Spread its bottom with a layer of the [prepared] meat; sprinkle it with black pepper, coriander, and caraway; and spread a layer of the onion slices. Put another layer of the [sliced] meat and fat, sprinkle it with spices and salt then another layer of onion.

Cover [the layered meat and vegetables] with a round of bread (*raghīf*). Cook the pot on a slow-burning fire until meat is cooked. Invert the pot onto a wide and big bowl (*ghaḍāra*) and serve it, God willing.

Another recipe for *maghmūma*:

Choose 2 plump pullets, wash them then disjoint them. Put them in a pot and add to them 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) coriander seeds. (98v) Add ground black pepper, galangal, and ginger, ¼ *dirham* (¾ gram) each. As for cassia, use 1 *dirham* (3 grams).

Mix 2/3 *raṭl* (11/3 cups) vinegar, 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) onion juice (*mā al-‘aṣal*), 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) cilantro,³ and ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) olive oil (*zayt*). Pour this mixture into the pot and cover the ingredients with a disc of bread.

¹ Literally, the dish means ‘the covered,’ because the assembled contents of the pot are topped with a disc of flat bread, like a lid.

² The famous Abbasid singer during the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He died in 850.

³ Possibly, it is the cilantro juice, which is being called for here, judging from “recipe for *maghmūma* from the copy of Abū Samīn” in this chapter.

Put the pot on the glowing coals (*jamr*) and let it cook until done. Take the pot away from heat and set aside to let it settle.

If you cut the pullets' meat into thin slices [before cooking it], the dish will come out even more delicious, God willing.

Another recipe for *maghmūma*, *Khurāsānī*⁴ style:

Slice crosswise round onions (*baṣal mudawwar*) like *dirhams* (coins). Cut the meat into thin slices and wash it clean.

Start by pouring a suitable amount of olive oil (*zayt*) into the pot then spread a layer of meat followed by a layer of onion.

In a bowl, mix 2 ladlefuls of sour vinegar and a similar amount of *mā' kāmakh* (*murri*, liquid of fermented sauce). Add coriander seeds, black pepper, cumin, and caraway. Pour this mixture into the pot. Cover the ingredients with a disc of bread and let the pot cook until done, undisturbed (*lā yuharrak*).

Invert the pot onto a big wide bowl (*ghaḍāra*) and serve it, God willing.

A recipe for *maghmūma* from the copy of Abū Samīn:⁵

Clean and disjoint 2 *Kaskarī* pullets.⁶ Put them in a pot and sprinkle on them a small amount of coriander seeds, about 1 *dirham* (3 grams). Add as well black pepper, long pepper (*dār fulful*), galangal, and ground ginger, 1 *dānaq* (½ gram), each. Sprinkle ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) cassia.

Mix ½ *ratl* (1 cup) vinegar, a similar amount of onion [juice], and 1 *ūqīyya* (2 tablespoons) cilantro juice.⁷ Add 2 *ūqīyyas* (¼ cup) of *murri Nabaṭī* known as *al-thānī* (the second).⁸ Add as well, 1/3 *ratl* (2/3 cup) sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt 'adhb*).

Pour this mixture into the pot, cover it with a disc of bread, and put it on the glowing coals until meat is done. Take the pot away from the heat and let it settle [for a while].

⁴ After the name of the Persian region *Khurāsān*.

⁵ Chef of the palace kitchens of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭhiq (d. 847).

⁶ *Kaskar* was a district north of Basra, famous for its produce and poultry. See Appendix.

⁷ I add here 'juice' based on Istanbul MS (fol. 269v), where it is written as **ل** الكزبرة الرطبة .

⁸ *Murri Nabaṭī* was the indigenous Iraqi liquid fermented sauce, deemed the strongest of all kinds of *murri*. This explains why the 'second *murri*' is called for in the recipe. It is a lighter variety made by fermenting again the dregs resulting from straining the first batch of *murri*. See Glossary, Section 3, s.v. *murri Nabaṭī*.

If you cut the meat of pullets into thick slices [before cooking it], (99r) the dish will be even more delicious, God willing.

A recipe for *maghmūma* with asparagus (*hilyawn*) by Ibn al-Mahdī:⁹

Choose fresh and tender asparagus and boil them lightly. Chop them into fine pieces and set them aside.

Take meat and chop it into fine pieces [and put it in a pot]. Take some chicken fat along with gizzards and livers. Clean them and put them in the pot. The last to add are the livers [because they cook faster]. Pour into the pot *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil).¹⁰ Add bruised chickpeas, crushed salt, white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣaḥ*), cilantro, and leeks, all chopped.

Pour water into the pot—enough to partially submerge the ingredients—and let it cook until meat is done. Add the asparagus, pounded walnuts and cheese, pitted olives, coriander seeds, and black pepper.

Break some eggs into a bowl, season them with black pepper and coriander, beat them very well, and add them to the pot. Do this after you have added the cheese and olives. Pour as well a small amount of *murri* (liquid fermented sauce). Stir the pot and let it cook until all moisture evaporates.

Cut out a flat bread to match the circumference of the pot. Using a separate pan, fry the disc in olive oil (*zayt*) then put it on top of the cooked meat in the pot. Serve the dish on this bread disc [i.e. turned over], God willing.

In this poem, Ibn al-Mahdī describes *maghmūma* dish:¹¹

There are those who crave an honest plain dish of grains. I for one would love to have whatever is with vinegar seasoned.

There are those who do themselves carelessly harm having of foods that do not the season match.

I for one unfailingly consume whatever definitely in the heat of summer does my body cool.

Vinegar in dishes brings me joy. Anything else saddens my heart.

⁹ The Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 839).

¹⁰ See Glossary, Section 3.

¹¹ This *maghmūma* dish is called *farḥāna* (the happy one). Al-Mahdī plays on the double meanings of *maghmūma*—‘covered’ and ‘heavy-hearted.’ He says, although the dish is actually *maghmūma* (covered with bread), it brings joy to the heart of the eater.

The complexities of making *sikbāja* appeal to me,¹² the way intricacies of knowledge men of learning intrigue.

(99v) *Hiṣrimīyya* I find superbly good for me like *ṣilāqa* which to the welfare of the entire body tends.¹³

Maḍīra sometimes is made in a way that might pleasure me,¹⁴ and God bless it, it does look good.

However, what I really crave and desire, like an insomniac yearning for sleep,

Is *farḥāna*, always on my list, I lure my cooks with a handsome pay for it,

Skillfully made in a pot, enhanced with vinegar and spices, in matching amounts.

A layer of meat underneath of which lies a layer of its own fat, and another of sweet onion, another of rice,¹⁵

Another of peeled eggplant slices, each looking like a good *dirham* honestly earned.

If you couple eggplant with carrots, mind you, it would come out perfect, marvelously fragrant.

Then aged *murrī* is poured on it with whatever is stripped and chopped of cilantro tender sprigs.

Thus layered the pot is brought to a boil first then enclosed with a disc of oven bread.

On the glowing fire it is then put, thus giving it what it needs of heat and fat.

When fully cooked and its fat is well up, turn it over onto a platter, big and wide.

There you have it, *maḡhmūma*, but never a sad day has it seen,

Farḥāna overwhelms the hearts of the famished with joy as it emerges in a bowl. A full moon in the darkest of nights.

¹² Beef stew soured with vinegar.

¹³ *Hiṣrimīyya* is stew soured with juice of unripe grapes, and *ṣilāqa* is a boiled dish.

¹⁴ Stew cooked in sour milk.

¹⁵ Rice is called *tumman* here, a word still used in the modern Iraqi vernacular (pronounced *timman*). Anywhere else in this book, as well as other medieval sources, it is generally referred to as *ruzz* or *aruzz*.

فِي حَمْلِ الْمَلْهُوجَاتِ مِنَ اللَّحْمِ الْمُعْجَلَاتِ

MAKING FAST MEAT DISHES (*MULAHWAJĀT*)

(100r)¹ ***Mulahwaja*, used to be made a lot for al-Rashīd:**²

Dice meat and put it in a pot. Pour oil on it. Add onion, cilantro, rue, and leeks, all chopped. Let meat fry until it browns. Add to the pot, coriander seeds, caraway, black pepper, a bit of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), a bit of vinegar, cassia, and galangal.

When the dish is done cooking, sprinkle it with a small amount of [diluted] honey,³ and present it garnished with chopped cilantro.

Another *mulahwaja*:

Thinly slice meat of a small lamb, clean it, and put in a pot. Pour olive oil (*zayt*), bruised chickpeas, cassia, salt, and a small amount of water. Cook meat until it is done. Then pour on it 2 ladlefuls of juice of sour unripe grapes mixed with a little *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce).

When it is cooked, season it with black pepper, caraway, and 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) ground spikenard and cloves, each. (100v)

Another *mulahwaja*:

Choose meat of a fat kid, thinly slice it, and put it in a pot. Add chicken fat, olive oil, a piece of galangal, salt, onion juice, and cilantro juice. Let the pot boil gently then add a mixture of Levantine apple juice (*mā' tuffāḥ Shāmī*), 2 ladlefuls of extremely sour wine vinegar (*khall khamr ḥādhiq*), and a small amount of bruised chickpeas.

When the dish is cooked, season it with black pepper, coriander seeds, caraway seeds, and ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) ground cloves.

Abū al-Qāsim bin al-Madhḥūḥ recited this poem on *mulahwaja*:⁴

¹ This sheet (fols. 100r and 100v) was inserted between 99 and 101 in Oxford MS. It was written by a different hand (editors' note, 188, n. 3)

² The famous Abbasid Caliph (d. 809).

³ Since honey is syrupy and cannot practically be sprinkled (*yunaqqāḥ*), as the recipe states, I assume it should be diluted with a little water.

⁴ I have not been able to identify this poet.

Abodes may be forlorn, but not so their people, for life can still be good with swords unsheathed.

The wild asses were plump, with loins like two big jars flanked as if one of their ancestors an elephant was.

They were brought to us for lunch that a cook hurriedly made, and the best food is cooked on the run.

The wine was clear, neat, and aged. The soul was generous and the purse was loose.

Abū ‘Umar al-Shayyāl once recited some verses that a Bedouin composed:⁵

Mulahwajāt with meat of fawns (*khishf*) from sides and cuts of shoulders taken.

They fell to my share. I did not stab them while drinking at the stream unawares.

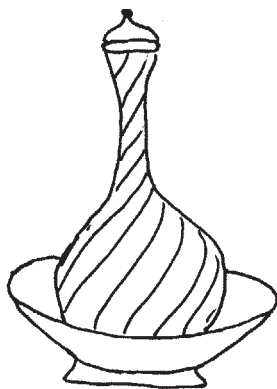
Here they are by masterly hands resplendently cooked.

The dish is like the sun shining out of darkness, luscious and like lovers’ saliva taste.

More appealing than the clashing marching armies, or fighting thousands of foes.

Cooked hurriedly in just half a day and here it comes, jiggling [with fat] like crowded fluffs of clouds.

Mulahwajāt with wine undiluted—these are my healers and rejuvenating tonics.



⁵ I have nor been able to identify him.

في عمل البصلية والهاشمية

MAKING *BASSALIYYĀT* (ONION DISHES) AND *HĀSHIMIYYĀT*¹

***Baṣaliyya* by al-Mu‘tamid:**²

Take chunks of meat from ribs and thighs and slice them into finger-like strips. (101r) Soak the meat in cold water, as this will drain the blood and remove the dirt. Hot water, on the other hand, will lock them in.

Take the meat out of the cold water and [put it in a pot] with a fresh batch of water along with a lot of pounded tallow. You may add galangal and cassia.

Chop onion, the amount needed is to be equal to one third of the meat used. If gourd is in season, then go ahead and use it. However, cut it [first into fingerlike strips] like you did with the meat. [Set onion and gourd aside]. When the pot comes to a boil, add the onion and the gourd.

[A note:] The amount of water you added first should not be much.

[Continue cooking the pot] until the pot is dry. Add *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) and dry spices like black pepper, cassia, coriander, and cumin. Add as well one ladleful of vinegar and a small amount of rue.

***Baṣaliyya* by al-Wāthiq:**³

Cut meat into strips and add cilantro, onion, and sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*). When meat is done, add black pepper, coriander, and cumin. Chop a small amount of *kurrāth al-baql* (green and tender leaves of leeks) and add it to the meat.

Let the pot simmer slowly on the [remaining heat] of the fire then settle for about an hour. Ladle it and serve it, God willing.

¹ *Tharīd* dishes of sopped bread named after Hāshim bin ‘Abd Manāf (d. ca 524), Prophet Muhammad’s great grandfather. See Appendix.

² Abbasid Caliph (d. 892).

³ Abbasid Caliph (d. 847).

Baṣaliyya made for al-Ma'mūn:⁴

Choose chunks of meat from ribs and thighs and slice them into small pieces like fingers. Soak them in cold water for an hour then take them out after they are cleansed and put them in another batch of water [in a pot]. Let there be a lot of pounded tallow with it. Add as well, cassia, galangal, and previously bruised and soaked chickpeas. [Bring the pot to a boil]

Finely chop onion, let it be half the amount of the meat used. If lettuce is in season, then slice the stems crosswise into rounds like *dirhams* (coin). [Add both onion and lettuce to the pot] and let it boil until the meat is cooked. Add a small amount of rose water.

As soon as the liquid in the pot evaporates,⁵ add *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) and dry spices such as coriander, black pepper, cassia, and cumin. Add as well, a ladleful of sour grape juice and some rue. Take the fire from underneath the pot [and let it simmer] until the stew thickens over the heat of burning coals (*jamr*).⁶ (101v) Put a whole bunch of *na'na'* (cultivated mint) in the midst of the pot. When it is done simmering and rests, serve the dish, God willing.

Another recipe for baṣaliyya:⁷

Choose meat from the ribs, rump, and fat from the tail of sheep. Dice the meat, wash it very well, [boil it, and take it out of the broth, but reserve the broth].

Put the meat in a pot after it has been boiled. Add chopped cilantro and rue, a stick of cassia, and a piece of galangal. Let the meat cook for a while (*sā'a* one hour) until it releases its juices. Then pour on it fresh water, enough to come up to half the level of the meat in the pot. When meat is cooked, add to the pot a ladleful of rendered and strained chicken fat or kidney tallow (*shahm al-kilā*), and fry the meat with some spices (*abzār*). Then pour on it some of the [reserved] broth and add three bulbous heads of fresh white onion (*bayāḍ baṣal murawwas*), their amount needs to be equal to that

⁴ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 833).

⁵ The pot in such cases is described as dry *nāshif*.

⁶ As we learn from the following recipe, the burning coals replace the fire, which is pulled away from underneath the pot. The slowly burning embers allow for slow simmering.

⁷ The chapter's heading promises dishes called *Hāshimīyyāt*. None of the recipes here is given this name. However, since *Hāshimīyyāt* are distinguished by adding breadcrumbs to them at the end of cooking the dish, this recipe may be it.

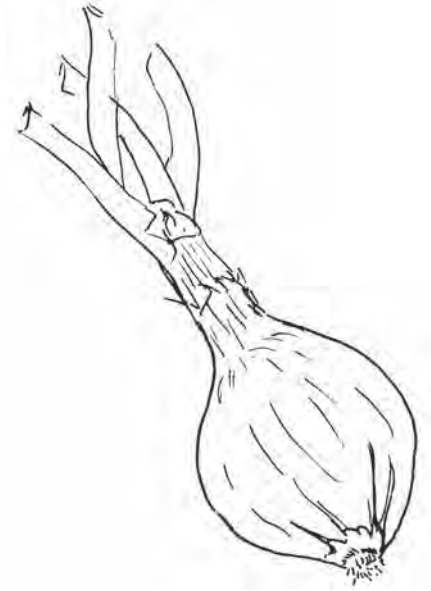
of the meat used. Cover the pot and let it simmer under slow fire (*nār layyina*). The broth you add to the pot when you add the onions should not submerge the meat.

Now, when the onions are fully cooked and fall apart (*inharā*), take the fire away,⁸ put [instead] burning coals (*fahm qawī*) under the pot, and let it cook until the stew nicely thickens and becomes like *fālūdḥaj* (thick pudding) in consistency.

Add $\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* (1½ grams) saffron to the pot. Of the spices, add just a trifle (*rāyīḥa*) of black pepper; cassia, spikenard, and cloves, about $\frac{1}{2}$ *dānaq* ($\frac{1}{4}$ gram) of each. Add as well coriander seeds and a few snips (*qaḍba*) of *na'na'* (cultivated mint).⁹ Add the required amount of salt and leave the pot on the [remaining heat] until it settles and rests.

If the stew comes out thin, thicken it by spreading breadcrumbs on top of it. Alternatively, you may use skinned and ground almonds or finely ground walnut. Sprinkle the pot with a bit of rose water and cover it.

Serve the dish with peeled small and smooth cucumber (*khiyār*).



⁸ The verb used here is *aqalla* /*yaqillu* (to carry), the imperative used here is *qill* (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. قَلَّل).

⁹ *Qaḍba* قَضْبَة derives from *qaḍaba* قَضَب v. 'cut.'

فِي عَمَلِ الْجَزُورِيَّاتِ وَالْبَنِيَّاتِ

MAKING DISHES OF *JAẒŪRIYYĀT* AND *BINNIYYĀT*¹

A recipe for *jazūriyya* with meat of a slaughtered camel (*lahm jazūr*):

Take choice cuts of *jazūr* (slaughtered camel) and cut it into strips the way you do with meat prepared for *qalāya* (fried dishes).² Do the same thing with the camel's hump (*sanām*).

Dice some onion, crush it, [and set it aside].

Wash a pot, (102r) put the meat in it, but hold the hump for now. Light the fire underneath it, [and let it cook]. Do not add *binn* (fermented sauce of rotted bread) or vinegar to it, just the meat. After it releases its moisture and then evaporates completely, add the crushed onion along with a little salt and the hump. Fry the meat until the hump releases all its fat.

Season the meat with vinegar, *mā' kāmakh* (*murri*, liquid fermented sauce), black pepper, coriander seeds, and caraway seeds. Bring the pot to a boil after which you let it simmer and settle. Ladle the dish and serve it, God willing.

Another recipe for *jazūriyya*:

Cook it the same way described above, but instead of *mā' kāmakh* use *binn* (fermented sauce of rotted bread), a small amount of ground fennel (*rāẓyānaq*), and vinegar. Otherwise, use all the spices [mentioned in the above recipe] and do whatever is required in the recipe. However, you need to use a bit of saffron for this dish, God willing.

¹ *Jaẓūriyyāt* are dishes made with camel meat. The name derives from *jazara* 'cut,' (*jazār* 'butcher'). *Al-jazūr* is the slaughtered camel, but it may apply to all animals of slaughter such as sheep, goat, ram. *Binniyyāt* are dishes seasoned with *binn*, a fermented sauce of rotted bread (see Chapter 40 for a recipe). Although all the recipes in the chapter carry the name *jazūriyya*, we may assume that the recipes in which *binn* is used are *binniyyāt*.

² For recipes, see Chapter 84 below.

Another recipe for *jazūriyya*:

Cut meat, liver, and hump into finger-like strips. Put them in a soap-stone pot (*burma*) and add chopped cilantro and onion, a little black pepper, salt, olive oil (*zayt*), and two pulverized lumps of sugar.

Light the fire under the pot and stir the meat until it cooks. Pour on it some water, just enough for the meat to boil in. Keep the fire burning until the pot comes to a boil. Add some pounded chickpeas and stir. When cooking is done, taste the dish and check for salt. If it lacks any, add *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and stir the pot.

Add chopped onion and let the pot cook until the onion is done. Add as well a bit of black pepper, coriander, and cumin seeds.

When meat is done cooking, pour some hot water,³ chopped cilantro, and rue. Drizzle it with a small amount of clarified butter (*samn*) and put the pot away from heat, God willing.

A recipe for *jazūriyya* made with lamb by Ibn al-Mahdī:⁴

Take 4 *raṭls* (4 pounds) of choice cuts of camel meat, 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) liver, and 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) hump. (102v) Slice them into very thin strips. Keep the meats separate.

Dice 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) onion and put it in a pot [along with the strips of camel meat] after you wash it. Pour 2/3 *raṭl* (11/3 cups) olive oil (*zayt*), and ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) water. Add 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) salt. [Bring the pot to a boil] and remove the scum. Then cover the pot and let it cook until all moisture evaporates.

Uncover the pot, stir it, add the hump strips, and stir the pot continuously until the meat and the hump strips are fried. Then add 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) good quality vinegar [and continue cooking] until meat is done. At this point, add the liver strips and stir the pot.

Add 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) chopped rue and continue stirring until you start smelling the rue. Keep on sprinkling water on the meat [while it is cooking] until it becomes tender. Add ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) onion pounded with ¼ *raṭl* (4 ounces) cilantro and stir the pot.

Now, pour into the meat ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and add black pepper and caraway seeds. Let the pot simmer [in the remaining heat until it rests].

³ It is unusual to add hot water at this final stage in cooking. The reason might be to keep the meat moist.

⁴ He is the gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 839). The recipe calls for meat of camel, but at the end, it mentions that lamb can be used instead.

If lamb, liver, and tail fat of sheep are used in making this dish, the tail fat will substitute for the hump fat.

***Jazūriyya* by ‘Ibāda [made with] lamb:**⁵

Choose fatty and tender meat, dice it, and put it in a pot after washing it. Pour sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt ‘adhb*) on it. Add some salt and a small amount of water. Let it fry until almost done.

Add chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*) and small eggplants, which have been sliced [crosswise into discs] like *dirhams* (coins), soaked in salted water, [and drained].

When eggplant is done, pour 2 ladlefuls of vinegar and continue simmering until vinegar cooks. Then, mix aged *bin* (fermented sauce) with some of the liquid in the pot and return it. Season the pot with coriander and black pepper and let it simmer gently [in the remaining heat until it settles]. Serve it, God willing.

A recipe for *jazūriyya* by ‘Abbās ibn al-Rashīd:⁶

Cut meat of the slaughtered camel (*jazūr*), wash it, and put it in a [soapstone] pot. Add salt, *zayt anfāq* (oil of unripe olives), whole onions, *kurrāth Rūmī* (Byzantine leeks),⁷ snips (*jazra*) of *kurrāth Fārisī* (Persian leeks),⁸ and a bunch (*bāqa*) of cilantro.

When the *burma* (soapstone pot) comes to a boil, skim the froth. As soon as meat is done, take out [and discard] the onion, *Rūmī* and *Fārisī* leeks, and cilantro.

Season [and thicken] the sauce with black pepper and ground almonds. Prepare *tharīda* (broken pieces of bread in a bowl) for it and drizzle the bread with some sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*). Ladle the dish [over the bread] and serve it, God willing.

⁵ I adjust here the title based on the version in the Helsinki MS: (قلبة من لحم غنم لعبادة) “a fried dish made with lamb by ‘Ibāda.” ‘Ibāda was one of the cooks of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). His father used to cook in the kitchens of al-Ma’mūn (d. 833). He learnt the profession from him and excelled in it (Ibn Khillikān 118). See Appendix.

⁶ I follow here the name as given in Istanbul MS (fol. 271r) by replacing ‘bin’ with ‘ibn.’ He was an Abbasid prince (d. 838), son of Caliph al-Ma’mūn, grandson of Hārūn al-Rashīd. See Appendix.

⁷ A mountain variety with delicate leaves and a sharp taste, eaten both raw and cooked. See Glossary, Section 9.

⁸ They are similar to the Nabatean leeks, but their leaves are bigger and coarser. See Glossary, Section 9.

فِي حَمْلِ الْمَقْلُوبَاتِ وَاللَّحْمِ الْمَرْقُوقِ

MAKING DISHES WITH POUNDED MEAT (*MAQLAWIYYĀT* AND *MADQŪQĀT*)¹

A recipe for a nice and unusual *madqūqa* from which three varieties may be made, from the copy of Ishāq bin al-Kindī:²

Pound meat in a stone mortar until it has the consistency of bone marrow (*mukhl*). Boil a small amount of water in a clean pot. Add the pounded meat to it. When it boils, skim off the froth and pour on it excellent quality olive oil (*zayt fāyiq*),³ salt, and chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*). Stir-fry the mixture (*yuqlā wa yuḥarrak*) then add pounded coriander seeds, black pepper, and soaked chickpeas. Add a fistful of almonds, which have been skinned and pounded to resemble bone marrow. Add as well [juice] of the white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*)⁴ [along with some water and cook the pot until everything is done].⁵

[Add beaten eggs to the pot,] put it aside to set (*ḥatta yajmud*) [in the remaining heat of the pot],⁶ and serve it.

If you want the dish to be *maṣliyya* (cooked with whey),⁷ add—at the same time you add the almonds—white whey (*maṣl abyad*) and

¹ *Maqlawiyya* is used in the sense that the ground meat is tossed, stirred, and crumbled in the pan (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *قلى*). According to Chapter 2 above, such dishes are cooked in a round-bottomed soapstone pan, similar to a wok, which makes stir-frying easier. The verbs used in the first recipe are *yuqlā wa yuḥarrak* (stirred and tossed). Simple frying, which may or may not involve some stirring is *qalī*; the fried meat is *maqlū/maqlī*; and the dish is *qaliyya* (see Chapter 84 below for recipes). *Madqūq* and *mudaggaq* (pounded) are descriptive of what is done to meat before cooking it.

² The famous physician, philosopher, and scientist (d. 873). See Appendix.

³ In Helsinki MS, it is *zayt anfāq* (olive oil from unripe olives).

⁴ I assume it is onion juice because he uses the verb *taṣub* (pour).

⁵ The soaked chickpeas need to be cooked in some sort of liquid. Judging from instructions given in variations on the dish below, the pot is cooked at this stage.

⁶ Based on the instructions given below and in the following recipes. Besides, it is only by adding the eggs that the dish can ‘set’ (*yajmud*).

⁷ Yogurt whey was usually dried and stored. When needed it was dissolved in some liquid and used.

a little cumin. Then add [beaten] eggs and a little cumin after the whey is cooked. Apart from this, the dish is done the same way.

If you want the dish to be *hişramiyya* (cooked with grape sour juice), *summāqiyya* (cooked with sumac), or *laymūniyya* (cooked with lemon juice), add—the same time you add the almonds—whichever sour juice you choose, as much as needed. If you like, add *na‘na‘* (cultivated mint), sorrel (*baqlat al-ḥamd*),⁸ *qiththā’* (ridged and long cucumber), and *khiyār* (small and smooth cucumber). When all the ingredients are cooked, add to the pot a sprig of rue. Apart from this, it is prepared the same way.

Another recipe for *madqūqa*:

Finely chop the meat and chop tallow the same way. Take some fresh herbs (*abzār ruṭb*), onion, and rue, and finely chop them. Then pound them [i.e. the meat and vegetables] with a knife until they resemble ointment in consistency. Sprinkle the mixture with [ground] cassia, black pepper, and caraway. Add as well *mā’ kāmakh* (liquid fermented sauce), vinegar, and olive oil (*zayt*). Knead together to mix ingredients.

[Put meat mixture in a pot,] pour on it [some water], and let it come to half a boil. Add to the pot, ½ *ratl* (1 cup) dissolved *alya* (sheep’s tail fat) and whatever you fancy of dried fruits like walnuts, almonds, and pistachios.

Beat 10 eggs in a bowl (103v) and pour them all over the meat. [Let pot cook, undisturbed until eggs are set.] It will look like *furniyya*.⁹ Serve the dish, God willing.

Another *mudaqqaqa*:

Take tender meat from the thigh of a yearling sheep, slice it thinly, and pound it. Add finely chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*) or chopped *kurrāth al-baql* (tender-leaf leeks). Add as well spices such as coriander, cumin, and cassia, all ground. Mix and pound all the ingredients in a stone mortar and shape mixture into balls [by oiling your hands] with sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*). Put the meatballs (*kubab*) in a plate and set them aside.

⁸ In Helsinki MS, the vegetable is mentioned as *farfaḥīn* which is *al-baqla al-ḥamqā’* (purslane).

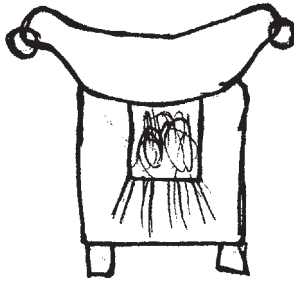
⁹ A yeast cake, round, thick, and domed in the middle. See Chapter 100 below for recipes.

Take a clean pot, and put in it enough water to cover the meatballs. When water boils, add the meatballs, [bring it to a boil] and skim the froth.

Add to the pot, sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*), crushed salt, bruised soaked chickpeas, and chopped onion, leeks (*kurrāth*), and cilantro. Cook the pot until it is almost done.

Take 30 *dirhams* (3 ounces) almonds, which have been skinned and pounded until they resembled *mukh* (bone marrow). Stir them with some water and add them to the pot. Salt the dish as needed.

Beat 10 eggs and pour them into the pot. Stir vigorously so that the meat [balls] mingle with the eggs. Give the pot a dusting of coriander and just a trifle of (*rā'iha*) black pepper and cassia. Stir in *ṭal' simsimānī*.¹⁰ Let the pot simmer [in the remaining heat of the fire] and settle for about an hour then ladle it and serve it, God willing.



¹⁰ I amend here *samsānī* (?) to *simsimānī* 'sesame-like', used to describe the clusters of the seed-like buds of the first appearing dates in a female date palm, which are still enclosed in spathes. The male *ṭal'* is like wheat flour. The other two MSS do not include this ingredient in the recipe.

في عمل العجيم المذوّرات والمخلّطات

MAKING OMELET DISCS (‘UḤAḤ MUDAWWARĀT) AND SCRAMBLED EGG DISHES (MUKHALLALĀT)

A recipe for white omelet (‘*ujja bayḍā*’) by Abū Samīn:¹

Thoroughly wash a frying pan and pour into it 1 *ūqiyya* (2 table-spoons) sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt* ‘*adhb*). Now, take 10 eggs, break them in a *ghaḍāra* (green-glazed bowl), and pour into them 3 *ūqiyyas* (1/3 cup) milk. Add a handful of ground pistachio, almond, and walnut, all ground. Beat the mixture very well and pour it into the frying pan.

When the [bottom] side is done, flip it to the other side. Then take it away from the fire. It will taste like *busr*,² (104r) remarkably excellent and delicious (*ghāyat al-jawda wa ’l-ṭība*), God willing.

An omelet recipe with pungent green onion (*ḥirṛif*), also by him:

Take 3 bunches of pungent green onion, dice them, and boil them in water until done. [After straining them,] put them in a frying pan with some oil. Let them fry until they brown. Transfer them to a clean *ghaḍāra* (green-glazed bowl).

Beak 10 eggs on the onion, whip mixture very well, and pour it onto a frying pan that already has hot olive oil (*zayt*) in it. When [the bottom] side is browned, flip the disc. When it is done, serve it with a small bowl of vinegar, God willing.

An omelet recipe with fava beans (*bāqillī*):

Remove the skins of fresh green fava beans then boil them and fry them in oil. When they are done, prepare them the same way you did with the onions [above], that is, whip them in a *ghaḍāra* (green-glazed bowl) with eggs then pour them into a frying pan. When one

¹ He was the cook of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭhiq (d. 847). See Appendix.

² Ripe fresh dates, still firm and crunchy to the bite. See Glossary, Section 8, s.v. *tamr*.

side is done, flip it to the other side. [When it is cooked,] present it with a small bowl of vinegar, God willing.

A recipe for flipped omelet (*‘ujja maqlūba*) made to resemble *furniyya*,³ by al-Rashīd:⁴

Pound meat, fresh herbs, and leeks (*kurrāth*) using [two] knives until the mix looks like bone marrow (*mukh*). Put it in a frying pan. Pour on it a small amount of olive oil (*zayt*) and a little salt. Keep on stirring the meat while it releases its moisture then dries up and cooks. Sprinkle it with a bit of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). When it is fully done, add black pepper and coriander.

Take the meat out of the pan, and divide it into three parts:

To a third of it, add *maṣl* (dried yogurt whey) and a lot of walnut. To the second third add *rakhbīn* (dried buttermilk) and a lot of pistachio and almonds. To the third part, add *isfidhbāj* (white stew) made with cheese and ground almond.⁵

Add a bit of cumin to the part that has cheese; add a little ground spikenard and cloves to the part that has *rakhbīn*; and cassia and caraway to the part that has *maṣl*.

Now take thin sheets of dough (*ruqāq min al-‘ajīn*) and make different kinds of *sanbūsaj* (filled pastries)[using the three kinds of fillings mentioned above]. Let them be small.

Fry the pastries in a pot with a lot of animal fat (*dasam*) mixed with *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil).⁶ Arrange the [fried] *sanbūsaj* in layers in the pot, (104v) which you put on a strong fire fueled with a good amount of coal.

Beat eggs enough to cover the [layered] *sanbūsaj* and pour it all over them. Now, let the pot cook on slow burning coals (*fahm layyin*) or in a smoldering *tannūr* (*hādi*). When the eggs are set, take the pot out and set it aside until it cools down a little. When you turn it over, it will come out looking like a browned *furniyya*.⁷ It is the best (*ahsan shay*).

³ Yeast cake, which is round, thick, and domed in the middle. See Chapter 100 below for recipes.

⁴ The famous Abbasid Caliph (d. 809).

⁵ For recipes, see Chapter 59 above.

⁶ See Glossary, Section 7.

⁷ Yeast cake, which is round, thick, and domed in the middle. See Chapter 100 below for recipes.

An omelet recipe with truffles (*kam'a*):

Pound the meat with [two] knives until it looks like bone marrow (*mukh*). Take the truffles and do the same thing with them.

Put meat and truffles in a pot with a lot of *zayt maghsul* (washed olive oil) and animal fat (*dasam*). Stir the pot until meat and truffles are cooked. Season them with *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), black pepper, and cassia. Take them out of the pan and put them in a *ghadāra* (green-glazed bowl). For each *ratl* (1 pound) of meat and truffles, use 5 eggs.

Take a frying pan, 1 small span (*fitr*) wide,⁸ with good high sides, and pour *duhn* [like sesame oil] or olive oil (*zayt*) in it. Put it on slow burning coals and when the oil gets hot, beat the eggs with the prepared meat and truffles and gently pour mixture into the pan. Stir the egg mixture frequently so that it absorbs the fat.

It would be better if you remove the fire and let the eggs cook and set gently and slowly [in the remaining heat]. Better still, you may flip the omelet so that it cooks on both sides. Alternatively, you may just let it be scrambled into big lumps.

Let its sauce (*ṣibāgh*) be raisin wine mixed with honey. This will be the best thing to have with it.

White omelet made with starch (*nashā*):

Beat together eggs whites and starch. Mix in almonds, pistachio, and milk. Cook the mixture and when it is done, drizzle on it some *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), God willing.

A recipe for another omelet made with sparrows (*aṣūfir*):

Clean the sparrows and fry them in oil and a little salt until they brown. Take 10 eggs, and beat them with a little black pepper and chopped cilantro. Pour the egg mixture on the sparrows, fry them until they are done, and serve them, God willing.

A recipe for another white omelet:

Chop cilantro, leeks, and onion, and fry them (105r) with a little olive oil. Pour on them a ladleful of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), and another of vinegar.

⁸ A small span is the distance between the stretched thumb and index fingers, about 7 inches.

Break 10 eggs in a *ghaḍāra* (green-glazed bowl) and sprinkle them with black pepper and rue leaves. [Add eggs to the pan,] and beat the mixture in the pot. [When done] invert the omelet into a bowl.

Another omelet recipe:

Take some eggs and separate the whites from the yolks. Add a little honey to the whites, beat them together, and add to them chopped rue, tarragon, *na'na'* (cultivated mint), and *baḥḥarūj* (basil). Beat this mixture well, put it in a pot, and light fire underneath it until it sets and thickens (*yan'aqid*). Sprinkle it with a little cumin, cassia, *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), and olive oil.

Turn the egg white disc onto a platter and spread it on the [layer of] egg yolk you have separated, sweetened with sugar, and [cooked until] thickened and set.



فِي عَمَلِ اللَّيْجَزَاتِ وَالْكَسْرِ وَتَابِ السَّرْحَسِيَّاتِ

MAKING *ANJUDHĀNIYYĀT* AND *KISRAWIYYĀT*¹
USING *ANJUDHĀN SARKHĀSĪ*²

A recipe for *anjudhāniyya* (dish cooked with asafetida leaves) by Yahya bin Khālīd al-Barmakī:³

Cut meat into thin slices (*yusharraḥ*) and chop onion and fresh herbs. Put them in a pot and add to them excellent quality olive oil (*zayt fāyiq*). When the pot boils and the meat browns, add black pepper, cumin, caraway seeds, and a little *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce).

Add to the pot, crushed [dried] asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*), as much as needed. Break eggs on the meat and let it simmer (*haddihā*) for as long as it needs, God willing.

Anjudhāniyya recipe by Ibn ‘Umar:⁴

Chop meat the way you do with *qalāyā* (fried dishes) [and set it aside].⁵ Take tallow (*shahm*), chop it fine, and fry it. When it melts, take out the sediments and add to the pot, chopped fresh herbs, onion, and the [set-aside] meat.

When everything is fried, take as much as you need of [dried] asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*) and add it to the pot. Add as well cassia, black pepper, caraway, a small amount of vinegar, and *mā’ kāmakh* (liquid fermented sauce). Sprinkle the meat with a small amount of water, let it simmer for a while then serve it, God willing.

¹ Named after Khosrau, the Persian king (d. 579). There are no recipes in the chapter with this name, but we may assume that they are made more or less the same way.

² The leaves of asafetida plant, which grows white roots and resin. They were normally used in dried form, and were sold at spice shops. The black variety of this plant was described as having an unpleasant odor, and was useful medicinally only. See Glossary, Section 9.

³ A member of the Barmacide family, mentor and vizier of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 805).

⁴ He is ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umar al-Bāzyār companion and confidant of the Abbasid Caliphs. See Appendix.

⁵ Judging from the recipes in Chapter 84 below, meat is mostly cut into pieces, the size of a dice (*nard*) or a hazelnut (*bunduqa*) each.

(105v) Another recipe for *anjudhāniyya*:

Chop meat, wash it, and put it in a clean pot. Add a little salt and olive oil. Light fire underneath it until it browns. Pound onion and cilantro, add them to the meat, and stir the pot.

Add to the meat, vinegar, *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), a small amount of water, black pepper, coriander, cumin, and a small amount of [dried] asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*). Break eggs on the meat mixture [allow eggs to set in the remaining heat], and serve the dish, God willing.

CHAPTER 81

فِي حَمْلِ اللَّحْمِ الْمَخْزَلِ بِالصَّبَاغِ
[وَالرَّخْمِينَا]

LAKHSHĀT (PASTA DISHES) WITH THEIR DIPPING
SAUCES (ṢIBĀGH), [AND RAKHBĪNĀT (DISHES WITH
DRIED BUTTERMILK)]⁶

The first to concoct the *lakhsha* dish was Kisrā.⁷ As the story goes, once on a cold day he said to his cook—and he happened to have been given a gift of a wild ass—he said to him, “Make us *mā’ wa milh* with this meat for it is such a cold day today.”⁸ So the cook made *mā’ wa milh*. Then Kisrā said, “I am craving bitter and pungent food.” One of his companions said, “May God guide the King, I have eaten cold meat of *mā’ wa milh* served with a dipping sauce (*ṣibāgh*) made of dried whey (*maṣl*), walnut, and garlic.” So Kisrā said to the cook, “Make us this sauce so that we eat it with the *mā’ wa milh*. After you take the meat out of the pot, cook pieces of dough (*‘ajīn*) in the remaining broth. As soon as these are cooked, bring us all these dishes together.”⁹

The cook did as ordered and he served the meat [in a dish] and scooped the pieces of [cooked] dough [in another]. Kisrā ate the meat and the dough after dipping them in the prepared sauce (*ṣibāgh*) and he

⁶ As entered in al-Warrāq’s initial list of chapters. *Rakhbūn* is similar to *jamīd* used in making the traditional Jordanian dish *mansaf*.

⁷ The Persian king Khosrau (d. 579).

⁸ Meat cooked in salt and water. For recipes, see Chapter 48.

⁹ Recipes for *mā’ wa milh* and *ṣibāgh* (sauce) are given after this anecdote.

liked the dish so much that he kept on eating and eating. On that day, he ate nothing but this food. When he woke up the following morning, he ate of it. He found it so delicious that for three consecutive days he wanted nothing else but this dish. He named the sauce *al-lakhsha* (the slippery).¹⁰ Then people followed suit and started eating this dip with *mā' wa milḥ*, fish, and *karhiyyāt* (boiled heads of sheep and the like).¹¹

***Mā' wa milḥ* (meat cooked in water and salt) recipe [for the *lakhsha* dish]:**

(106r) Take meat from the shoulders, hump, navel, and thighs, wash it very well, and boil it for a short while (*ṣalqa khafīfa*). Take the meat out of the pot and discard the water in which it was boiled.¹² Next, return the meat to the pot, pour [fresh] water on it, and season it with salt, a stick of cassia, a stick of galangal, but hold the onion.

Bring the pot to a boil and add some dill to it. Continue cooking until meat is done then add dried spices such as coriander, black pepper, and cassia, all pounded.

Take the meat out of the pot and put it in another pot with a small amount of the broth so that it does not get cold. Set it aside.

Now, go to the stiff dough [you have prepared] and flatten it [into thin sheets] with a rolling pin, as you do when you make *jarmāzaj* bread.¹³ Cut the dough into long strips and cut each strip into triangles (*shawābīr*). Throw them into the boiling broth and let them cook. Check the salt of the broth and add more if needed.

Scoop out [the cooked dough] with a ladle made of willow twigs (*ʿidān khīāf*) and put them in the middle of a big wide bowl (*ṭayfūriyya*). If needed, pour on them some of the *ṣibāgh* (dipping sauce). Arrange the meat all over it and around the sides. Serve the dish with its dipping sauce [recipe follows].

¹⁰ Meaning of word from Steingass. The sauce is called so because it is served with the boiled slippery pasta. Judging from the following recipe, the dough was rolled out into thin sheets, cut into triangles, and boiled, like pasta.

¹¹ The word derives from *karhā'* (head). Boiled head of sheep has always been a popular dish in the area. In Helsinki MS it is written as *kurunbiyyāt* (cabbage dishes). However, in the given context, boiled heads are more akin to *mā' wa milḥ* than cabbage.

¹² This is done to get rid of all froth and sediments so that the final broth looks clear and clean.

¹³ Thin dry bread flavored with tamarisk seeds. For more details on this bread, see Chapter 13 above.

A recipe for the dipping sauce (*ṣībāgh*):

Take 2 parts of *maṣl* (dried whey), 1 part [ground] walnut, and 1 part [bruised] garlic. Put them all in a pot and pour on them broth of *mā' wa milḥ* [from the recipe above]. Put enough to cover the ingredients and more.

Bring the pot to a boil and add 7 heated pebbles.¹⁴ Ladle the sauce into a clean platter (*jām*) and serve it,¹⁵ God willing.

A recipe for *rakhbīniyya* (dish with dried buttermilk), quite aromatic ('*arfa*) by Ibn al-Shiṭranjī:¹⁶

Choose some fatty choice cuts of meat and chop them into cubes. Put it in a clean pot with chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*) and tender-leaf leeks (*kurrāth al-baql*). Fry them with a little oil. Then add a fistful of bruised chickpeas, a stick of cassia, and a stick of galangal.

[Add some water to the pot and] bring it to a boil, skim (106v) the froth, and add a variety of dried fruits such as walnut, almond, pistachio, and hazelnut.

When the meat is cooked, dissolve dried buttermilk (*rakhbīn*) in a small amount of the meat broth, and add it to the pot. You also add whatever is available of *maḥāshī* (large stuffed sausages), as well as a handful of salt, black pepper, ground cassia, coriander, cumin, and caraway.

[When everything is cooked] and pot is done simmering, break 10 eggs into the stew [to poach in the remaining heat]. When you serve it, garnish it with the eggs, *maḥāshī* (big sausages), *laqāniq* (small sausages), *ṭardīn* (thin meat patties),¹⁷ fresh vegetables, and other similar things, God willing.

***Rakhbīniyya* (dish with dried buttermilk) by Ibn Dihqāna:¹⁸**

Take some pullets and other kinds of fatty meat and poultry. Disjoint

¹⁴ Adding heated pebbles or heated pieces of iron to boiling broth or milk was a common culinary practice. The heat of pebbles or iron would help evaporate the liquid and nicely thicken the sauce. (See, for instance, Chapter 15 above, and Ibn al-Bayṭār 624)

¹⁵ Serving the sauce in a platter, perhaps somewhat deep, rather than a deep small bowl will definitely make the communal dipping of pasta and meat chunks much more accessible to all.

¹⁶ Son of Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī al-Shiṭranjī (d. 946). See Appendix.

¹⁷ See Chapter 36 above for a recipe.

¹⁸ The Abbasid boon companion of Caliphs. See Appendix.

the meat and put it in a pot. Add chopped fresh herbs and onion, a piece of galangal, salt, olive oil, and a small amount of water. Let the meat fry well [after moisture has evaporated] and add 2/3 *ratl* (1 1/3 cups) sour grape juice. Bring it to a boil and add ground spices such as coriander, cumin, and cassia.

Dissolve a small amount of *rakḥbīn* (dried buttermilk) in some juice of sour grapes and add it to the pot. When the dish is cooked and the pot stops simmering [in the remaining heat], serve it, God willing.

A recipe for *rakḥbīniyya* (dish with dried buttermilk) made by Naẓīf for al-Muqtadirī:¹⁹

Cut meat into medium-size pieces, clean it, and put it in a pot along with soaked bruised chickpeas, olive oil, salt, and a piece of galangal. Bring the pot to a boil and add to it juice of onion, leek, cilantro, and rue. Dissolve *rakḥbīn* [in some liquid] and add it to the pot with whole leaves of watercress (*jirjir*).

When the meat is done, add to the pot ground spices such as coriander, just a trifle of black pepper,²⁰ and ginger. Add as well shelled walnut and cassia.

When the pot stops bubbling and simmering [in the remaining heat of the fire], serve the dish, God willing.

¹⁹ If this is copied correctly (نظيف للمقتدي), Naẓīf may possibly have been the professional cook of the Abbasid vizier and governor of Basra, Shaff' bin al-Khādim al-Muqtadirī (d. 943). In Helsinki MS, it is written as (وظيف المقتدي). It is highly possible that the word, whether نظيف or وظيف, was mistakenly written instead of شفيع, al-Muqtadirī's first name.

²⁰ The word used is *rā'ihā* (literally 'smell').

(107r) فِي عَمَلِ الْمَلِّينِ بِالرَّجَاجِ وَاللَّحْمِ السَّيِّسِ

FATTY CHICKEN AND MEAT ROASTED IN *MALLA*

Nothing is mentioned in this chapter (ما ذكر فيه شيا).

[In all probability, this chapter would have dealt with the method of roasting meat by burying it in hot sand and embers until it is succulent and almost falls off the bones. The key word here is *mallīn*, mentioned in the title of the chapter and in al-Warrāq's table of contents where it is written as *māllīn* (مائلين).¹ The name derives from *malla*, which designates the pit itself where roasting and baking happens. Bread baked in such pits is called *khubz al-malla*.

The name of this dish occurs in the anonymous thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook *Anwāʿ al-Ṣaydala*. Discussing the culinary customs around the Arab world, the writer says that people of the Levant (*ahl al-Shām*) love *mallīn* and it is the preferred dish for weddings (51). In Ibn al-ʿAdīm's thirteenth-century cookbook *al-Wuṣṣala ilā ʿl-Habīb*, the dish is called 'Arabian roasted meat' (شواء تعمله العرب).² It is described as follows:

Take a cleaned lamb or a kid, cut it open lengthwise, slash it, and rub it with saffron, hot spices such as black pepper, caraway, coriander, and cassia, all ground. Rub it also with a little oil as this will help get rid of any undesirable greasy odors (*zafar*).

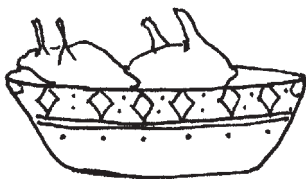
Prepare some flat stones and make a pit large enough to accommodate the lamb, but make it deeper. Arrange the stones in an orderly manner in the bottom of the pit and light fire in it using whatever is available of firewood or coals. Make the fire strong enough to heat the stones. Then remove the fire and wipe away the ashes from the stones quickly before they lose any heat. Now, arrange branches of willow wood or fresh reeds in a crisscross pattern and lay flat the meat on them. Cover

¹ In Helsinki MS, it is written as *mablīn*, which is an obvious misreading of the word. Istanbul MS is of no help here because it does not include the chapter altogether.

² The Arabs in this context are the 'nomadic Bedouins.'

it with a copper tray, the kind that Arabs (Bedouins) use, or any other tray. Seal the sides of the pit with clay and light wood fire all over the metal tray. Let the heat be even all over it. When meat is done, remove the fire and take it out (558).

The same dish is given a royal lift in the fifteenth-century cookbook of the Sultan of Mandu, *Ghiyāth Shāhi*. The method is described as ‘roasting in the earth’ (*The Nī‘matnama* 92).³]



³ See Glossary, Section 10.1, s.v. *malla*.

فِي عَمَلِ الثَّرَادِ بِرِ السَّامِيَّاتِ وَالثَّرَادِ بِرِ الْمَلَبَّاقِ

MAKING *THARĀYID* DISHES (BREAD SOPPED IN BROTH), BOTH *SHĀMĪ* (LEVANTINE) AND *MULABBAQ* (SOFTENED WITH FAT)¹

A recipe for *tharīda Shāmiyya* (of the Levant):

Take lamb and chicken. Alternatively, use young fowls (*firākh*) or any other similar birds [instead of chicken]. You also have the option of using either lamb or poultry. Cut the meat into medium pieces and clean them. Remove [and discard] the entrails of the chicken and discard the heads and the necks.

Put the meat in a clean pot. Add the strained liquid of truffles, which have been washed and soaked in water overnight. Put enough of the liquid to cover the meat. If truffles are not available, boil some honey until it turns black then pour on it a small amount of *mā' kāmakh* (*murri*, liquid fermented sauce), and add it to the pot with a little chickpeas and salt. Light fire under the pot.

Tie into one bundle, fresh rue, leeks—either *Rūmī* or *Nabaṭī*²—and cilantro. Add this bouquet (*bāqa*) to the pot. Then add ground spices such as coriander, cumin, caraway, and black pepper. Continue cooking the pot until meat is done.

Break fine bread into pieces [in a big bowl] and add enough of the broth to submerge it. Put the meat pieces all over the bread and garnish the dish by arranging small sausages and *ṭardīn* (thin meat patties) all around it.³

¹ *Mulabbaga* is cooked by adding sifted bread to the broth while it is cooking in a pot and feeding it with fat to give the dish a dense, chewy, and smooth consistency. This explains why it is sometimes referred to as *mu'llaka* (chewy). By comparison, *tharīda* is made by putting broken pieces of bread in a bowl and pouring the broth all over it. The verb used in this case is *yusqā* (literally, 'feed with liquid').

² The first variety is named after Byzantium. It is mountain leeks with delicate, long, slender, and pungent leaves. The other variety is indigenous to Iraq. It is the regular cultivated variety grown for its crisp and tender leaves. See Glossary, Section 9.

³ For recipes, see Chapter 36.

Another *tharīda* recipe:

Take intestines (*uṣbān*) from the belly of a kid or a yearling. Take also some of its ribs [and other cuts].⁴ Wash them thoroughly.

Pour water into a clean pot. The amount should be enough to submerge the meat. Bring it to a boil then add the meat, the intestines, and the ribs, (107v) along with the white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*). Let the fire underneath the pot be slow. Add fresh rue, some skinned chickpeas, and truffles.

Make dough the night before. Bake the bread in the morning after the dough has soured, which is a good thing, by the way, because you need sour bread [for this dish].

Crush well together, onion, coriander, and cumin until the mixture has the consistency of bone marrow (*mukḥ*). Add it to the pot to thicken the broth. Also add *mā' kāmakh* (liquid fermented sauce), black pepper, and coriander. Next, sprinkle the broth lightly with a bit of vinegar—you should barely smell it (*taṣḥummuḥu ṣhamman*). Add some fresh thyme. If this is not available then use dried thyme.

Let the pot cook until the meat is done. Break into pieces the [already baked] bread, [put it in a big wide bowl], and ladle the broth all over the bread [to submerge it]. Garnish the top with the meat pieces, intestines, and *ṭardīn* (thin meat patties),⁵ God willing.

Another *tharīda*:

Choose fatty meat, cut it into small pieces, and put it in a pot along with soaked chickpeas, whole onions, salt, and some water. Light the fire underneath the pot and let it cook until meat is done. This will come out as *isfīdhbāj* (white stew).

Divide *khubz al-mā'* (water bread) into quarters.⁶ Arrange the pieces in a *qaṣ'a* (wide bowl big enough for 10 people), and pour some clarified butter (*samn*) or fresh butter (*zubd*) all over them. Do this when the bread has just been taken out of the *tannūr* and still piping hot.

Ladle the broth over the bread, put as much as needed [to saturate the bread]. Pound some sugar and sprinkle it on the bread before you ladle the broth. Arrange meat pieces all around the dish and serve it, God willing.

⁴ Al-Warrāq will mention this later.

⁵ For a recipe, see Chapter 36 above.

⁶ For a recipe, see Chapter 13 above.

A recipe for *tharīda* called *al-‘awharānī* (the tricky one):⁷

Choose choice cuts of lamb, cut them into medium-size pieces, and put them in a clean pot. Add a little salt, soaked chickpeas, and enough water to submerge the ingredients. Light the fire underneath the pot and let it cook until meat is done.

Pour into the pot $\frac{1}{2}$ *uskurruja* ($\frac{1}{4}$ cup) vinegar. Stir a small amount of soured yeast (*khamīr muḥammad*) with a little fat and add it to the pot along with a pinch of ground black pepper.

Bread used for this dish is dried white bread (*yābis huwwārī*). Put [the broken] bread pieces in a big wide bowl (*ṭayfūriyya*) and ladle the meat broth all over it. (108r) Drizzle it with clarified butter, give it a dusting of black pepper, and serve it.

[Caveat:] Do not ladle the broth over the bread until the moment you are ready to serve the dish. The dry bread will spoil if it sits in the broth for too long, God willing.

Another *tharīda*, exotic (*gharība*):

Pound together, pomegranate seeds, *zabīb* (raisins), and some water. Press the juice [through a strainer] down into a green-glazed bowl (*ghadāra*) and pour it into a clean pot. Add soaked chickpeas and cilantro.

Wash meat pieces and add them to the pot along with chopped onion. Let the pot cook until meat is done.

Make soft dough (*‘ajīn raqīq*). Put some clarified butter into a washed soapstone pot (*burma*) and put the prepared dough in it. Cover the pot and bake it in the *tannūr* until bread is done. Take it out of the pot, lightly strike it with your hand (*uḍrubhā*) [to break it a little and put it in a bowl]. Ladle the broth and the meat all over the bread. Give it a dusting of *Sulaymānī* sugar and serve it,⁸ God willing.

Another *tharīda* recipe:

Boil milk in a clean soapstone pot and add whole heads of small onions. Keep on stirring the pot until it comes to a boil then add boiled

⁷ The name is derived from *‘awharān* عوهران (= *ghūl*; *‘ayhara* عيهرة f.= *ghūla*) ghou, the deceptive desert demon which leads people astray by transforming itself into various shapes (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. عهر and غول). The dish is called so because it is tricky. It requires caution when serving it because it uses dry bread which needs to be fed with the broth just before serving it otherwise it will spoil, as the recipe cautions at the end.

⁸ Hard sugar-candy. In such dishes, it is pounded and used.

fatty meat cut into small pieces. Stir in soaked chickpeas, onion, and coriander seeds. Season it with some of the aforementioned spices [in previous recipes].

[Put broken pieces of bread in a bowl and ladle the broth and meat all over it.] Give the dish a dusting of sugar and serve it, God willing.

A Levantine *tharīda*, which some Christians cook:

Cut meat into medium-size pieces and put it in a clean pot. Add chopped cilantro, rue, salt, onion, coriander seeds, and black pepper. Also add cassia and galangal, a piece each.

Now take some smoked slices of meat and put them in the pot along with a handful of sprouted fava beans (*bāqillī manbūt*), chard stalks (*adlā silq*), and a big chunk of cheese. [Let the pot boil then] season it again with the same dry spices you used earlier [in the recipe]. The dish's flavor totally depends on enhancing it with this second round of seasoning.

When the meat is done, break 5 eggs into the pot, [leave them whole] so that they look like the stars (*kawākib*). Using a knife, cut good quality bread (108v) into bite-size pieces, and put them in a big wide bowl (*tayfūriyya*). Moisten the bread with some [melted] butter, and ladle the broth all over it. Arrange the meat pieces and chard stalks around the *tharīd* and garnish it with the [poached] eggs and the cheese after you cut it into smaller pieces. Serve the dish, God willing.

A recipe for delicious *mulabbaqa* (bread softened and enriched with fat), made with *laban rāyib*:⁹

Take 4 *ratls* (8 cups) sour yogurt (*laban rāyib hāmīd*) and thicken it [in a pot] on the fire, the way you do with *madhūra*.¹⁰ Add 1 *mann* (2 pounds) white *Sulaymānī* sugar,¹¹ and keep on stirring the pot for a while (*sā'a* hour).

Sprinkle into the pot sifted crumbled pith of white bread, which has been rubbed and moistened with sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt 'adhb*). Add as needed. Keep on stirring the pot for about an hour until mixture resembles *mulabbaqāt* in consistency.¹²

Ladle the *mulabbaqa* into a *qaṣ'a* (wide bowl big enough for 10 people) and arrange around it meat of *sikbāj* (stew soured with vinegar) or

⁹ Yogurt made without rennet after extracting butter from its milk.

¹⁰ For recipes, see Chapter 69 above.

¹¹ Hard sugar-candy.

¹² I.e. thick, chewy, and smooth.

meat of any other varieties of yellow and sour stews. Serve the dish, God willing.

White *tharīda* with breadcrumbs by Ibn ‘Allūn al-Kātib:¹³

Boil milk in a pot and stir it constantly so that the [fat] does not separate (*yanqaṭi*^c). After it boils, add breadcrumbs and a little black pepper. When the breadcrumbs look moist and saturated with milk, add to them clarified butter, the same way you do with *fālūdḥaj* (starch pudding).¹⁴

When the bread mixture is done, ladle it into *qaṣ‘a* (wide bowl big enough for 10 people). You should have prepared roasted chicken and pullets, and sliced [boiled] eggs. [Arrange these around the *mulabbaqa*] and serve the dish, God willing.

Another *tharīda* also by him:

Boil milk in a pot. Add fatty meat cut into medium-size pieces, soaked chickpeas, chard, cilantro, and *afwāḥ al-ṭīb*.¹⁵ When meat is cooked, take it out of the pot along with the chard and chickpeas, and put them in another pot with some of the broth, [and set them aside.]

Lightly knead the remaining broth in the pot with pounded bread, which has previously been dried in the *tannūr*. Let this mixture be thicker in consistency than *khiṭmī*,¹⁶ but thinner than dough prepared for *furrānī* bread.¹⁷ Add to the bread mixture some clarified butter (*samm*) to moisten it. Let it cook then cool it down.

Ladle the cooked bread into *qaṣ‘a* (wide bowl big enough for 10 people) as you usually do (**109r**). Arrange the meat around it, give it a dusting of white sugar, and serve it, God willing.

A recipe for white *tharīda* by al-Rashīd:¹⁸

Take a disjointed chicken, kid meat, or mutton. Wash it and put it in

¹³ Or ‘Ulwān (Helsinki MS). I have not been able to identify the name. However, the epithet *al-Kātib* indicates he was a secretary. In Chapter 47 above, *tharīda* recipe is said to be by one Ibn ‘Alūn. It is possible the two names refer to the same person.

¹⁴ See *fālūdḥaj* recipes in Chapter 93 below.

¹⁵ A blend of spices. See Glossary, Section 9 for a recipe.

¹⁶ It is the mucilaginous liquid of ground marsh mallow roots dissolved in water.

¹⁷ It is thinner in consistency than *tannūr* bread, put in pots or molds, and baked in a brick oven.

¹⁸ The famous Abbasid Caliph of the *Arabian Nights* (d. 809).

a pot. Add soaked chickpeas, *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil),¹⁹ galangal and cassia, a piece of each, and a small amount of salt.

Bring the pot to a boil and remove the scum. Strain into it some milk and add round onions and boiled carrots. When the pot comes to a good boil, stir into it ground skinned almonds, which have been whipped with 5 eggs and wine vinegar. Season the pot with coriander and a small amount of black pepper and cumin. Let the pot simmer for a while then put it away from heat and serve it,²⁰ God willing.

A recipe for *tharīda* ‘*Irāqīyya* (Iraqi style):

Choose fatty meat and cut it into pieces suitable for serving with the *tharīd*. Put the meat in a pot and pour enough water to submerge it. Add as well a little salt, vinegar, and a small amount of chopped onion. Light the fire underneath the pot and bring it to a boil.

Sprinkle some milk into the pot and add whole onions. Of spices, add black pepper, caraway, and coriander seeds, all tied in a bundle of linen cloth. Add to the pot sprigs of fresh rue and parsley tied together in a bundle [and let it cook until meat is done].

In another pot, put skinned and ground almonds. Add to them enough of the meat broth through a sieve. Stir the mixture and let it boil. Next, strain into it the rest of the meat broth, or [if too much is left, add what you estimate to be] enough to saturate the bread you are planning to use for the *tharīd* [directions for bread given below]. Add sugar to taste. [Set aside the cooked meat pieces]

Take a roasted or a boiled chicken, shred its meat into fine threads, and add it to the almond-broth mix.

Now take *raghīf furnī* (brick oven bread) made with fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), crumble it, pass it through a sieve (*ghirbāl*), and add it to the almond broth.

Take as well, [*tannūr*] bread made with *māssa* (low-gluten wheat) or *samīdh* flour.²¹ Crumble it and pass it through a sieve used for sifting *khushkār* (whole-wheat flour). Toss the breadcrumbs into the pot [of almond-broth], light a weak fire underneath it, and let it cook. Stir it constantly and feed it with the fat skimmed from the pot, or use clarified butter.

¹⁹ See Glossary, Section 7.

²⁰ As is usually done by putting broken pieces of bread in a bowl, drenching them with the broth, and arranging meat pieces all around them.

²¹ *Māssa*, also called *māzza*, is so low in gluten that it is hard to knead. According to *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. *مَزْزَا* (لَا يَكَادُ يَعْجَنُ دَقِيقَهَا لِرَخَاوَتِهِ).

Ladle the bread [into a big wide bowl,] arrange the meat pieces all around it, and serve it, God willing.

CHAPTER 84

في عمل القلايا باللحم واللبا

MAKING FRIED DISHES (*QALĀYĀ*) WITH MEAT AND SHEEP'S TAIL FAT (*ALĪA*)

A recipe for *qaliyya* by al-Mu'tamid:²²

Cut meat into thin slices. Heat some oil in a pot, put the meat slices in it, and sprinkle them with some salted water. When meat is cooked, add coriander, cumin, and a trifle of black pepper (*rā'ihāt fulful*).

When the meat absorbs enough salt, take some of the white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*) and crush it with skinned and ground almonds. Sprinkle the meat first with some wine vinegar then spread the crushed onion and almonds all over the meat. Do not stir the pot to keep this layer visible, God willing.²³

Levantine fried dish (*qaliyya Shāmiyya*) by al-Mu'taṣim:²⁴

Choose lamb with good strong ribs and divide it into portions, crosswise.²⁵ Put it in a pot along with shoulder meat, cut into bite-size pieces; and a similar amount of sheep's tail fat (*alya*). Sprinkle meat with sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*) and light the fire underneath the pot.

Boil chickpeas and set them aside.

When the meat starts frying, add a little [chopped] onion and sprinkle it with salted water. When it is partially cooked, add the boiled chickpeas along with coriander, caraway, a bit of black pepper, and cassia, all ground.

Beat 10 eggs in a bowl with a small amount of spices and *murrī*

²² Abbasid Caliph (d. 892).

²³ In this chapter, the editors opted to include the Helsinki versions after the Oxford MS recipes due to some disparities (210, n. 2). The translation is based on the Oxford version because it is more detailed and more coherent. I make some amendments using the Helsinki version wherever needed.

²⁴ Abbasid Caliph (d. 842).

²⁵ In Helsinki MS, they are cut lengthwise.

(liquid fermented sauce). When meat is fully cooked, add the beaten egg mixture. Stir the pot until mixture fries. If wished, sprinkle the dish with wine vinegar.²⁶

Another recipe for Levantine *qaliyya*:

Take shoulder meat from a [slaughtered] sheep in its third year (*thanī*) and cut the lean chunks into pieces, the size of a dice (*nard*) each. Do the same thing with the *alya* (sheep's tail fat). Wash the meat, bring it to one boil, take it out of the pot, and set it aside. (110r)

Take carrots—double the amount of meat—and cut them into portions, as big as walnuts. Boil them in the meat broth remaining in the pot until almost done then take them out. You can also boil them with some soaked chickpeas. Spread carrot pieces on a tray made of *khilāf* wood (willow) to drain them.

Put a frying pan on the fire and pour into it sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*) or fresh sesame oil (*shayraj ṭarī*). Fry the [drained] carrots and chickpeas until they brown then take them out of the pan and set them aside.

Put the remaining oil in a soapstone pot and add the white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*), coriander, cumin, caraway, ground cassia, 1½ *dānaq* (¾ gram) black pepper, and saffron. Add the boiled meat and fry it with the spices. When it is fully cooked, add a small amount of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and a similar amount of the meat broth. Put the pot away from the heat and stir into it the fried carrots [and chickpeas if used]. Ladle it [into a platter] and serve it.

You may turn the dish into *mamqūr* (soused with vinegar) by adding vinegar along with the *murrī*, God willing.

***Qaliyya* recipe from Madā'in (*madāyiniyya*):²⁷**

Cut into long strips meat from shoulders and ribs. Put it in a soapstone pot with a little salt, and olive oil. Fry the meat. When it browns, sprinkle it with a mixture of water and ¼ *raṭl* (4 ounces) ground walnuts.

When all moisture evaporates and meat is cooked, add more fat, and chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*). Season it with ground coriander. Add as well ground caraway, cumin, and cassia, the amount of all these taken together should be equal to that of coriander. Also add a tiny bit of saffron (*rā'ihāt za'farān*).

²⁶ In Helsinki MS, chopped fresh cilantro is added to the beaten eggs. Besides, when the eggs are poured into the pot, they are left to set, undisturbed.

²⁷ Al-Madā'in is Ctesiphon, a city south of Baghdad.

Let the pot simmer [with the remaining heat]. When it settles, add *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), sprinkle it with bruised walnut, and serve it, God willing.

Another *qaliyya*, yellow:

Take 4 *raṭls* (4 pounds) of fatty lamb. Keep the fat on the ribs. Cut the ribs and the shoulder meat into two-finger wide strips. **(110v)** Wash them and put them in a pot and add olive oil, salt, and white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*).

Fry the meat, pour on it 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) water, and let it cook until it is done and all moisture has evaporated. When the meat starts to fry in the pot's fat, add dry spices and let it fry well until it browns.

Now, mix 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) vinegar with ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) saffron and stir it into the pot along with chopped rue and parsley. When the pot boils, stop fuelling the fire and let it simmer [in the remaining heat] until it settles. Ladle the dish [onto a platter] and serve it with all kinds of fresh herbs (*baql*).

A recipe for black *qaliyya*:²⁸

Choose tender lean meat and plump *alya* (sheep's tail fat) and cut them into small pieces, the size of a hazelnut each. Half boil the meat and *alya* then ladle them out [and set them aside]. Also ladle out all the broth [and set it aside].

Put olive oil in the pot first then spread the *alya* pieces on it followed by the meat pieces. Let the meat fry in the fat until it cooks and browns. Add coriander, cumin, caraway, and cassia, all ground.

Now mix *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and the [reserved] broth. Let a third of it be *murrī* and two-thirds broth, or adjust the amounts to suit your taste. Pour this mixture over the meat, stop fuelling the fire (*taqṭa' al-nār*), and let the pot simmer [in the remaining heat] until it settles. Serve it with peeled *khiyār* (smooth and small cucumber).

***Qaliyya* made with onion:**

Cut fatty meat into small pieces and put it in a soapstone frying pan (*maqlā birām*). Stir into it a similar amount of chopped onion, chopped *alya* (sheep's tail fat), sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt 'adhb*), and 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) water.

Cook the meat until it is done. Sprinkle it with dry spices and

²⁸ The final dish would look darkish in hue because of *murrī*.

continue frying until it browns (*yahmarr*) and drowns (*yaghraq*) in its own oil. When it is thoroughly cooked, sprinkle it with a little salted water. Wait until it simmers and settles in the remaining heat then serve it, God willing.

***Qaliyya* with eggplant (*bādhinjān*) and gourd (*qar'*), quite tasty:**

Cut fatty and tender meat into small pieces and put it in a pot which already has boiling water in it, enough to submerge the meat. Add as well chopped gourd and peeled small eggplants. Let all the ingredients boil together. Take out the gourd before it is fully cooked, but leave the eggplant until it is fully done. If you take it out before it is done and let it get cold, it will toughen and will never really cook well.

Take (111r) the meat out of the pot and ladle the broth out from the bottom of the pot [and set it aside].²⁹ Pour into the pot some *duhn* and sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*),³⁰ along with chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*) and ground dry spices. Return the meat and let it fry until it browns. Add the gourd and fry it with it until it is cooked. Stir in the eggplant and continue frying, adding more fat.

Mix *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) with saffron, cassia, and [the set aside] meat broth, the amount of which should be equal to that of *murrī*. Pour the mix into the pot. Now, stop feeding the fire and let the pot simmer in the remaining heat and settle (*iqṭa' al-nār wa haddihā*).

You have the option of making it sour by replacing the *murrī* with vinegar and cumin. Ladle the dish and serve it, God willing.

A recipe for black *qaliyya* by al-Rashīd:³¹

Pound good quality sumac, boil some water, and pour it on the sumac to let it macerate for an hour or so. Strain the sumac juice. You may repeat the process of soaking and straining [to get more juice], thus you do not waste any of it.³² However, do not use any of the [subsequent strained liquids] for this dish.

²⁹ This is done so that the fat floating on top of the broth stays in the pot.

³⁰ *Duhn* can be sesame oil or *samn* (clarified butter).

³¹ The famous Abbasid Caliph (d. 809). Sumac juice called for in the recipe will give the meat a darkish hue.

³² I incorporate here the statement **ولا تضع منه شيئاً** (do not waste any of it) from the version of Istanbul MS (fol. 87r) to straighten the sense of the statement.

Finely grind $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* (4 ounces) almonds and mix it with the first batch of the strained sumac juice (*al-fum al-awṣal*). [Set this aside]

Cut 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) meat of fat lamb into small thin slices. Wash it and put it in a pot that already has 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) of water boiling in it. Add sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*) and $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ pound) dissolved chicken fat. Feed the fire underneath it and let it cook until meat is done. Season it with ground coriander, cumin, caraway, cassia, dried *na'na'* (cultivated mint). Add chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*), and pour the [reserved] sumac-almond mixture.

Let the pot cook until moisture evaporates and meat develops a blackish hue. Do not let it burn and dry out. The dish should still have some moisture in it. Pound a lump of sugar and sprinkle it over the meat. Wait until the pot settles and serve it, God willing.

A succulent fry (*qaliyya raṭba*) by al-Šūlī.³³

Choose meat from the fore legs of a yearling sheep (*ḥawlī*). Dice it along with some *alya* (sheep's tail fat). [Boil the meat in a pot]

Peel stems of large heads of lettuce and cut them into walnut-size pieces. Add these to the meat cooking in the pot along with soaked chickpeas. Do it the same way you did with the gourd.³⁴

When ingredients in the pot are almost done, take them out. Keep the broth aside after straining it and let the meat, chickpeas, and lettuce stems drain. (111v)

Put plenty of fat in the pot. Add galangal (*khūlanj*), 3 round onions (*baṣal mudawwar*) [chopped], and some spices. Return the meat to the pot [along with the chickpeas and lettuce stem pieces]. Fry the meat until it browns, season it again with spices, and pour on it equal amounts of *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) and vinegar. If you use lemon juice (*mā' laymū*) instead of vinegar, it would be even more delicious.

Sprinkle the meat with a small amount of the meat broth that has been stirred with $\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* (1½ grams) saffron. Scatter on the meat a fistful of picked over *zabīb* (raisins) or sugar. Let the pot simmer [in the remaining heat until it] settles and serve it, God willing.

³³ Famous Abbasid poet (d. 857), who served al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāṭhiq, and al-Mutawakkil.

³⁴ Recipe "*Qaliyya* with eggplant (*bādhinjān*) and gourd (*qar*), quite tasty," above.

A recipe for a fried dish called ‘qaliyyat Um Ḥakīm:³⁵

Choose red meat from *kisḥtamāzaj* (tenderloin), the front shoulder, and sheep’s tail fat (*alya*). Chop them all into small pieces and wash them. Boil water in a clean pot, enough to reach just below the meat. Cook the meat in it then take it out and set it aside.

Pour olive oil into a clean frying pan, add the tail fat first, and let it fry until all solids dissolve. Add the meat to it with chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*) and fry the meat until it browns. Sprinkle it with ground coriander, caraway, cassia, spikenard, and a small amount of cloves.

Spread the meat evenly in the frying pan, and break 10 eggs on it. Do not disturb the eggs and wait until they set (*lā tuḥarrikhu*). They will look like cow’s eyes (*‘uyūn al-baqar*). Give it a dusting of crushed salt and present it with wine vinegar and herbs (*baql*) or peeled *kḥiyār* (small and smooth cucumber), God willing.

A recipe for qaliyya with truffles (kam’a):

Take thin slices of fatty meat and truffles sliced into rounds like *dirhams* (coins). Boil them until done then take them out of the pot and set them aside with a small amount of the meat broth.

Set up a frying pan with a concave bottom on the fire.³⁶ Fry the meat, two to three slices at a time then fry the truffles, like you do with *sanbūsaj* (filled pastries).³⁷ Put the fried meat and truffles on a plate (*ṣaḥn*).

Put [some of] the oil you used for frying the meat and truffles in a pot, and fry in it chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*). Season it with black pepper, coriander, caraway, cumin, and a tiny amount of crushed asafetida leaves (*anjudhān*). Pour on it some *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and vinegar, and what equals both of them of the broth. **(112r)** When mixture comes to a boil, pour it all over the meat and truffles on the plate. If you like, toss the dish with some mustard sauce (*kḥardal ma‘mūl*), and chop on it some rue.

³⁵ Daughter of Yaḥya bin al-Ḥakam and mother of ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the Umayyad Caliph. See Appendix.

³⁶ The pot is set on a stand called *minṣab*. The wok-like frying pan is called *maqlā muqa‘ar* (مقلی مقعر).

³⁷ The meat and truffles are deep-fried like *sanbūsaj*, which explains why a wok-like pan is used here.

Another *qaliyya*, called *al-Madīniyya*:³⁸

Take 3 *ratls* (3 pounds) ribs of lamb, separate them into individual ribs, and cut them into a little shorter than finger-length pieces. [Put them in a pot,] and pour on them 1/3 *ratl* (2/3 cup) water. [Cook them on the fire,] stirring them constantly. You may need to replenish the water so they do not dry out. Then add ½ *ratl* (1 cup) sour vinegar.

When meat is done and all moisture has evaporated, spice it with what the fingers can hold of coriander, 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) black pepper, and 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) caraway seeds. Also add 1/3 *ratl* (2/3 cup) *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) mixed with saffron and cassia, ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) each.

Let the pot simmer in the remaining heat of the embers (*jamr*). Sprinkle on it 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) *nabīdh rayhānī* (sweet smelling wine) and wipe the inner sides of the pot with another *ūqiyya* of the wine. Cover the pot [and let it settle], God willing.³⁹



³⁸ According to *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. **مَدِينَة**, *Madīnī* refers to the city of Baghdad; *Madānī*, to the city of the Prophet Muhammad, *Madīna*; and *Madāʾinī*, to *Madāʾin* (Ctesiphon) in Iraq. I follow here the recipe in the Helsinki MS because it is more complete than Oxford's.

³⁹ The ribs are fried in their own fat, which explains why no other fats are mentioned in the recipe.

فِي عَمَلِ الْكُسْتَابِيَّاتِ وَالْمُطَبَّاتِ وَالْخَمْرِيَّاتِ

KUŠTĀBIYYĀT DISHES, SEASONED WITH SPICES AND WINE

Here is the story behind naming this dish (*kushtābiyya*):

It is said that one of the Persian kings used to travel a lot with his troops. For his military encampment, he hired an Arab chef renowned for his culinary skills. The story goes that as soon as the king dismounted his horse upon arrival from an expedition, he used to say, “*kusht biyā*” (bring the meat) to the chef.¹ The chef would usually have prepared for him some slices of meat cooked on the embers or some boiled meat. He used to offer these with a dipping sauce (*ṣibāgh*). One day, it happened that the king was back and the chef had only sliced the meat but had not started the fire yet. He put the meat in a frying pan, poured some fat, and lighted the fire underneath it. He sprinkled the meat with salted water, chopped for it some onion, and seasoned it with ground spices. He covered the pot with a lead bowl (*ghudāra raṣāṣ*) and let it cook over well-fuelled fire.² The meat cooked fast and came out drowned in its sauce and fat and succulence.

The king liked the dish a lot (**112v**) and he started demanding it from the chef, who named it *kushtābiyya*. The chef improvised some variations on the dish and it became popular among people, who made it with meat and sheep’s tail fat and called it *kusht wa dhanbā* (shoulder and tail).

The difference between this dish and *qalāyā* (fried meat) is that it is not made too dry.³ It should be fried in some moisture, but not much like stew. Whenever you notice it is drying out while cooking, you replenish its moisture with a sprinkle of salted water, vinegar, juice of sour unripe grapes, or *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) mixed with an equal amount

¹ Literally, *Kusht* is shoulder meat, as al-Warrāq explains in Chapter 48 above. However, it may designate meat in general.

² The bowl allows for accumulation of moisture and prevents the meat from drying out.

³ *Qalāyā* recipes are in the previous chapter.

of lemon juice. It is a happy medium between fried meat (*maqlī*) and boiled meat (*maṣlūq*).

Here are some *kushtābiyya* dishes:

A recipe for *kushtābiyya* cooked in its own juice, from the copy of Ibn ‘Umar:⁴

Cut meat into thin slices, wash it thoroughly, and put it in a pot. Add 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil),⁵ a bit of salt, and a sprig of rue. Set the pot on the fire (*yunṣab*) [on a trivet] and cover it so that the meat releases all its moisture. Season it with black pepper, coriander, a bit of cassia, and a small amount of *mā’ kāmakh* (*murrī*, liquid fermented sauce). Serve the dish, God willing.

Another *kushtābiyya* dish from the copy of Ibn Dihqāna:⁶

Cut meat into very thin slices and put it in a pot. Let the meat be lamb (*lahm ḥaml*). Add chicken fat or oil and 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) onion juice, and let it fry. Sprinkle the meat [while frying] with lemon juice mixed with an equal amount of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce).

When the meat is done, season it with coriander, cumin, and a bit of black pepper. Ladle it [and serve it], God willing.⁷

Another *kushtābiyya* recipe cooked with juice of sour unripe grapes:

Slice the meat, wash it and put it in a soapstone pot. Add bruised chickpeas and chopped cilantro. Pour on it 1 ladleful of onion juice, 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) juice of sour unripe grapes, and an equal amount of water. Add as well a piece of galangal and 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*).

When meat is cooked, season it with ground coriander, cumin, and cassia. Ladle the dish.

⁴ ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umar al-Bāzyār, companion and confidant of Abbasid Caliphs. See Appendix.

⁵ See Glossary, Section 7.

⁶ Boon companion of Abbasid Caliphs. See Appendix.

⁷ Although Helsinki MS has a somewhat different version of this recipe, I do not include it here because it is almost identical with *Kushtābiyya* recipe by Ibn ‘Umar, given below.

A recipe for *kushṭābiyya* seasoned (*maftūqa*) with vinegar:

Cut marbled meat (*lahm mujazzaʿ*) into thin slices (113r) and put it in a soapstone pot. Add some vinegar to the meat and let it cook until done.

Sprinkle it with juice of sour unripe grapes, season it with ground spices, and sprinkle it with a small amount of *maṭbūkh* (cooked wine). Serve it garnished with chopped rue.

***Kushṭābiyya* recipe by Ibn ʿUmar:⁸**

Cut tender meat into very thin slices and marinate it in some *murrī* for about an hour. Take the meat out, sprinkle it with lots of ground coriander, cumin, caraway, and a bit of black pepper. Fry the meat in fat and sprinkle it with *maṭbūkh* (cooked wine) and water. When meat is done, chop some cilantro and rue on it then serve it, God willing.

Another recipe for *kushṭābiyya kabadiyya* (made with liver) by al-Hādī:⁹

Slice the liver, wash it in cold water, and marinate it in vinegar for an hour. Then wash it [to get rid of vinegar] and put it in a pot with 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) olive oil and a similar amount of *duhn*.¹⁰ Fry the liver until it firms up then sprinkle it with Nabatean *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce).¹¹ Stir the pot until liver is cooked.

Season the dish with spices [such as coriander, cumin, and caraway] and a bit of black pepper. Chop rue on it and serve it, God willing.

Another recipe for *kushṭābiyya* by him [al-Hādī], too:

Cut tender meat into small pieces, as small as a chickpea each. Wash the meat and put it in a pot. Submerge it in olive oil and rendered sheep's tail fat or chicken fat. Fry the meat and stir in a small amount of rue, cilantro, onion juice, and soaked and skinned chickpeas. Sprinkle it with a bit of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and wine vinegar.

When meat is done, pour on it a small amount of *sakanjabīn al-khall* (syrup of vinegar and honey). Season it with coriander and black

⁸ See note 4 above. This dish is similar to what is usually called *sharāyih mubazzara*, slices of meat, encrusted with spices then fried or skewered and roasted in the *tannūr*.

⁹ Abbasid Caliph, brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 786).

¹⁰ Such as sesame oil or *samm* (clarified butter).

¹¹ See Glossary, Section 3, s.v. *murrī*.

pepper. After you ladle it [into a plate], sprinkle it with some rose water and serve it, God willing.

Another *kushtābiyya* called *qaranfuliyya* (cooked with cloves) by Hāmid:¹²

Choose tenderloins and any other tender cuts of lamb.¹³ Cut the meat into very thin slices, put them in a clean green-glazed bowl (*ghadāra*), and keep them submerged in brine (**113v**) from the time of morning prayers [dawn] until the forenoon (*dahwa*).

Discard the bran and wash the meat until it looks white. Put it in a clean pot and add a stick of cassia, a piece of galangal, and 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil).¹⁴ Cook the pot on low-heat fire (*nār hādiyya*). You will not need to add any water because the meat will release a lot of moisture.

When the pot boils twice (*ghalyatayn*),¹⁵ add a handful of soaked and bruised chickpeas. Add as well 20 *dirhams* (¼ cup) onion juice, 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) salt, a whole sprig of rue, and 20 *dirhams* (¼ cup) distilled water of cloves (*mā' qaranful muṣa'ad*).¹⁶

When the meat is done, moisten it with a cup (*qadah*) of aromatic sweet wine (*sharāb 'atir hīlū*) and serve it, God willing.

¹² Hāmid bin al-'Abbās (d. 923), Vizier of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadir (d. 932),

¹³ The tenderloin is called *bastamāzija* here. In other places in the book, the name occurs as *kishtamāzija*.

¹⁴ See Glossary, Section 7.

¹⁵ After the first boil, the meat froth needs to be skimmed then boiling is resumed. Number of boils indicates how much time the pot needs to be on the fire. See Glossary, Section 10.2, s.v. *fawwara*.

¹⁶ It is obtained by boiling the cloves in water and distilling it to get the pure essence of the spice.

في عمل الطبايعجات الرطبات واليابسات

MAKING *ṬABĀHIJĀT* (SLICED AND BRAISED RED MEAT), BOTH SUCCULENT (*RAṬB*) AND DRY (*YĀBIS*)¹

It is related that *ṭabāhijāt* dishes were not known until the days of Bahrām Jūr.² The story goes that while Bahrām was once on a hunting trip, he went so far in his pursuit that he left his companions behind except for two boys who were sons of noblemen. When they approached an inhabited area, Bahrām threw his arrow at a deer that happened to be within his range and shot it. He dismounted his horse complaining how tired and hungry he was and immediately went to sleep.

The boys took chunks from the rump and shoulders of the deer and cut them into very thin slices. They took its caul fat (*tharb*) and kidney fat, melted them, and added the meat to them with a sprinkle of salt. They lighted the fire underneath the pot until the meat was cooked. Having done this, they went to Bahrām and told him they have some delicious food they were sure he would like, upon which he ordered them to bring it in. When he saw the meat, he exclaimed, . . . , which in Arabic means, “who spoiled the meat?”³ The meat was not supposed to be sliced like this, he protested.

He ate it, nevertheless, and liked it so much that he ordained the dish be given a Persian name, which in Arabic would mean something like *al-maʿshūq* (the loved one).⁴ The name was later Arabized to *ṭabāhija*. It is quite possible that this was the true story of the dish.

¹ In Chapter 32 above, al-Warrāq draws the line between *mutajjanāt* dishes and *ṭabāhijāt*. The former are braised poultry dishes, and the latter, braised dishes of quadrupeds. All recipes in this chapter, with one exception, follow this rule.

² Persian king of the Sassanian dynasty (d. 438). He was nicknamed *Gor* (wild ass, Arabized to *Jūr*) because he was a devout hunter of wild ass.

³ It is interesting how the copyist of the Oxford MS opted to censor the story. He substituted the king’s expletive with a blank (the equivalent of today’s dots and bleeps) and gave a ‘politically correct’ version. The copyist of the Helsinki MS provided the original protestation, “*abarkaybāh?!?*” which actually means something like, “Who fucked the meat?!” (Culled from meanings in Steinegass: *abar* ‘penis,’ *kay* ‘who,’ and *bāh* ‘intercourse’).

⁴ According to Helsinki MS, it is *abū al-maʿshūq* (literally, father of the loved one). However, based on the story given, it is possible that *ṭabāhija* may have been

The difference between dishes of *ṭabāhija* and *maqlī* (fried) (114r) is that the former dishes contain sauce (*ṣibāgh*) and vegetables such as eggplant and the like,⁵ and their meat is sliced (*musharraḥ*). On the other hand, meat in fried dishes is cut into small pieces, the size of a hazelnut each (*mubandaq*), and they do not use vegetables. Enjoy!

Ṭabāhija by Ibn al-Mahdī:⁶

Cut meat into slices and wash it thoroughly. Boil ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) water in a pot add the meat to it along with sweet olive oil (*ḡayt ṭayyib*) and a little salt. Then add peeled and chopped eggplant and round onions.

When meat is done and moisture has evaporated, sprinkle on it half a ladleful of *mā' kāmakh* (liquid fermented sauce) and, if wished, half a ladleful of vinegar. Now, take some ground spices such as coriander, caraway, cassia, and cumin. Sprinkle a little bit of each on the meat. Stir the pot for a while (*ṣā'a* an hour) then wash the inner sides of the pot with a ladleful of water and add two sprigs of rue. Let the pot simmer [in the remaining heat] for a while (*ṣā'a* an hour) until it settles then serve it, God willing.

Ṭabāhija with fresh cheese (*jubn raṭb*):

Cut meat into thin slices, wash it, and put it in a pot. Pour plenty of olive oil and add a bit of salt. Set the pot on a trivet (*yunṣab*) on the fire, and let it boil until all moisture evaporates. Sprinkle the meat with a little black pepper and *anjudhān* (dried asafetida leaves).

Take fresh cheese that has been kept in brine for 10 days, wash it to get rid of the salt, and slice and cut it into triangles (*shawābīr*). Spread the cheese pieces in the pot and let them fry [with the meat].

Whisk 10 eggs with *mā' kāmakh* (liquid fermented sauce) and pour them all over the meat mix. Let the eggs cook until they set then serve the dish, God willing.

derived from the Persian *tabāh* (تباہ) 'the spoiled,' 'the ruined' (meaning of word from Steingass).

⁵ The Arabic word here is *tawābil*, which more commonly designates dry spices. However, it is sometimes loosely used to include the familiar vegetables added to the pot such as onion, leeks, etc. Al-Baghdādī uses the word in the same sense in his thirteenth-century cookbook *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (al-Bārūdī, 24).

⁶ Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839).

***Ṭabāhija* from the copy of Yaḥya bin Khālīd:**⁷

Take a green-glazed bowl (*ghaḍāra*). Pour into it $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) Nabatean *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and 1 *ūqīyya* (2 tablespoons) good quality honey.⁸ Whip them together and strain them in a sieve. Season them with 1 *dirham* (3 grams) coriander, $\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* (1½ grams) cassia, and 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) black pepper.

Cut 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) tender meat into wide thin slices and marinate it in this [above] sauce (*ṣibāgh*) for an hour.

Place a pot on the fire and pour (114v) 4 *ūqīyyas* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) sweet olive oil (*ẓayt ṭayyib*). Let the oil boil then add the meat with its marinade along with 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) crushed salt. Cook the meat until it is done and liquid has evaporated.

Ladle the meat [into a platter]. Garnish it with small amounts of chopped cilantro, rue, and mustard greens (*khardal akhḍar*) then present it.

You may make the dish *ṭabāhija anjudhāniyya* [by adding to it dried asafetida leaves].

***Ṭabāhija* from the copy of ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umar,⁹ which Abū Samīn Made for al-Wāṭhiq:**¹⁰

Take slices of meat from a fat kid or a yearling lamb and cut them into finger-like strips. Put them in a pot with a suitable amount of salt. Pour $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) olive oil and $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) water. Set the pot on the fire [and let it cook until all moisture evaporates].

[Meanwhile] pour into a green-glazed bowl (*ghaḍāra*) 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) wine vinegar. Stir in $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* (4 ounces) finely ground walnuts or almonds, and 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) ground and sifted crumbs of white bread. Whip the mixture very well. Add a small amount of it to the pot, let it evaporate then add a little more, and let it evaporate. Repeat the procedure until you use up all the vinegar mix.

⁷ The Barmacide (d. 805), mentor and vizier of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Raṣhīd.

⁸ See Glossary, Section 3, s.v. *murrī*.

⁹ ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umar al-Bāzyār, companion and confidant of Abbasid Caliphs. See Appendix.

¹⁰ Abū Samīn was the professional chef in the kitchens of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭhiq (d. 847). This recipe is the version given in the Oxford MS. The following recipe in the edited text is Helsinki’s. I do not include it here because Oxford’s version is more coherent. However, it contains an interesting nugget of information which Oxford does not provide—Abū Samīn’s name is given as Abū Ishāq bin Samīn. See Appendix, s.v. Abū Samīn.

Season the meat with a bit of black pepper, cumin, and a little coriander. Let the meat fry in its juices and oil then take the pot away from the fire and serve the dish.

Ṭabāhija made with honey by al-Mu‘taṣim:¹¹

Take 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) meat from a yearling lamb. Let it be red [i.e. lean] and free of any fat. Slice the meat and wash it very well.

Boil 1½ *raṭls* (3 cups) water and drop in it a bundle of linen cloth containing coriander, cumin, and cassia. Add the meat and let it cook until the pot is almost dry. Discard the spice bundle. Pour into the pot ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) fresh sesame oil and ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) rendered chicken fat. Let the meat cook until it fries in its oil and browns.

Add to the pot, 1 *dānaq* (½ gram) ginger and 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) saffron, both ground. Pour into it 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) boiled and skimmed honey and bring the pot to a boil. (115r)

Take 4 *ūqiyyas* (4 ounces) starch (*nashā*). Dissolve it in 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) rose water and 2 *ūqiyyas* (½ cup) water. Pour this into the pot and keep stirring until sauce thickens.

Take away the fire from underneath the pot and keep stirring [in the remaining heat] until the oil separates and comes up (*yaqdhif duhnahu*). Put the pot away from the fire and ladle it [into a dish]. You should have prepared shelled and bruised walnuts or almonds. Scatter them over the dish and serve it.

You have the option of substituting the starch with fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free). In this case, add the flour before you pour the honey into the pot to let it toast in the fat [i.e. when only meat and oil are left in the pot]. Then, add the honey, stir the pot until sauce thickens, and take away the fire from underneath the pot as you did above.

Another ṭabāhija by al-Wāthiq:¹²

Slice the meat as thin as possible and wash it. Pound onion in a mortar and pestle to extract its juice. You need to get 15 *dirhams* (3 tablespoons) of the onion juice.

Put a pot on the fire and pour into it sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*) and chopped tallow (*shahm*). When the tallow fries, add the meat and let

¹¹ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 842).

¹² Abbasid Caliph (d. 847). The recipe, which follows this one in the edited text, is Helsinki's version. I do not include it here because Oxford's version is more coherent.

it fry in it. Pour the onion juice and let it cook until all the liquid is absorbed.

Season the meat with coriander, cumin, caraway, black pepper, and ginger, all ground. When the meat fries with the spices, stir into it *murrī al-sha'ir* (liquid fermented sauce made with barley) mixed with $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratl* (4 ounces) ground almonds or ground sesame seeds.

Let the pot simmer and settle on the burning coals. When the time comes to serve it, sprinkle it with fragrant wine (*sharāb 'atir*) or rose water and garnish it with chopped rue, God willing.

Another *ṭabāhija*, called *um al-ṭabāhijāt* (the mother of all *ṭabāhijāt*):¹³

Slice 3 *ratls* (3 pounds) meat from a yearling lamb, wash it, and put it in a pot. Pour $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) olive oil, $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) rendered fat of sheep's tail, and 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) salt. Sprinkle the meat with about $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* (1 cup) water. It should be enough to cook the meat and then evaporate.

So, when the meat is cooked and the pot is dry, add $\frac{1}{3}$ *ratl* ($\frac{2}{3}$ cup) *murrī ṭarī* (freshly made liquid fermented sauce). Sprinkle the meat with (115v) black pepper and ginger, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) each. Also add a suitable amount of coriander, caraway, and cassia.

Now, ladle one third of the cooked meat [onto a plate] and serve it. It will be a delicious *ṭabāhija*. To the remaining two thirds, add 2 *ūqīyyas* ($\frac{1}{4}$ cup) vinegar. Ladle out the second third onto a plate and serve it. Wait until what was served is eaten then ladle the last third remaining in the pot [onto a plate], garnish it with 1 *dirham* (3 grams) finely chopped rue and serve it. This will be [another] delicious [variation on] *ṭabāhija*.

***Ṭabāhija* made with young fowls (*firākḥ*) and their livers:**

Mix chicken fat with salt. Disjoint plump young fowls, and fry them in the chicken fat. When they are almost cooked, season them with coriander and black pepper. Sprinkle them with Nabatean *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce),¹⁴ and stir in some chopped rue and parsley. Serve the dish [when fully cooked].

Another *ṭabāhija* made with honey:

In a green-glazed bowl (*ghaḍāra*), mix to blend (*yumāth*) $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup)

¹³ It is called so because variations may be made from the basic recipe.

¹⁴ See Glossary, Section 3, s.v. *murrī*.

murri (liquid fermented sauce) with 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) honey. Strain the mix through a sieve (*munkhul*). Add 1 *dirham* (3 grams) coriander, ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) black pepper, 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) cassia, and 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) *anjudhān* (dried asafetida leaves).

Slice 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) lamb and marinate it in the [above] sauce (*ṣibāgh*). Set up a pot (*yunṣab*) on [a trivet on] the fire and add 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*). When the oil is hot, add the sliced meat with its marinade along with 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) crushed [salt].¹⁵

Cook the meat until the sauce (*ṣibāgh*) is greatly reduced. Let the pot settle for a while (*sā'a* hour) then serve the *ṭabāhija* garnished with chopped cilantro and rue.



¹⁵ The word is erased in Oxford MS (editors' note, 223, n. 77). Neither Helsinki nor Istanbul manuscript has the recipe. However, it is feasible that the item thrown into the pot is salt because the qualifying adjective *mashūq* m. (crushed) is usually used with salt. Spices are normally described as *madqūqa* f. (pounded).

فِي حَمْلِ التَّوْبِي فِي التَّوْرِ وَشَمِيَّ الدَّهْمِ فِي الْقَدْرِ

ROASTING MEAT IN THE *TANNŪR* AND POT-ROASTING (*SHAWĪ AL-QIDR*)¹

A recipe for *janb mubazzar* (spiced side of ribs) by Yaḥya bin Khālīd al-Barmakī:²

Take side of ribs of a fat lamb, clean it and remove the spinal cord (*mukhā*),³ nodules (*ghudad*),⁴ *isfidhaj*,⁵ liver (*kabd*), spleen (*tiḥāl*), and kidney (*kulwa*) if any [are still attached].

Keep the meat marinated overnight in a mix of vinegar, a handful of salt, and a couple handfuls of ground dry spices—coriander, cumin, black pepper, and cassia. The following morning, [take the side of ribs out of its marinade and] moisten it with a fresh batch of vinegar and spices. Lower the side of ribs into the [heated] *tannūr*,⁶ God willing.

A recipe for spiced side of ribs (*janb mubazzar*) by him, too:

Take a side of ribs of a lamb and boil it in extremely sour vinegar until half done. Take the pot away from the heat and leave the side of ribs in it until it cools down. Then take it out, rub it with the dried spices mentioned earlier [in the recipe above], and lower it into the [heated] *tannūr*.

¹ Also called *dākibriyān* as al-Warrāq explains in one of the recipes in this chapter.

² He was mentor and vizier of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 805). For details on the meat cut, *janb*, see Glossary, Section 11.1.1.

³ The whole side of ribs is chopped off the other side along the spine, so it should still contain some spinal cord, which has to be removed.

⁴ Such as the glands, lymph nodes and any stiff growths in the meat, tallow, or between the skin and the meat. They were believed to be harmful for the eater. See Glossary, Section 11.1.1.

⁵ Thin membrane that covers the meat like a skin, as al-Warrāq explains in Chapter 1, where it is written as *istīdhaj*.

⁶ We learn from some of the following recipes that the side is lowered into the *tannūr* after it has been hooked to a *kullāb* (hooked rod)

A recipe for roasting liver with the windpipe (*qaṣabat mi'lāq*) by Ibn 'Umar:⁷

Take the liver with windpipe and lungs attached to it. Clean them and blow into the pipe [to inflate the lungs]. Pour into it a mixture of vinegar, olive oil, ground caraway seeds, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) salt. Lower it into the [heated] *tannūr*, God willing.

A recipe for 'uṣbān (long strips of meat, wrapped in caul fat, and tied with intestines) by al-Mu'tamid:⁸

Take livers of kids and sheep and parboil them in water seasoned with thyme and olive oil. (116r) [Take them out of the water and] cut them into fine strips (*siyūr riqāq*). After you do this, lay flat pieces of caul fat (*tharb*) of kids and lamb after you wash them in hot water so that they open up flat. Spread the liver strips on them and sprinkle them with *murrī* and olive oil. Put some sprigs of rue and thyme.

Roll the caul fat around the liver strips and tie it with intestines (*maṣārīn*) that have been turned inside out and washed with salt and parsley [and water]. Rub the roll with olive oil and lower it into the *tannūr*.

A recipe for *janb mubazzar* (spiced side of ribs), can be eaten immediately, from the copy of Ibn al-Mahdī:⁹

Parboil a side of ribs of lamb in good quality sour vinegar.¹⁰ Put the pot away from the fire and leave the side of ribs in the vinegar until it cools down. Take it out of the vinegar and press out all moisture thoroughly. Sprinkle it with ground coriander, cumin, black pepper, and cassia, and lower it into the [heated] *tannūr* until it is crisp (*yaqubb*).

If wished, after you parboil the side of ribs in vinegar, take it out of the hot vinegar and [immediately] put it in cold vinegar. When it cools down, season it with the spices and lower it [into the *tannūr*].¹¹

⁷ 'Abdullāh bin 'Umar al-Bāzyār, companion and confidant of Abbasid Caliphs. See Appendix.

⁸ Abbasid Caliph (d. 892). Originally, the dish was prepared with cheap and lean cuts of meat, which were wrapped in intestines and roasted. The intestines add to the meat the fat and juiciness it lacks. See Glossary, Section 6, s.v. 'uṣbān.

⁹ Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839). The meat can be eaten immediately because it is not marinated for long.

¹⁰ *Yuslaq 'alā nisf nuḍjīhi* (يسلق على نصف نضجه).

¹¹ This last remark is meant to shorten the period of waiting for the side of ribs to cool down.

A recipe for *dākibriyān*:

This is the name of the dish in Persian. In Arabic, it means *shawī al-qidr* (pot-roasting).

Take a soapstone pot with high sides, make six holes around the side, and let them be spaced so that each two holes are opposite each other. The holes should be half way between the top of the pot (*shiffatuha* its lip) and its bottom. Insert three trimmed sticks of willow wood (*khilāf*) through the holes [and let them be long enough to stick out of the pot. This will serve as a rack] Seal the holes from the outside of the pot with dough.

Pour water into the pot and let it be just below the sticks. Add a piece of galangal and a stick of cassia.

Now take a piece of a fatty side of ribs of lamb with the shoulder. Clean it, sprinkle it with salt then rub it with olive oil, and put it on the arranged sticks in the pot. Cover the pot and seal it tightly with mud.

Light medium-high fire (*nār mutawassīta*) underneath the pot and let it cook until [according to your estimate] it is done. (116v) Uncover the pot, take out the meat, and set it aside. Add rice and milk to the broth in the pot and cook it the way you do with *jūdhāb*.¹² You may add honey, sugar, saffron, or anything else that is usually added to the *jūdhābāt*, God willing.

A recipe for roasted meat (*shiwā'*) that resembles *halām* by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:¹³

Take fresh and dry herbs and spices usually used for making *halām* and stuff with them a fine and fat kid, which has been cleaned and scalded. Stuff the cavity, and make slits (*yusharraḥi*) under the skin and stuff them with the herb and spice mix.

Take a soapstone pot oblong in shape like a *safat*,¹⁴ and spread in its bottom some of the *ahlām* spices. Next, place the prepared kid in the pot and spread the *ahlām* spices all over it. Submerge it in sour vinegar and let it steep in it for a night and a day. Take the kid out of the vinegar, impale it in a fish-roasting spit (*saffūd samak*), fasten it with

¹² For recipes, see Chapter 92.

¹³ Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd. *Halām* (pl. *ahlām*) is meat with the skin on preserved by cooking it in vinegar. For recipes, see Chapter 41 above.

¹⁴ A case women use to keep their perfumes and cosmetics. As the analogy indicates, it is oblong in shape.

ropes (*sharīt*), and lower it into the [heated] *tannūr*. Serve it hot, God willing.

A recipe for an enveloped (*maghmūm*) kid, stuffed with a chicken:¹⁵

Clean and scald a suckling kid (*jedī raḡī*) and a plump chicken. Rub the chicken with a lot of oil and sprinkle it with salt and black pepper. Wrap it in caul fat and stuff it inside the kid. Wrap the kid with caul fat of a fat lamb.

Now take a large *karsh* (stomach), leave it whole, just make an opening large enough to get the kid into it. Scald it, and wash it with salt and parsley. [Stuff the kid inside the stomach,] and sew it closed. Put the stuffed tripe in *tannūr al-rawwās* and let it roast slowly overnight.¹⁶

Prepare for the dish a dipping sauce of toasted mustard seeds, [ground] and sweetened with [crushed] *zabīb* (raisins), sugar, and other similar ingredients. Serve it with the roasted kid after you remove the caul fat (*tharb*). You will eat the meat, the bones, the skin, and the chicken inside it.

A recipe for roasting braided *ṣafāfir*:¹⁷

Take a tender and fatty tenderloin (*bashtamāzay*),¹⁸ which weighs around 2 *ratls* (2 pounds), keep the long piece whole. (117r) Choose also, liver of a weaned camel (*faṣīl*). Let it be as long as the tenderloin and weigh as much. Take as well, a piece of the camel hump, of similar length and weight. Slice lengthwise each of these pieces into finger-thick strips. Marinate them in a mixture of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce),

¹⁵ I follow here the version given in Oxford MS because it is more coherent. However, I also use Helsinki MS to amend the word *dawwās* to *rawwās* (see the following note), and incorporate some details.

¹⁶ *Al-rawwās* is the professional cook specialized in cooking heads of slaughtered animals such as sheep and calf. The word derives from *ra's* or *rās* 'head.' The cook lets the pot of heads simmer in the slow-burning *tannūr* all night long so that they are ready to serve early in the morning.

¹⁷ *Al-ṣāfir* (sing.) is a bird known for its cowardice. A cowardly person is described as *أجبن من صافر*. It dangles its body by clinging to a branch with its claws (like a bat). In this position, it keeps on whistling lest it should sleep and get caught (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, s.v. *صافر*). The roasted braided slices of meat are called so because they dangle in the *tannūr* like this bird.

¹⁸ It is the back muscle on either side of the backbone. It looks like a thick rope. The recipe requires the muscle be kept as one piece.

black pepper, sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt ‘adhb*), coriander, cumin, and pounded cassia.

Now take a strip of each of the three kinds of meat and pin them together from one end with a toothpick (*khilāl*). Braid the meat strips as you do with hair and tie the ends so that they do not open up. Repeat with the rest of the meat strips.

Smear the braids with a mix of *murrī* and olive oil. Skewer them in *saffūd* or *khuttāf* (hooked rod),¹⁹ which you then suspend in the *tannūr* and let the meat roast until it is cooked.

Bring the braids to the table while still hot, cut them into fist-size pieces (*qabḍa*), and eat them with the following sauce.

The sauce recipe:

Take *anjudhān* (dried asafetida leaves), black pepper, and galangal, 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) each. Take as well, 1 *mithqāl* (4½ grams) Persian thyme (*ṣa‘tar Fārisī*).²⁰ Pound them all, sift them, and stir them into wine vinegar and aged *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce).

Serve this sauce with the roasted meat [above]. It will be a splendid dish, indeed.

A recipe for *janb mashwī* (roasted side of ribs):²¹

Take the side of ribs of a small lamb, slash it [at several places], and rub it with salt, vinegar, *anjudhān* (dried asafetida leaves), and thyme. Hook it in a *kullāb* (hooked rod), and [lower it into the *tannūr*, but] let it be suspended above a pot with water and *ruqāq al-sanbūsaj* in it.²² Let the distance between the meat and the water be about the width of four fingers put together. Seal the opening of the *tannūr* with mud [and let meat roast until it is done].

¹⁹ In order to look like the *ṣafāfir* birds, the meat braids are threaded through the skewer from their tips so that they dangle in the *tannūr*.

²⁰ Dark green variety of the herb. See Glossary, Section 9.

²¹ I translate here the version of Oxford MS in the edited text, since it is more detailed than the Helsinki version.

²² Thin sheets of dough usually used for filled pastries. The water in the pot will keep the meat from drying out, and the sheets of dough will receive all the juice and fatty drippings of the roasting rib side. It would be eaten with the meat. This is similar to *jūdhāba* dishes, mentioned in Chapter 92 below.

Another recipe for a roasted spiced side of ribs (*mubazzar*) by abū Samīn:²³

Clean a side of ribs and remove the spinal cord and any organs [attached to it]. Wash the meat in salted water, dry it very well and then soak it in sumac juice (*mā' al-summāq*), and keep it there until it absorbs the tartness of the juice.

Rub the meat with spices, [attach it to a hooked skewer,] and lower it into the *tannūr*. When it is done, take it out and serve it hot.

If you wish, substitute sumac juice with juice of sour unripe grapes (*mā' hiṣrim*).

Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib once recited to me this poem:²⁴

For my honored guest I have bread; pure, crisp, and well risen,
 (117v) Spread on a tray, easily mistaken for the luminous moon in
 beauty.
 A side of ribs of lamb as well, bounteous, spiced, vinegared, redolent,
 and saffroned,
 Which our excellent cook fixed and infused with spices, salt, and
 murrī.
 Aromatics he freely tossed and kept it overnight thus. At crack of dawn
 he resumed.
 He lighted the *tannūr* for it. After it was done flaring with flames and
 sparks,
 He lowered the meat, sealed the *tannūr*, and left it for an hour wait-
 ing,
 Until, to his estimate, the meat by then was surely off the bones fall-
 ing.
 He took it out and a dust of coriander gave it: Ethereal, glowing with
 saffron.
 Looking like *busr* dates, fresh and crisp and ripe.
 He thus hastened to us with it. The best alike, whether you tell or
 show it.

²³ Professional chef in the kitchens of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāthiq.

²⁴ Known as Kuṣḥājīm (d. c. 961).

فِي سَمِيِّ الْجَبْرِ وَالْخُرَافِ الْمُحْمَوَّةِ اللَّحْمِ

ROASTING STUFFED KIDS AND LAMB

A Recipe for a Kid Stuffed with Truffles (*kam'a*):¹

Choose a fine fat kid, remove its entrails and make from them small and thin '*aṣābīn*.² Let the cook detach the thigh meat of the kid from under the skin taking care not to tear the skin or spoil it in anyway. Now, separate the meat from the bones—from the inner side of the thigh—starting with the lowest part of the rump all the way down to the trotters. Do the same thing with the fore legs. Keep the bones intact and do not disjoint them.

Take the meat [you have already separated from the bones], discard any blood vessels ('*urūq*) and nodules (*ghudad*),³ and slice it thinly.

[Filling the belly:]

Put in a pot, a third of the sliced meat along with the prepared '*aṣābīn* (118r), and pour on them $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) olive oil. Add $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ pound) chopped onion, 2 *ūqiyyas* (2 ounces) chopped cilantro, $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* (1 cup) wine vinegar, $\frac{1}{3}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{2}{3}$ cup) Nabatean *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), and $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* (1 cup) water. Let the mixture boil for a short while and then add $\frac{1}{2}$ *mithqāl* ($2\frac{1}{4}$ grams) saffron, 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) coriander, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) cassia. Add as well black pepper, ginger, long pepper (*dār fulful*), spikenard, and galangal, $\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* ($1\frac{1}{2}$ grams) each.

Put the pot away from heat and wait until it settles. Add chopped truffles, the amount of which should be equal to that of the '*aṣābīn* used. Also add *jarādiq* (thick round bread), equal in amount to the sliced meat used. Stir to mix the ingredients then set the pot aside to cool down. Now, put the meat mixture in a new and washed strainer made of rush stems (*ghirbāl asal*). The reason why you need to wait for

¹ This is an elaborate recipe, but it has reasonably accurate measurements and directions. I divided it into sections to make it easier to follow.

² '*Aṣābīn* or '*uṣbān* are intestines of kids and sheep. Possibly, the recipe's instruction is to make small and thin '*uṣbān* (strips of meat wrapped with intestines), as shown in '*uṣbān* recipe in Chapter 87.

³ Such as the glands, lymph nodes, and any stiff growths in the meat, tallow, or between the skin and the meat. They were believed to be harmful for the eater. See Glossary, Section 11.1.1.

meat to cool down before draining it in this kind of strainer is because hot meat picks up the smell of the rush wood easily, which would spoil it. Leave the meat mixture in the strainer until all moisture drains.

Put the meat in a big bowl (*qaṣ'a*), sprinkle it with a little salt and sugar, break 15 eggs or less on it, and fill the kid's cavity with it. Take some thin and flat sheets of unleavened bread (*rūqāq*), which you have made from dough you usually make for *sanbūsaj* (filled pastries).⁴ Spread the breads as a protective layer (*waqqāya*) all around the filling in the cavity and the front opening, as well. Sew closed the cavity with the *ruqāq* sheets inside. You may tie the cavity with a string made from date palm fiber (*sharīt*). However, sewing is more secure than tying.

[Filling the hind and fore legs:]

Take the remaining [two thirds of the] meat and slice it [further] into very thin strips, as thin as possible.

Put half of it [i.e. one third of the total meat used] in a pot and add [chopped] onion, the amount of which should be one third of the *jardaq* bread used.⁵ Add as well cilantro, almost similar to the amount [of onion], which is around 2 *ūqiyyas* (2 ounces). Lightly boil the mixture in water and olive oil (*salqa khafīfa*).

Now, ladle out half of this mixture [and set it aside to fill one of the hind legs]. To the remaining half in the pot, add a little vinegar and *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) (**118v**), bring it to a boil, and stir it. Then drain [both batches] on rush strainers (*ghirbāl asal*), as I described earlier, God willing.

Take truffles, the same amount as that of *jardaq* bread you used [in the above meat mix], boil it, and mash it lightly in a stone mortar. Add half of the pounded truffles to the *jardaq* bread mix that does not have vinegar in it, and mix it with it. Add to this mix, 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) coriander, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) cumin, ¼ *dirham* (¼ gram) black pepper, ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) cassia, and 1/3 *dirham* (1 gram) salt. Break 5 eggs on this mixture, and blend well.

Return the bones inside the skin of the hind legs and forelegs and fill in one of the thighs with this mixture. Let the filling be evenly spread around the bones, and let it look like its normal shape. Stuff the leg very well.

⁴ According to Helsinki MS, the bread should be a little thicker than *ruqāq labiq*, but thinner than *barāzīdhaj*. See Chapter 13 above for recipes.

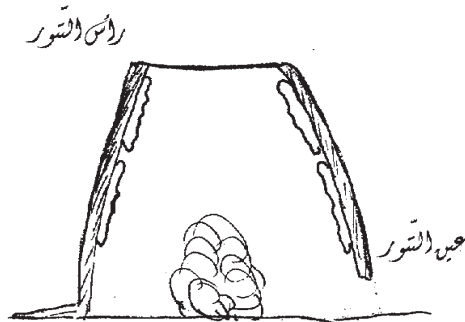
⁵ It is about 6 *ūqiyyas* (6 ounces), based on coming remarks in the recipe.

Go back to [the set aside, last third of the] thinly sliced meat that does not have vinegar in it and add to it $\frac{1}{2}$ *dirham* (1½ grams) cumin, $\frac{1}{4}$ *dirham* ($\frac{3}{4}$ grams) *anjudhān* (dried asafetida leaves), and a bit of rue [and the remaining half of the pounded truffles?]. Fill the other hind leg with this mixture and let the legs look the same.

Now take some of the *jardāq* bread mix that has vinegar in it, add to it some salt, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) coriander and cassia. Break 5 eggs on it, mix it well, and stuff one of the forelegs with it. To the rest of this *jardāq* bread mix, add a bit of galangal and spikenard, $\frac{1}{4}$ *dirham* ($\frac{3}{4}$ gram) cloves, and a bit of sugar. Stuff the other foreleg with it.

Tie the ends of the legs and forelegs of the stuffed kid with some fine clean threads.

Roast the kid [in the *tannūr*]. When you present it at the table, it will be as if you are serving five different dishes, each with a specific delicious taste and aroma. (119r) What's more, the sides of ribs (*janb*) will be offered as tasty plain meat (*sādhay*), God willing.



فِي سَبِيّ السَّرَايِمِ مِنَ اللَّحْمِ الطَّرِي وَالْمَالِحِ

ROASTING SLICED MEAT, FRESH AND CURED

A recipe for sliced meat (*sharāyih*) roasted in the *tannūr*:

Slice meat into long strips and put it in a big bowl (*qaṣ'a*). Add salt, olive oil, juice of cilantro, and ¼ *dirham* (¼ gram) ground *anjudhān* (asafetida leaves). Let the meat [marinate in this sauce until it] absorbs its flavors. Coat the meat slices with olive oil, thread them through a skewer (*saffūd*), and lower it into the *tannūr*.

In a small bowl (*uskurruja*) mix vinegar, *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), *anjudhān* (asafetida leaves), and caraway. Serve this [dipping sauce] with the meat, God willing.

A recipe for roasted udder (*dar' mashwī*) by Ibn Dihqāna:¹

Take a big udder, wash it from the outside, and slash it at places where *liba'* (first milk after delivery) would not squirt out of them.

Mix milk and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), and coat the udder with the mix (*taṭlīhi*). Next, coat it with olive oil, sprinkle it with a little cassia and ginger, and lower it into the *tannūr*.

When it is roasted, take it out, slice it nicely, and serve it with mustard, God willing.

A recipe for *janb mubazzar* (spiced side of ribs) by Abū Samīn:²

Choose a fatty side of ribs and marinade it in a mixture of 1 *ratl* (2 cups) vinegar, 1 *ratl* (1 pound) pomegranate seeds, and ¼ *ratl* (4 ounces) *zabīb* (raisins). Let the side of ribs steep from the evening until the following morning.

Take it out, and spice it with black pepper, coriander, 1 *dānaq* (½ gram) pounded *anjudhān* (asafetida leaves), and pounded cassia. Coat the meat liberally with olive oil and salt then lower it into a low-heat *tannūr* (*layyin al-ḥarāra*), God willing.

¹ Boon companion of Abbasid Caliphs. See Appendix.

² The professional chef in the kitchens of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭhiq (d. 847). This recipe belongs more to Chapter 87 above, which deals mostly with big cuts of meat.

A recipe for [roasted] *sharāyih* (sliced meat):

Pour strained thick vinegar into a green-glazed bowl (*ghaḍāra*). Add *zabīb* (raisins), pomegranate seeds, and two to three cloves of garlic crushed with coriander seeds. Let the meat slices steep in this mixture for two hours.

Take out the meat slices and press on them the strained pomegranate seeds, which have been steeping in vinegar. (119v). Set the meat slices aside for an hour and roast them in the *tannūr*.

Eat the meat with vinegar seasoned with *anjudhān* (asafetida leaves) and cumin.

A recipe for jerked meat (*qadīd*):

Take antelope meat (*luḥūm zibā*) or any other tender variety, [cut it into thin and long slices,] macerate them in salted vinegar until they absorb the flavor then drape them on a rope.

The meat slices can be roasted [in the *tannūr*] if they still have some moisture in them. They will come out as regular roasted meat slices (*sharāyih*) or even better as they will be brittle and light and crumble in the mouth when eaten.

They can also be fried but they need to be sprinkled with a little water while frying. This will be similar to fried meat dishes (*galāyā*).

If you like, wind the meat slices while still fresh around reeds or sticks of willow wood (*khlāf*). When they dry out on the sticks, put them in a slow burning *tannūr*, where they will further dry and roast a little. Serve them in a bowl (*ṭayfūriyya*) along with small discs of bread, which can be fried (*aqrās maqluwrwa*) or rolled out thinly and baked (*ruqāq makḥbūz*). You may smear thin bread with *binn* (fermented sauce) or *ṭahīn al-simsim* (tahini) then cut it into slices.³

These foods can be offered as *naql* for those who drink wine.⁴ Small sausages (*laqāniq*) may be offered as *naql*, too.

³ For a *binn* recipe, see Chapter 40 above.

⁴ *Naql* is similar to today's mazza dishes, served with drinks. See Glossary, Section 6.

فيه ذكر الكرفاج على النار من لحم الطيور

POULTRY GRILLED ON A ROTATING SPIT (*KARDHABĀJ*)

A recipe for *kardhabāj* by Ibn ‘Umar:¹

Take some plump Kaskarī pullets or any other fatty birds,² clean them, insert them in the roasting spit, and rotate them above the burning coals. When they are almost done, make holes in their breasts, and put in them *mā’ kāmakh* (liquid fermented sauce). Continue rotating.

Mix olive oil with crushed salt and brush the pullets with it, using a feather. Do this as long as the pullets are rotating. When they are done and browned, pour on them a bit of *mā’ kāmakh* and rotate them. Then take them out of the spit and serve them with a dipping sauce (*ṣibāgh*),³ God willing.

Another *kardhabāj* recipe by Ibn Dihqāna:⁴

Clean some plump pullets, insert them in a roasting spit, and rotate them on the burning coals. (120r)

Prepare thin batter, a little thinner than that of *qaṭāyif*.⁵ When the pullets start dripping their juices, coat them with this batter using three or four feathers tied together. Do this while the pullets are rotating. Continue doing this until the batter sets on the birds then dries and cracks. When this happens, start brushing the pullets with a mixture of *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), olive oil, and black pepper. Keep on doing this until the pullets are done. They will come out scrumptiously tender and juicy (*rakhṣa tayyiba jiddan*), God willing.

¹ ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umar al-Bāzyār companion and confidant of Abbasid Caliphs. See Appendix.

² Kaskar is a district north of Basra famous for its poultry and produce.

³ For sauce recipes, see Chapter 35 above.

⁴ He was boon companion of Abbasid Caliph al-Mu‘tamid (d. 892) and his brother Prince al-Muwaffaq (d. 891). He died in 891. See Appendix.

⁵ Crepes. For recipes see Chapter 102 below.

A Recipe for delicious *kardhabāj* that Abū al-Ṭayyib, Chamberlain of Mu'nīs al-Muẓaffar,⁶ gave to his master Mu'nīs as a gift on a hot summer day:

Choose big and plump pullets, scald them [to remove feathers], clean them, and fumigate them (*yubakkkhar*) with moistened aloe wood (*'ūd nay'*).⁷ Brush them with olive oil and almond oil then submerge them in a mixture of *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) stirred with rose water, black pepper, and cassia.

Insert the pullets into the roasting spit and rotate them on the fire until they brown and almost fall off the bones. Put them whole in sauce (*šibāgh*) made by mixing sour juice of unripe grapes, thyme, basil (*bādharij*), parsley, and a bit of good quality *anjudhān* (dried asafetida leaves). Finally, crush on them some ice. It is a refreshing summer dish.

CHAPTER 91

في صفة السوريات والقرور المغموما

RECIPES FOR *TANNŪRIYYĀT* (DISHES BAKED IN THE *TANNŪR*), AND *MAGHMŪMĀT* (POTPIES)⁸

A recipe for delicious *tannūriyya* [of chicken potpie]:

Boil one chicken (*dajāja*), pullets (*farrīj*) [, or two young fowls] in salt and water.⁹

Take a frying pan and pour tallow and oil into it. Spread bread dough in it to line bottom and sides. Now, take the [boiled] chicken,

⁶ Mu'nīs al-Khādīm al-Mu'taḍidī (d. 933) was the army leader of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadir (d. 932). See Appendix.

⁷ Moistened aloe wood produces more smoke when burning. See Glossary, Section 13.

⁸ *Maghmūmāt* are covered or enveloped dishes. The name applies to the first recipe, which is a kind of chicken pie with two layers of dough, baked in the *tannūr*. Cf *maghmūmāt* dishes in Chapter 74, which are covered with a flat bread and simmered on open fire.

⁹ Al-Warrāq will specify "two fowls" later in the recipe. I amend here the word **فتطجنه** (braise it) in the edited text to **فتصلقه** (boil it) and **فتطبخه** (cook it), as in Istanbul MS (fols. 91r, 273r), since the chicken is cooked in water and salt.

pullets, or the two plump fowls and remove the cavity [wall].¹⁰ Spread the birds flat on the dough in the pan.

Mix finely chopped cilantro and onion with spikenard, cloves, cassia, and black pepper. Pour on them wine vinegar and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). If you prefer, use juice of *zabīb* (raisins) and pomegranate seeds, instead. Add 1 *uskurruja* (½ cup) clarified butter or sweet olive oil (*zayt tayyib*) and 5 eggs. Mix thoroughly all these ingredients and pour them all over the chicken.

Roll out another piece of dough into a disc [for a crust], cover the chicken with it, [and seal together the edges of the dough]. Lower the pan into the [heated] *tannūr* until it is cooked,¹¹ God willing.

A recipe for *tannūriyya* cooked with beans (*lūbyā*):¹²

Soak skinned beans overnight. If you are using beans with skins on, then bruise them to split them into halves before soaking them. Then [after soaking them] wash them very well to get rid of all the skins. Take a similar quantity of good quality rice,¹³ wash it very well, and mix it with the beans.

For each 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) of bean-rice mixture, use 10 *raṭls* (20 cups) of milk.¹⁴ Put them in a pot and add to them meat chopped into small pieces. Alternatively, you may use gizzards (*qawāniṣ*) or meat of a suckling kid (*jedī raḡī*). Also add a small amount of white *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), a piece of galangal, and a piece of cassia.

Cook the pot on slow burning coals while you wait for the *tannūr* to heat up and for flames subside. As soon as the oven is ready, put the pot in the center of the *tannūr* floor.¹⁵ Scald and clean a whole fatty kid or

¹⁰ This will include the backbone and the ribs. The verb *inzaʿ* (إنزع) indicates this part is removed by hand.

¹¹ The imperative verb *dallī* (دلي) indicates that the pan is kept suspended above the burning coals in the *tannūr*, perhaps by putting it on a rack or a similar object.

¹² The recipe in the Oxford MS differs in some details from that of Helsinki's (editors' comment, 235, n. 14). I follow the Oxford version and fill in missing details from the latter.

¹³ Helsinki MS specifies that the variety used is *Mutawakkilī* rice, which apparently is good quality rice.

¹⁴ According to Helsinki MS, the milk should cover the beans and rice by three fingers' width.

¹⁵ From the fifth recipe in the following chapter, we learn that the burning coals are pushed to the sides of the *tannūr* floor, the pot is put in the center, and the bottom vent is closed.

lamb and suspend it over the pot. Sprinkle [the suspended meat] with salted water and seal the *tannūr* with mud, God willing.¹⁶

CHAPTER 92

فِي حَمْلِ الْجَوَادِيبِ تَحْتَ النَّوْرِ السَّوِيِّ السَّافِجِ مِنْهَا وَبِالْحُلُومِ

JAWĀDHĪB BAKED UNDER ROASTING MEAT,¹⁷ PLAIN AND SWEETENED

Jūdhāba by al-Mu‘tamid:¹⁸

Take a whole bread made with the finest *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), let its weight be 1 *raṭl* (1 pound). Cut it into morsel-size pieces, which you then soak in water in a green-glazed bowl (*ghaḍāra*) for about an hour. When bread pieces are saturated and puffed (*rabā*), put them in a *jūdhābadān*.¹⁹ Pour on them 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) honey, 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) *ṭabarzad* sugar,²⁰ and 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) water. There should be enough to cover the bread and a little bit more.²¹ Mix in aromatic spices and saffron, too.

[Put the pan in the bottom center of a hot *tannūr*],²² suspend a plump chicken over the pan, [and let it roast until done,] God willing.

A recipe for jūdhāba of apricot (*mishmish*) from the copy of al-Wāthiq:²³

Choose sweet and fully ripe apricots (121r) and remove the pits. In a clean *jūdhābadān* layer the apricots alternately with a layer of sugar

¹⁶ This dish is similar to *jawādhīb* dishes in the following chapter.

¹⁷ The dish is similar to bread pudding assembled in a pan called *jūdhābadān* جوذابدان. It is baked in the *tannūr* oven with a chunk of meat suspended above so that it receives all the drippings while baking. See Glossary, Section 6, for more information.

¹⁸ Abbasid Caliph (d. 892).

¹⁹ Also called *jūdhābadāna* جوذبادة. It is a big and wide pan with shallow sides, used for baking the bread-pudding mix under the suspended roasting meat in the *tannūr* (based on the description of the pan in the fourth recipe in this chapter).

²⁰ Pure and white cane sugar.

²¹ As mentioned in Helsinki MS.

²² See details in the fifth recipe below.

²³ Abbasid Caliph, known for his big appetite and love for food (d. 847).

until the pan is full. However, before doing this, you should have lined the bottom of the casserole with a thin round of bread (*ruqāqa*), and [after you finish] you need to cover the apricots with another thin round of bread (*ruqāqa*).

If you wish, add a little bit of saffron and drench the apricots and sugar in rose water. [Put the casserole in a hot *tannūr*,] suspend a fine plump chicken above it, [and let it roast], God willing.

A recipe for *jūdhāba* of bananas (*marwz*) by Ibn al-Mahdī:²⁴

Peel the bananas and set them aside. Spread a *ruqāqa* (thin round of bread) in the pan (*jūdhābadān*) and spread a layer of bananas over it. Sprinkle the banana layer with pure sugar, and spread another *ruqāqa* all over it. Repeat the layering of banana, sugar, and *ruqāqa* until the pan is full. Pour enough rose water to drench the layered ingredients, [put the pan in a hot *tannūr*,] suspend a fine chicken over it, [and let it roast] God willing.

Another *jūdhāba* recipe by Ibn al-Mahdī:

Scrape the pith (*lubāb*) from crusts of fine white bread (*samīdh naqī*), which may be *khubz al-furn* (brick-oven bread) or *tannūr* bread. Crumble the pith very well.

Grind skinned almonds, moisten them with water, and add them to the breadcrumbs. Add finely ground pure sugar, as well.

Take a wide pan with low sides [*jūdhābadān*], big enough to accommodate a small *ruqāqiyya* (flat and thin bread). Melt in it some chicken fat or use fresh sesame oil (*shayraj*) and heat it on the fire. Then take the pot away from the fire and line the bottom with a *ruqāqa* (flat thin bread). Spread the crumb-almond-sugar mix all over it and pour 2 *ratls* (4 cups) milk. Sprinkle the surface with rose water and cover it with another *ruqāqa* bread. [Put the casserole in the hot *tannūr*,] suspend a chicken above it [until it is done], God willing.

Another *jūdhāba* recipe:

Use *khubz al-māʿ* (soft and not so thin bread) or *khubz kazmazaj* (dry and thin *ruqāq* bread).²⁵ Take a *jūdhābadān* pan, wash it, and stack whole breads in it [until it is full]. Pour on them enough water to drench them.

²⁴ The Abbasid prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 839).

²⁵ See Chapter 13 above for recipes.

Push the glowing embers to the sides of the *tannūr* and close the bottom vent (*‘ayn al-tannūr*) [while baking]. Put the pan (**121v**) in the middle [of the *tannūr*] and suspend on it a fatty side of ribs (*janb*) or a fine plump chicken.

When you take out the roasted meat from the *tannūr*, the *jūdhāba* will come out looking like *furniyya*.²⁶ Turn it over onto a big serving bowl (*ṭayfuriyya*), sprinkle it with sugar, and serve it [with the meat], God willing.

A recipe for cooked *jūdhāba* (*maṭbūkha*):

Choose a thick round bread (*jardaqa ghalīza*) made with *samīdh* or *huwwārā* flour²⁷ [and set it aside].

Cut lean meat into small pieces and put it in a soapstone pot (*burma*). Add a small amount of clarified butter (*samn*) and honey. Stir in black pepper, cassia, and cloves, all pounded. Let the meat cook [on open fire] before you put it in the *tannūr*.

When the meat is cooked, pour on it some milk mixed with 2 *ūqiyyas* (2 ounces) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), and cook the pot until mixture thickens.

Fill the *jardaqa* (bread) with the meat mixture and put it in the [same] soapstone pot.²⁸ Pour on it milk and clarified butter (*samn*) and break on it some eggs, which you need to stir a little so that they mix with the other ingredients.

Put the pot in the [heated] *tannūr* and suspend above it a fatty side of ribs (*janb*) or a fine plump chicken.

A recipe for *jūdhāba* made with melon (*biṭṭīkh*):

Choose the sweetest you can get of sweet melon (*biṭṭīkh hīlū*), [cut it into wedges] and peel it by slicing off half its thickness [i.e. using the sweetest part of the melon only]. Cut the melon into smaller pieces, put it in a clean pot, and let it cook on slow fire. Stir it until it thickens then, transfer it to a *ghadāra* (green-glazed earthenware bowl) and add ½ *ratl* (½ pound) honey, ½ *ratl* (½ pound) sugar, and 10 eggs.

²⁶ Yeast cake, which is round, thick, and domed in the middle. See Chapter 100 below for recipes.

²⁷ Fine varieties of flour. *Samīdh* is high in starch and bran free; *huwwārā* is also bran free but has more gluten. See Glossary, Section 2.

²⁸ I assume that the top crust and pith are removed from the *jardaqa* (round thick bread) so that it becomes like a pie shell for the meat mix and the other ingredients added.

[Transfer the melon mix into the pan after] you put chicken fat in it. Place the pan in the *tannūr* and suspend a fine plump chicken above it. [Let it roast until it is done then serve it with the melon *jūdhāba*,] God willing.

Another *jūdhāba* with *qaṭāyif* (sweet filled crepes):

Choose *lawzīnaj* (filled pastries similar to baklawa) or *qaṭāyif maḥshuwwa* (filled crepes).²⁹ Spread a layer of these pastries in a pot followed by a layer of [chopped] chicken fat. (122r) [Repeat the layering.]

Beat eggs with 1½ *raṭls* (1½ pounds) honey, 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) pounded sugar, and ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) milk, [and pour the mixture all over the layered pastries in the pot]. Drench the pot with sesame oil or *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil).³⁰ This will prevent the dish from sticking to the pot [when baked].

[Put the pan in the *tannūr*, and] suspend plump chickens above it. The chickens should be unsalted so that salt does not drip into the pot [underneath it while baking]. When the chickens are done, take the *jūdhāba* pan out of the *tannūr*, salt the chickens, and return them to the oven [for a short while to allow them to absorb the salt].

Turn the *jūdhāba* over onto a wide serving bowl (*tayfūriyya*) [and serve it with the chicken], God willing.

***Jūdhāba* made with mulberry (*tūt*) by al-Mahdī:³¹**

Break 10 eggs into a green-glazed bowl (*ghaḍāra*) and add to them ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) juice of black mulberry, and 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) ground white sugar. Beat them together.

Melt for it 2 *ūqiyyas* (2 ounces) chicken fat in a pan and spread in it one *karmāzaj* bread (thin and dry bread).³² Pour the sweet mix all over it, [put it in the heated *tannūr*] and suspend a plump chicken above it, God willing.

²⁹ For recipes, see Chapters 99 and 102 below.

³⁰ This is light and sweet olive oil, free of any acidity. See Glossary, Section 7.

³¹ Abbasid Caliph, father of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 785).

³² See Chapter 13 and Glossary, Section 2, for information on the bread.

A recipe for *jūdhāba zabadiyya* (like sea foam) made for al-Mu‘taṣim:³³

Whip together in a bowl, 20 egg whites, ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) milk, and ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) pounded and sifted white sugar.

Render kidney tallow in a pan, line it with a *ruqāqa* (flat thin bread), and pour the sweet mix into the pot. The pot has to bake in a slow-burning *tannūr*. Suspend a chicken above it.

A recipe for *jūdhāba Nabatiyya*:³⁴

Cut into small pieces a thin *karmāzaja* (dry thin bread),³⁵ put it in a bowl, and pour on it 2½ *raṭls* (5 cups) milk. Break on it 10 eggs and add 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) pounded sugar. Beat the mixture well.

Render 3 *ūqiyyas* (3 ounces) kidney tallow in a pan and discard any sediments remaining. Spread a *ruqāqa* (thin round bread) in the bottom of the pan after you take it away from the fire. Pour into it the sweet mix. Put the pan in the *tannūr* (122v) and suspend above it a fatty side of ribs (*janb*).

Instead of *karmāzaj* bread, you can use bread pith (*hubāb al-khubz*). It would be even more delicious, God willing.

A recipe for *jūdhāba* made with a duck (*baṭṭa*) by Abū Samīn:³⁶

Pick over sweet red raisins (*zabīb aḥmar*). Let them soak overnight then mash and cook them until they fall apart. Strain the juice over *ruqāq* (thin breads) [stacked in a *jūdhabadān* pan], and mix it with some pounded sugar in the *jūdhabadāna* itself. [Put the pan in the *tannūr*] and suspend on it a fat duck or a fatty side of ribs (*janb*).

A recipe for *jūdhāba* made with a duck (*baṭṭa*) by Abū Samīn:

Grind rice after you pick it over. Prepare the pan and put the rice in it along with ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) clarified butter, ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) rendered sheep's tail fat (*alya*), and 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) pounded sugar. [Put the pan in the *tannūr* and] suspend a duck over it.

³³ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Raṣḥīd (d. 842).

³⁴ Indigenous to Iraq. See Appendix, s.v. Nabatī.

³⁵ See Chapter 13 and Glossary, Section 2, for information on the bread.

³⁶ Professional palace chef of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭḥiq (d. 847). This recipe is found in the Oxford MS only. The Helsinki MS gives a different version. See the following recipe.

A recipe for *jūdhāba* with *zabīb* (raisins):³⁷

Pick over *zabīb* and pound it in a mortar and pestle (*hāwan*). [Macerate the pounded raisins in water.] Strain the juice on thin breads [stacked in a *jūdhābadān* pot] and stir into it some pounded sugar. Suspend a fat kid over it, God willing.

A recipe for *jūdhāba* with *qaṭāyif* (crepes):

Line a pan with a layer of *qaṭāyif* followed by a layer of dates, which are fresh, ripe, and moist (*ruṭab* ‘*arīq*).³⁸ Make as many layers as you wish. Pour milk on them, enough to drench them.

Lower the pan in the *tannūr* and suspend above it a plump chicken, pullets, or a side of ribs (*janb*). Put the pan in the *tannūr* an hour before you suspend the meat, God willing.

***Jūdhāba* of truffles (*kam’a*) that looks like *furniyya*:**³⁹

Choose tender cuts of meat and chop on them some fresh herbs, leeks (*kurrāth*), and onion. Give them a sprinkle of salt. Put the mixture on a hard wooden board (*miksār*) and pound it with a cleaver (*sāṭūr*). Season it with ground black pepper, coriander, cumin, and *murri* (liquid fermented sauce).

Peel truffles and pound them with a knife,⁴⁰ as you did with the meat. Season the truffles with spices, put them in a bowl, break on them 10 eggs, and mix well.

Smear the [*jūdhāba*] pan with [pounded] tallow or line it with a sheet of caul fat (*tharb*). Line the bottom of the pot with a layer of the prepared meat followed by a layer of the truffles. Repeat the layering until you use up all your meat and truffles. Cover the layered ingredients with a *ruqāqa* (round and thin bread) to enclose it.

Put the pan in a slow-burning *tannūr* and suspend above it a side of ribs (*janb*), chicken, pullets, a chunk of tallow, or a chunk of sheep’s tail fat. Let the meat roast until it is done and take out the pan. [The *jūdhāba*] will look like *furniyya*. Serve it [with the roasted meat], God willing.

³⁷ This recipe is found in Helsinki MS only.

³⁸ ‘*Arīq* derives from ‘*araq* (literally, ‘sweat’). Date syrup is called ‘*araq al-tamr* because it oozes from the dates like sweat (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. عرق).

³⁹ Yeast cake, which is round, thick, and domed in the middle. See Chapter 100 below for recipes.

⁴⁰ Helsinki MS mentions *sakākīn* (knives).

A recipe for a beautiful *jūdhāba* (*malīḥa*), called *jullābiyya* (made with rose water syrup):⁴¹

Break into pieces the crusts of fine white bread (*raghīf samīdh*) and put them aside. Mix almonds and sugar, 4 *ūqiyyas* (4 ounces) of each (**123r**) and put them aside. Now, prepare 1/3 *ratl* (5 ounces) kidney tallow and moisten the bread [crusts] with rose water.

Put a pan on the fire, render the tallow in it, and discard any remaining sediments. Put the pan away from heat and line it with a *karmāzaj* bread (thin and dry bread).⁴² Spread a layer of the crust pieces that have been moistened in rose water then a layer of almond-sugar mixture. Repeat the layering until you fill the pan.

Pour ½ *ratl* (1 cup) *jullāb* (rose water syrup) all over the layered ingredients. Next, whip some eggs in a bowl and spread them all over the surface to cover it. Lower the pan into a [heated] *tannūr* with a side of ribs (*janb*) or a plump chicken suspended above it. When the meat is done, take the pan out, and remove the egg layer from the top and discard it. Then turn the *jūdhāba* over onto a *ghaḍāra* (large green-glazed bowl), God willing.

A recipe for *jūdhāba*, called al-Manṣūriyya:⁴³

Render and strain ½ *ratl* (½ pound) sheep's tail fat (*alya*) and set it aside.

Take 1/3 *ratl* (5 ounces) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free) and knead it into stiff dough. Set it aside to ferment then slowly feed it with water and knead it, as you do when you make *qatāyif* dough (batter for crepes). Continue doing this until it has the consistency of *qatāyif* [batter].

Heat the *tannūr*. Pour the rendered fat into a *jūdhāba* pan and put it in the *tannūr*. When the fat is heated, pour the batter into the pan.

You should have prepared a 2-yard long hollow reed. Stick it in the middle of the pan and start feeding the batter with strained and skimmed honey through the hollow reed.⁴⁴ Do this slowly and gradually until the batter has its fill of the honey and it is fully baked.

⁴¹ Ibn Sīnā's recipe for *jullāb* (p.1229) calls for 2 pounds sugar, ½ cup water, and ¼ cup rose water, made into syrup on low heat.

⁴² See Chapter 13 and Glossary, Section 2, for information on the bread.

⁴³ Perhaps named after Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, founder of the 'City of Peace' Baghdad (d. 775).

⁴⁴ Honey was usually boiled before it was used. The resulting froth was skimmed, and the honey strained.

It will come out like a honeycomb (*kuwar al-zanābīr*), delicious and scrumptious (*ladhīdhā tayyiba*), God willing.

Here is a poem on *jūdhāba* by abū al-Faḥḥ Kūshājīm:⁴⁵

Jūdhāba with excellent *samīdh* flour made,⁴⁶ like a lovesick lover, yellow.

(123v) A wonder, luminously bright, made by a cook superbly proficient.

Perfectly cooked like ripe and crisp dates (*busr*) with a rosy hue, created by God.

With Ahwāz sugar infused.⁴⁷ Much sweeter than the luminous morning star.

Drowned in jiggling fat, the mere breath of a taster would turn it round.

Moist and soft like butter, and in fragrance, excellent ambergris exhales.

You see it approaching on a platter, like a shining star at dusk.

Like an agate intensely yellow, on the smooth neck of a slave girl, young and luscious.

Much sweeter than the 'green light,' a palpitating lover anxious after midnight, sees.

Another poet said this about it:

Jūdhāba, cornelian in color, and in taste, if you ask me, luscious nectar.

From pure sugar made and of the purest saffron ground.

Smothered in chicken fat, liberally drowned more than the drowned.

In taste delicious, and as golden as saffron in hue.

Enveloped in a crisp crust, like a collar holding a dress.

Aerial and light, a mere puff in a dish would turn it round, immeasurably sweet.

⁴⁵ See Appendix, s.v. Kūshājīm. Both this poem and the following one occur in the same order in al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj* (696).

⁴⁶ In al-Mas'ūdī, *aruz* (rice) is mentioned instead of *samīdh*.

⁴⁷ A region in Persia.

فِي حَمَلِ الْفَالُوذِ حَمَلِ الْمَعْقُورَاتِ وَالْمَعْلُكَاتِ

FĀLŪDHĀJĀT (CONDENSED PUDDINGS, GOLDEN AND TRANSLUCENT), THICK (*MA‘QŪD*) AND CHEWY (*MU‘ALLAK*)⁴⁸

A recipe with measurements for *fālūdhaj al-khulafā*’ (pudding of the caliphs):⁴⁹

Take as much as you wish of good quality white honey (*‘asal abyad*).⁵⁰ Pour it into a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom). Light a slow fire underneath it, [bring it to a boil], skim the froth (124r), and strain it with a *rāwūq*.⁵¹ Return the honey to the *ṭanjīr* after you put in it fresh sesame oil, half the amount of honey used.

In a green-glazed bowl (*ghaḍāra*), dissolve starch (*nashā*) in cold water, rose water, and camphor. The amount of the starch should be fifth or sixth the amount [by weight] of honey used. The amount of the liquid should be the same as the weight of the starch used.

When honey and sesame oil come to a boil, pour the dissolved starch and stir the pot all the time until the mixture thickens and the oil separates and comes up.

You need to keep on stirring the pot with the *istām* (paddle-like iron spatula) so that the pudding does not stick to the pot. It is also important to taste the starch before using it to make sure it has not soured.

You have the option [of making the pudding yellow] by adding some saffron to the starch liquid before using it. You can also toast as much as you like of skinned almonds, leave them whole or break them into pieces, and stir them into the cooking pot.

⁴⁸ Etymologically, *fālūdhaj* derives from the Persian *pālūda*, which means, among other things, ‘strained,’ ‘gilded,’ ‘clear,’ and “sweet flummery” (like jelly, Steingass). This starch-based dessert is a refined variation on *khabiṣ* dessert dishes to which al-Warrāq dedicates four more chapters (following this one). *Fālūdhaj*, especially the chewy variety, is similar to what nowadays is known in the Arab world as *hulqūm* and *luqum*, and in the Western world, ‘Turkish delight’. See Glossary, Section 5.

⁴⁹ I translate here the recipe in the Oxford MS because it is more detailed and more coherent than the version in Helsinki MS. The measurements the latter gives are: for 1 pound honey, use ½ pound oil and ¼ pound starch.

⁵⁰ Also called *‘asal mādhī*, light-colored, smooth, and thin in consistency.

⁵¹ A large strainer used mostly for filtering wine into smaller vessels.

So, when the pudding thickens and the oil separates and comes up, put the pot away from the fire.⁵² Spread the pudding on a sturdy platter (*jām*) that has been greased with oil of pistachio or almond.⁵³ Take some *sukkar al-ubliḡ* (refined white sugar),⁵⁴ crush it with musk, sprinkle it all over the dessert, and serve it, God willing.

A recipe for chewy *fālūdḥaj*, fit for royalty (*mulūkiyya*):⁵⁵

Put 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) honey in a clean *tanjūr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and light the fire under it. [When it comes to a boil,] skim its froth and pour on it ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) olive oil,⁵⁶ *shayraj* (sesame oil), or fresh clarified butter (*samn*). Let it cook on a low-heat fire until it comes to several good full boils.

Finely pound 1/3 *raṭl* (5 ounces) sweet starch in a mortar and taste it lest it should be sour. Add water, rose water, and crushed camphor or musk, and knead them together. Do not let it be too thin in consistency. In fact, it will be better if it is rather thick. Add ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) saffron to it and stir it into the pot.

Keep stirring the pot from the moment you put it on the fire until you take it away from it. Do not neglect this for the secret of good *fālūdḥaj* is good quality honey and starch, and constant stirring (*darb*).

When the pudding starts to thicken, gradually feed it with more and more fat (124v), beating all the time until fat starts to separate from the pudding and comes up. Now, start removing the fat as it comes up while you beat the pudding. Do this until *fālūdḥaj* develops the desired color and thickness. Remove all the remaining separated fat and put the pot away from the fire.

Ladle (and spread) the pudding on a platter, God willing.

If you want to make it extremely chewy in consistency (*mu'allaka shādīdan jiddan*), use more honey and less starch, thicken the pudding

⁵² From the following recipes, we learn that this oil is to be removed. The more oil removed the drier the *fālūdḥaj* will be (this remark is made by the anonymous writer of thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook *Anwā' al-Sydala* 208). Evidently, the removed oil has its uses. In Ibn Jazla's entry on *isfanākhīyya* (spinach stew), rendered fat of sheep's tail (*alya*) and oil of *fālūdḥaj* are drizzled on the dish when it is ladled (fol. 22r).

⁵³ This pudding is served spread on a platter probably to about 1-inch thickness, judging from today's traditional practices.

⁵⁴ I amend here *ulmūḥ* in the edited text to *ubliḡ* (refined white sugar sold in solid conical masses), based on Istanbul MS (fol. 276v). See Glossary, Section 5.

⁵⁵ This confection is similar to the so-called 'Turkish delight.'

⁵⁶ Olive oil used in such recipes is usually washed (*zayt maghsūl*) because it is sweet, light, and free of acidity. See Glossary, Section 7.

as mentioned above, and let it cook much longer. It will come out very chewy, God willing.

***Fālūdhaj* made for ‘Īsā bin Ja‘far:**⁵⁷

Take as much as you wish of excellent quality honey, put it in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom), [bring it to a boil] and skim its froth.

Now add starch dissolved in water (*mā’ al-nashāstaj*).⁵⁸ For each *raṭl* (1 pound) of honey, use 1 *uskurruja* (½ cup) of the dissolved starch. [Before adding it to the honey] color the dissolved starch with saffron or *mā’ bustān abrawīz*.⁵⁹ Let the starch solution be thick.

Light a slow fire underneath the pot. Let the pudding cook on low heat, beating with the *isṭām* (paddle-like iron spatula). When the pudding begins to thicken, start feeding it [gradually] with fresh good quality clarified butter or fresh sesame oil.

You keep on feeding the pudding with fat after you have put a sufficient amount of the [dissolved] sweet starch.⁶⁰ Continue cooking it until it thickens and separates from its oil. Put the pot away [from the fire and serve it], God willing.

A recipe for *fālūdhaj* made with rice (*aruzz*):⁶¹

Wash picked over good quality rice in hot water and drain it. Repeat this procedure three times and then put the rice in a sunny place and let it dry completely. Pound the rice as fine as possible and sift it using *waqqāya* (silken or linen veil) or a piece of silken cloth.

If you want to use only rice in making the pudding, then use ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) rice flour for each 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) of honey.

So when ready, put honey in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) [bring it to a boil] and skim its froth. Next, pour on the honey what equals half its weight of fresh sesame oil (*shayraq*) and boil it.

Dissolve rice flour, amount as needed, in a little water, rose water, and 1 *qirāṭ* (¼ gram) ground camphor. Pour this mixture into the pot (**125r**) and stir continuously with *isṭām* (paddle-like iron spatula). You

⁵⁷ Abbasid prince, cousin of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. c. 800). See Appendix.

⁵⁸ *Nashāstaj* is the full name for *nashā* (starch).

⁵⁹ Also called *bustān abrūz/afrūz*, and *ḥayy al-‘ālam*. It is the liquid dye extracted from houseleek. See Glossary, Section 12.4.

⁶⁰ Good quality starch should not taste sour.

⁶¹ This recipe has different details from the one given in Helsinki. See the following recipe.

need to keep on stirring until pudding thickens and separates from its fat.

So when pudding starts to thicken, feed it with fresh butter gradually [and continue stirring] until it throws up its fat (*yaqdhif duhnahu*). Remove the separated fat, put the pot away from the fire, spread the pudding [on a platter], and sprinkle it with *ṭabarṣad* sugar (crushed white cane sugar), God willing.

A recipe for *fālūdhaj* made with rice (*aruzz*):⁶²

Choose Levantine rice (*ruzz Shāmī*) or Yemenite (*Ṣabīdī*).⁶³ These are the best and whitest rice varieties available. Wash the rice in hot water, and drain it. Repeat this three times then put it in a clean tub (*ijjāna*) or any other similar container. Pour on it milk, enough to submerge it. Sheep milk is the best for it. Let the rice soak in milk for three nights and days. However, you need to renew the milk twice a day [once during the day and once during the night] by draining the rice and soaking it in a fresh batch of milk. This is to prevent it from changing and developing a sour taste. After that, wash it thoroughly in milk.

You also have the option of soaking the rice in milk during the night, [drain it in the morning] and let it dry out during the day, and repeat this procedure until three nights of soaking are completed. This would be good, too, God willing.

[Now, to make the pudding] you have the option of crushing the rice while still damp [after straining it from the milk] until it becomes as soft as bone marrow, or you may let it dry and then grind and sift it.

Mix the rice with one third of its weight good quality starch free of any sourness. Add milk to moisten them. Beat the mixture then strain it [to get rid of lumps] and set it aside.

Put the ground rice and starch mix in a clean *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom). Add good quality honey, the amount of which should be half of the rice mix in the pot. If you wish, substitute honey with *ṭabarṣad* sugar (crushed white cane sugar) or *Sulaymānī* (crushed hard sugar-candy), which is even better.

Fit the *ṭanjīr* on a trivet made of clay (*ibkadān min ṭīn*).⁶⁴ Let the pot

⁶² This is the version of the Helsinki MS. It is labor intensive.

⁶³ Named after Zabīd, a city in Yemen.

⁶⁴ ابكدان من طين I take the first two letters to be ‘in,’ for adding the initial *hamza* is one of the idiosyncrasies indigenous to the Iraqi dialectic. كدان might simply be

cook on low heat and stir it constantly. When it begins to thicken, start gradually feeding it with clarified butter or oil and keep stirring the pot until it cooks and thickens.

Put the *ṭanjīr* away from the fire, [remove the separated oil,] and spread the pudding on a platter. Crush *ṭabarzad* sugar (crushed, white cane sugar) and sprinkle it all over.

Fālūdḥaj cooked this way will come out good and translucent (*ṣāfī*).

A recipe for *mu'allaka* (chewy pudding) by al-Amīn,⁶⁵ called al-Amīn's showcase (*mu'arraḍa*):⁶⁶

Take one part bruised skinned almonds, two parts pure *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar), and one part honey.

[Bring honey to a boil] and skim its froth. Cook sugar [in another pot until it dissolves and comes to a boil] and remove its froth.

Mix honey with sugar and let them cook on medium fire. Add the almonds and stir the pot until mixture is condensed. When it is fully cooked, stir into it a small amount of rose water mixed with crushed musk or camphor. Do this just once (*fum wāḥid*). Take the pot away from the fire, God willing.

A recipe for *fālūdḥaj* made without starch by Ḥāmid:⁶⁷

Put 1 *ratl* (1 pound) honey in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom), bring it to a boil on the fire, and skim the froth. Put the pot away from the heat and set it aside until it cools down.

Using a knife, beat 15 egg yolks—do not put any of the egg whites—and stir them into the cooled honey. Put the pot back to the fire, add $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) good quality fresh sesame oil, and let it cook on low-heat fire. Stir the pot constantly until it has the consistency of *fālūdḥaj*. Add skinned almonds.

If you want to have it thicker, then cook it longer [stirring all the time]. Otherwise, you may take it away from the fire and serve it, God willing.

an abbreviated form of ديكدان trivet.

⁶⁵ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 813).

⁶⁶ According to *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. عرض, *al-mu'arraḍa* (of women) was the virgin 'displayed' in the neighborhood so that she may be seen by eligible prospective husbands. After that she was kept in the house waiting for a suitor.

⁶⁷ Ḥāmid bin al-ʿAbbās (d. 923), vizier of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadir.

A recipe for *fālūdḥaj* made with melon (*biṭṭīkh*):

Choose 5 very sweet melons, cut them into wedges. Slice off the rind but do not slice it thinly [to ensure that you keep only the sweet section of the melon].

Press and crush the pulp by hand. Strain it into a big bowl using a wide sieve of hair (*munkḥul sha'r*) to get rid of all lumps and hard particles.

Mix ½ *ratl* (½ pound) starch (125v) with ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) crushed saffron, and stir them into 2 *ūqīyyas* (¼ cup) water. Put 2 *ratls* (2 pounds) honey in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and strain into it the starch mixture. Add as well the [strained] melon.

Light slow fire underneath the pot and cook the mixture [stirring all the time] until it thickens. Start feeding it with fat and continue cooking [constantly stirring] until it is done and the fat has separated from the pudding. [Remove the fat and] put the pot away from heat. Spread the pudding on a platter. If you prefer it to be sweeter, add a little sugar to the melon [when you mash it] and serve it, God willing

A recipe for [*fālūdḥaj*], condensed and chewy (*ma'qūda mu'allaka*):

Put in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom), one part honey and one third of its weight fresh almond oil or sesame oil. [Bring them to a boil], remove the froth, and start stirring the mixture vigorously on low heat until it almost thickens.

Mix 1 *uskurruja* (½ cup) sweet starch [free of any sourness] with 3 *uskurrujas* (1½ cups) water. Add saffron or *mā' bustān abrawīz*.⁶⁸ Strain the starch solution using a piece of fine cloth (*khirqā raqīqa*) and take the amount you need for the pudding. The starch in its dry form [before dissolving it in water] should weigh 1/6 of the weight of the honey used for the pudding.

Now, pour the starch solution into the pot and continue cooking on medium heat. Stir the pot constantly until the mixture greatly thickens and its oil starts to separate. Remove the oil as it separates and comes up until two thirds of it is gone.

Put the pot away from the fire and spread the pudding on a platter (*jām*) that has been greased with pistachio oil.

⁶⁸ Liquid dye extracted from houseleek. See Glossary, Section 12.4.

فِي حَمَلِ النَّخِيصِ الرُّطْبِ بِالزَّبَدِ وَالتَّيْرِجِ الْعَذْبِ

MAKING *KHABĪṢ RAṬB* (MOIST CONDENSED
PUDDINGS) WITH BUTTER AND SWEET SESAME OIL¹

A recipe for white *khabīṣ*:

Take cane sugar (*sukkar al-fīndh*).² [Put it in a pot and] dissolve it [with some water] on the fire.³ Remove any impurities with egg whites.⁴ Let it boil on the fire until it develops the consistency of thick syrup then pour on it half its weight of fat (*duhn*). It can be sesame oil, clarified butter, or fresh *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil).⁵

Prepare a quarter of the sugar weight sweet starch [i.e. free of sourness]. Knead it with water and thin it with rose water and camphor. When the syrup (*jullāb*) comes to a boil with the fat (**126r**), add the starch solution (*mā' al-nashā*). Let mixture cook [while constantly stirring] until its fat separates and comes up (*qadhafa duhnahu*). Take the pot away from heat.

Sprinkle on it a small amount of ground and sifted *lubb al-ublīj al-naqī*,⁶ and beat it into the *khabīṣ* mixture. When dessert cools down, you will see the benefit of adding the sugar.⁷

Spread the *khabīṣ* on a platter and sprinkle on it pounded sugar perfumed with musk (*misk*).

¹ Fat used in this dessert is not removed as in *fālūdḥaj* puddings in the previous chapter. This makes the dessert soft and moist. Due to some differences between the Oxford and Helsinki MSS in most of the recipes in this chapter, both versions are given. The translation of recipes here follows the Oxford version, using Helsinki's to amend the text where needed.

² It is called *sukkar al-qand* in Istanbul MS (fol. 277v). See Glossary, Section 5.

³ I follow here the Istanbul version, repeated twice the same way, replacing (فَتَجْعَلُهُ) 'put it' with (فَتَحْلُهُ) 'dissolve it' (fols. 92v, 277v).

⁴ The coagulating egg whites attract all impurities, which makes getting rid of them easier.

⁵ See Glossary, Section 7.

⁶ Refined white sugar sold in solid conical masses. See Glossary, Section 5, s.v. *sukkar al-ublīj*.

⁷ Probably the added sugar will give the pudding some stiffness needed because decorations are to be built on the spread pudding, as shown in the following steps.

Make triangles of sugar [candy] and color them. Color skinned almonds red, yellow, and green. Prepare shelled pistachio, too.

Order some *nāṭif* ‘*asal ‘ala al-mismār*’ (pulled honey taffy) to be made for you.⁸ While it is still hot [and malleable], make it into strings (*yusalsal*). Twist them like ropes (*yudfar*),⁹ shape them into a dome, and put it in the middle of the *khabīṣ* spread on the platter. Arrange [in decorative patterns] on this dome all the dyed almonds and pistachios [you have prepared]. Also, arrange the rest of the decorations [dyed triangles of sugar candy] all around the dome, God willing.

***Khabīṣa* recipe by al-Ma’mūn:**¹⁰

Put 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) good quality honey in a *ṭanḡīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom), light the fire underneath it, [bring it to a boil, and] skim the froth.

Stir 2/3 *dirhams* (2 grams) saffron in a small amount of rose water, and pour it into the pot to color the honey.

You should have prepared 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) skinned and ground almonds. Mix them with a an equal amount of refined pounded sugar and sprinkle them with rose water. Add this mixture to the pot and stir [constantly].

Now, pour into the pot 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) fresh sesame oil. When it begins to boil, sprinkle it with ¼ *raṭl* (4 ounces) *samīḍh* *ḥuwārā* flour.¹¹ Keep stirring the pot constantly until mixture thickens. Put the pot away from the heat and continue stirring the pot until it cools down.

⁸ Literally, ‘honey candy made on the nail.’ In one of the following recipes, it is mentioned as *nāṭif al-mismār* (nail candy). According to a pulled honey taffy recipe in al-Tujībī’s thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook *Fidālat al-Kḥiwān*, honey is cooked until it thickens then it is spread on a marble slab until it is cool enough to handle. The honey sheet is hung to a big nail (*mismār*) hammered into the wall. The honey sheet is pulled and folded several times until it looks white (245).

The cook cannot make *nāṭif* (candy) and *khabīṣ* at the same time. *Nāṭif* needs to be worked with while still hot, and *khabīṣ* needs constant stirring and attention.

⁹ I amend here the word يظفر to يضر, a copyists’ common spelling mistake. The first word means ‘press with the fingernail *ẓufr*,’ redundant in the given context. The second means ‘plait’ or ‘twist strands into ropes.’

¹⁰ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 833). This dessert and its name found its way to the medieval Christian West. In the Latin *Liber de Coquina* (written around the end of the thirteenth-century), it was called *mamonía* (Rodinson, “Ma’mūniyya,” 191).

¹¹ Istanbul MS has it written the same way, too (fol. 278r). *Samīḍh* and *ḥuwārā* are two types of fine, bran-free wheat flour. The former is high in starch, whereas the latter has less starch and more gluten. *Samīḍh* *ḥuwārā* can be a variety of *samīḍh* flour that has more gluten in it.

Spread the dessert on a flat glass platter (*jām zujāj mabsūt*),¹² sprinkle it with powdered sugar (*daqīq al-sukkar*) and serve it, God willing.

A recipe for *khabīṣ gharīb* (exotic):

Take 2 *ratls* (2 pounds) honey. Also take 2 *ratls* (4 cups) milk of cow, sheep, or goat, and dissolve in it ½ *ratl* (½ pound) starch.

Boil [the honey], remove its froth (**126v**), and add the starch liquid. Let the pot cook on low fire until mixture thickens (*yanʿaqid*) [stirring all the time].

Add fat (*duhn*), it can be walnut oil, which is the best for it, or enhanced sesame oil (*shayraj tayyib*), or butter (*zubd*).¹³ Keep stirring the pot and do not slacken.

To test for doneness, dip a twig into the pot. If the mixture sticks to it, put the pot away from the fire at once, otherwise the mixture will soon burn and develop a burning stench (*tadkhīn*).

Empty the pudding into 4 bowls, one big, and three small ones after you have greased them with walnut oil so that the pudding will not stick to them. Spread a *ruqāqa* (flat thin bread) in a *ṭayfūriyya* (big wide bowl), turn the big bowl over onto the middle section of the bread, and space the smaller ones around it. Dot the [*khabīṣ* mounds] with drops of saffron [steeped in some water], God willing.

A recipe for *khabīṣ ṭarīf* (unusual) by Salīm al-Ḥalāwī:¹⁴

Moisten starch with water, amount of which depends on how much starch is being used. Knead mixture, put it in a bowl, cover it with a piece of cloth, and set it aside for an hour.

Put fresh sesame oil in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom). After the oil heats up, put the pot away from the fire, strain the oil, return it to the pot, and bring it to a boil [again]. Add the dissolved starch after you stir it and taste it to make sure it has not developed a sour taste.

Cook the pot on low heat, stirring constantly. Do not let it burn. Check for doneness by tasting a small amount. If it does not stick to your mouth, then it is cooked.

¹² As specified in Helsinki MS.

¹³ Or clarified butter (*samn*), as in Helsinki MS.

¹⁴ It is written as Sulaymān in the Helsinki and Istanbul MSS. I have not been able to identify the person mentioned here. Possibly, he was a famous contemporary professional confectioner in Baghdad, especially if we consider this elaborately ornamented dessert ascribed to him.

Now start adding pounded and sifted sugar by sprinkling it bit by bit. Though quantity depends on how sweet you want the pudding to be, the extra amount of sugar added will help give it a moist texture. Keep on stirring.

When *khabīṣ* is done, spread it on a platter, sprinkle it with pounded and sifted *ṭabarzād* sugar (white cane sugar), and garnish it with skinned almonds and shelled pistachio. You may color them red and yellow and use them. Make *nāṭif al-mismār* of honey (pulled taffy).¹⁵ While it is still hot [and malleable], form it into strings and shape them into a dome in the middle of the *khabīṣ*, as we described earlier [in the first recipe]. Make a *ṣawma'a* (minaret-like shape) in the middle of the dome so that it looks like a building. If you further decorate the dome by adding more candy strings in different colors, it will look even prettier, God willing.

Another recipe:

(127r) Grind skinned almonds, let them be as fine as flour, and sift them through a fine-mesh sieve (*munkhul ṣafīq*). Put almond flour in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and pour on it a small amount of rose water. Add water, the same amount by weight as that of the almonds. Add as well pounded and sifted sugar, three times the amount of the almonds. Pour walnut oil. Start a slow fire underneath the pot and let it cook, stirring constantly until it is done [i.e. becomes thick].

If you want the pudding yellow, add saffron steeped in water while it is still cooking in the pot. It is quite unusual (*ṭarīf jiddan*) and delicious.

A recipe for *khabīṣ* of poppy seeds (*khashkhāsh*):

Prepare 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) fresh sesame oil (*shayray*) or any other fat that tastes good in desserts (*halāwa*), ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), and 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) honey and sugar [1 pound each?].

Put the fat in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and add the flour to it. Light low-heat fire underneath the pot and [fold and stir] the flour until it is fried.

Stir in the honey. Crush and sift the sugar and then add it by sprinkling it into the pot while you are constantly stirring.

When the mixture thickens (*yan'aqid*), stir into it a little saffron

¹⁵ See n. 8 above.

steeped in rose water, as well as 2 *ūqīyyas* (2 ounces) pounded white poppy seeds, which you add by sprinkling bit by bit.

You should keep on stirring the pot from start to end. When the pudding thickens and separates from its oil, take the pot away from heat. Let it cool down, sprinkle it with pounded sugar, stir it, and flatten it on a platter.

***Khabīṣa Ma'mūniyya*:¹⁶**

Take 1 *ratl* (1 pound) ground skinned almonds and a similar amount of fat. Put them in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom).

In another *ṭanjīr*, put 1½ *ratls* (1½ pounds) sugar and 1 *ratl* (1 pound) honey. Pour 1 *ratl* (2 cups) rose water on them, and boil the mixture.

Start cooking the pot that has almonds and fat in it on low heat, and keep cooking until almonds are browned. Sprinkle on mixture two handfuls of fine *samūdḥ* flour (high in starch and bran free) bit by bit, [until flour is toasted].

Pour the boiled syrup on the almond mixture. Steep 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) saffron in a small amount of water and stir it into the pudding. Continue stirring until it thickens and separates from its fat. (127v) Take the pot away from the fire, spread the pudding on a platter, and serve it, God willing.

A recipe for dry and white *khabīṣ* by him, too

[al-Ma'mūn]:¹⁷

Skin 1½ *ratls* (1½ pounds) almonds. Split them into halves and cut each half lengthwise into 4 slivers. Set them aside to dry.¹⁸

Boil 3 *ratls* (3 pounds) honey [in a *ṭanjīr*], skim the froth, and continue cooking until it thickens. Put the pot away from the fire and stir it until it cools down. Add whites of 7 eggs and stir the mixture [on low heat] until it cooks and turns white. It should thicken and look like *nāṭif* (nougat). To test [whether it is thick enough] dip the tip of a toothpick (*khilāl*) in the mixture then strike it on your fingernail. If it does not stick, it is done.

When fully cooked, put the pot away from the fire and stir into it the prepared almonds. Using a rolling pin (*shawbaq*), flatten mixture on a wooden board (*khīwān*) or a slab of marble (*rukḥāma*) and roll it up like

¹⁶ See note 10 above.

¹⁷ This recipe will be repeated in Chapter 96 below under the title, “A recipe for white *khabīṣa* made for al-Ma'mūn.”

¹⁸ Almonds were skinned by boiling them lightly first, as is still done today.

a *bazmāward*.¹⁹ When the roll is cold and firm enough, cut it crosswise into slices, as you do with *bazmāward*. Arrange the pieces on a platter, God willing.

***Khabīṣa muwallada* (non-Arab) by Hāmid:**²⁰

Take a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and put in it 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) sugar and 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) honey. Add 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) water. Let the pot cook on low fire and skim the froth. Steep ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) saffron in rose water, add it to the pot, and cook it for a little bit longer.

Empty the syrup [into a container and put it aside]. Wipe the pot and put in it 1¼ *raṭls* (2 ½ cups) sesame oil.

Take pounded and sifted crumbs of *kaʿk* (dry sweet cookies), starch, fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), and rice flour (*daqīq al-aruzz*), 2 *ūqīyyas* (2 ounces) each. Mix them and dissolve them in water.

When the oil in the pot is hot enough, add the starch mixture and keep stirring until it thickens. Pour the prepared syrup and continue stirring, lightly and quickly (*khafīfan sarīʿan*) until it throws up (*qadhafa*) its oil.²¹ Put the pot away from heat, spread the dessert on a platter, and serve it, God willing.²²

A recipe for *khabīṣ murmal* by Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī:²³

Heat 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) fresh sesame oil, butter, or fresh and sweet olive oil in a clean *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom). (128r) Add ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) *samīdh al-ḥuwwārā*,²⁴ and cook it in the oil. Stir

¹⁹ A cylindrical sandwich served in slices. For *bazmāward* recipes, see Chapter 23 above.

²⁰ Hāmid bin al-ʿAbbās (d. 923), vizier of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadir.

²¹ In Helsinki MS, the verb used is *taqayyaʿa*, literally, ‘throw up’ and ‘vomit.’ Both verbs are used in the sense that the oil separates and rises to the surface.

²² According to the Helsinki version, the starchy ingredients along with ½ *ūqīyya* (15 grams) almonds, which have been clipped with clippers (*miqrād*) into small pieces, are fried in the oil first until browned then the syrup is added.

²³ The famous Abbasid singer during the time of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd. According to *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. رمل, *khabīṣ* is called *murmāl* when it is stirred and thickened to the point it holds a firm shape and leaves streaks when stirred. Pudding will develop a crumbly (*mufattat*) texture when it cools down.

²⁴ *Samīdh* and *ḥuwwārā* are two types of fine, bran-free wheat flour. The former is high in starch, whereas the latter has less starch and more gluten. *Samīdh ḥuwwārā* can be a variety of *samīdh* flour that has more gluten in it.

vigorously all the time and do not slacken to prevent the flour from burning. When flour is [evenly] toasted (*taḥammaṣa*), add $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) water to moisten the mixture, and stir it.

Take 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) pounded clean and refined sugar and sprinkle it [gradually] on the mixture in the pot, stirring constantly until pudding thickens and its oil separates.

Immediately take the pot away from the heat and put it on the floor to cool down. Sprinkle a platter with *Sulaymānī* sugar (crushed hard sugar-candy), spread the *ḵhabīṣ* over it, sprinkle its surface with white pounded sugar, and serve it, God willing.

A recipe for *ḵhabīṣa murmala* by Iṣḥāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī:²⁵

Prepare $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ pound) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free).²⁶

Take a clean *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and put in it $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* (1 cup) *zayt maghsūl* (washed olive oil) with a pinch of salt. Add the flour as soon as the oil heats. It should be enough to make the oil look dry. Stir the pot vigorously—do not neglect this—until the flour toasts and browns a little (*yahmarr*).

Pound three handfuls of *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar), add it to the pot along with a small amount of water. Cook and stir the pot until the mixture looks dry (*yanshaf*). The cooking fire should be gentle.

Add *Sulaymānī* sugar (crushed hard sugar-candy) to the pot, enough to sweeten it, and stir. Take the pot away from the fire and set it on the floor to cool down.

Sprinkle *Sulaymānī* sugar on a platter, spread the *ḵhabīṣ* on it, and sprinkle the top with pounded white sugar, God willing.

***Ḵhabīṣ raṭb* (moist) by Abū al-Mu‘alla al-Ḥalawānī:**²⁷

Take $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ pound) sifted fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free) and fry it in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom),

²⁵ This is the version given in the Helsinki MS of the above recipe. It will be repeated in Chapter 97 below, as “A recipe for *ḵhabīṣ murmal*, also known as *mufattat*.” This kind of pudding is still made in Iraq, where it is called *ramliyya* ‘crumbly and grainy like sand.’

²⁶ The repeated recipe in Chapter 97 calls for *daqīq huwwārā* which is fine white flour, free of bran. Compared with *samīdh* flour, it has less starch and more gluten.

²⁷ I have not been able to identify this person. Possibly, he was a contemporary famous confectioner in Baghdad, as the name Ḥalawānī suggests.

which already contains $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) fresh sesame oil or fresh sweet and mellow olive oil (*zayt 'adhb*). Let the flour fry until it develops a golden hue (*yaṣfarr*). Put the pot away from the fire. Empty the flour into a green-glazed bowl (*ghadāra*) and set it aside to cool down.

Return the *tanjīr* to the fire, wipe it, and pour into it 2 *ratls* (2 pounds) refined honey, which has already been [boiled] and its froth skimmed. When it is heated, sprinkle on it the cooked flour, using your hand, until you finish the whole amount [stirring constantly]. When the mixture thickens, add more honey and a little rose water, and stir constantly until the mixture looks smooth and well blended.

Feed the mixture with $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* (1 cup) sesame oil and stir the pudding until its oil separates. Cut the heat from underneath the pot and sprinkle it with a little rose water and camphor. It will still have some moisture in it. Put the pot on the floor and continue stirring it for a while (*sā'a* hour) until it loses its heat.

Spread the pudding on [a platter sprinkled with] pounded sugar and drench its surface generously with pounded sugar. Garnish it with skinned almonds, colored red and yellow, and serve it. It is quite delicious, God willing.

CHAPTER 95

فِي حَمْلِ الْخَبِصِ مِنَ السَّرِّ وَالنَّقَامِ وَالْجَزَارِ

MAKING *KHABĪṢ* (CONDENSED PUDDINGS)
OF DATES, APPLES, AND CARROTS²⁸

[*Khabīṣ al-jazar* (carrots)]:²⁹

Choose fresh, tender, and sweet carrots. Peel them and thinly slice them crosswise. For each *ratl* (1 pound) of honey, use 3 *ratls* (3 pounds) of these carrots.

Boil the honey and remove its froth. Pound the carrot in a stone mortar. (128v)

Set a clean *tanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) on a

²⁸ I follow here the Oxford MS version of the chapter's recipes to avoid duplication, unless otherwise stated.

²⁹ The recipe is not given a title.

trivet on the fire,³⁰ and put in it the skimmed honey and carrots. Cook the mixture on medium fire until the carrots falls apart.

Add walnut oil to the pot. For each *raṭl* (1 pound) of honey used, add 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) oil. Pistachio oil will be the best for it, but you can also use fresh oil of almond or sesame. Add the oil before the honey starts to thicken. However, you do not need to stir the pot. You only scrape the bottom gently when mixture starts to thicken to prevent it from sticking to it. To check for doneness, use a stick or a spoon to see whether the pudding is thick enough or not yet.

When pudding becomes thick, put the pot down, and spread the dessert on a copper platter (*jām nuḥās*). Set it aside to cool down [before serving]. It will be firm and delicious.

A recipe for white *khabīṣ*: [repeated from the previous chapter, Helsinki's version of the first recipe]

A recipe for *khabīṣ* of carrots (*jazar*) and dates (*tamr*):

Take as much as you like of similar amounts of sweet and tender carrots, milk, and dates. Put them in a clean soapstone pot, which you lower into a *tannūr* heated with medium fire. Close the bottom vent (*rawwāḡ*) but leave a finger-wide opening.

Let the pot simmer until the ingredients fall apart. Take it out, and add ground walnuts and ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) ground spikenard and ginger. Beat the mixture very well.

If the pudding turns out to be too sweet and thin, add breadcrumbs. If it turns out perfect—sweet and thick enough—add fresh sesame oil and ladle it with its oil into platters. If it turns out deficient in sugar and too thin in consistency, beat the mixture and return the pot to the *tannūr* until it thickens. When pudding is done, drench it in sesame oil [and serve it], God willing.

A recipe for *khabīṣ* of carrots:³¹

Put as much as you like of milk in a soapstone pot (*burma*). Do not use a *ṭanṣūr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom). Light low-heat fire underneath it and let it cook stirring constantly so that it does not scorch.

Boil carrots, and cut them into fingers. Add them to the milk with

³⁰ The verb *tanṣub* suggests the use of *minṣab* (trivet).

³¹ This recipe is found in Helsinki MS only.

a little oil, spikenard, cloves, cassia, ginger, and nutmeg, all pounded and sifted.

Stir the pot very well, let it cook until it is done then break 5 eggs on it. Do not stir the pot. Serve the pudding [when the eggs are set]. If you like it sweet, add honey as much as you like when you put the spices in the pot, God willing.

A recipe for *khabīṣ* of apples (*tuffāḥ*), marvelously delicious (*ṭayyib* ‘*aḵb*):

Take as much as you like of good quality, fully ripe apples. Levantine Lebanese apples (*Shāmī Labnānī*) are a good choice.

Peel the apples, cut them in halves, and core them. (129r) Spread the apple pieces to dry on a piece of *kisā*’ (coarse cloth) or a *ḥaṣīr* in a sunny place,³² until they are as dry as *ka’k* (dry sweet cookies). Pound or crush the apples, sift them in a wide-mesh sieve if possible, and store them away. Make a big quantity so that it will be ready whenever you need to use it.

To make the pudding, take 30 *dirhams* (3 ounces) ground apples, and mix it with a similar amount of good quality, fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free).

Extract the oil of skinned almonds and pistachio, 1/3 *ratl* (2/3 cup) of each.

Take a clean *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and put in it 1/3 *ratl* (5 ounces) butter. Light the fire under the pot. When the butter sizzles, add the apple-flour mixture to it little by little, stirring the pot vigorously with *isṭām* (paddle-like iron spatula).

Add to the pot, 1 *mann* (2 pounds) refined sugar dissolved in water, or 1 *mann* (2 pounds) honey, which has been [heated and] skimmed of its froth. Stir the pot vigorously.

Add to the mixture as much as it takes of the [prepared] almond and pistachio oils. When the pudding thickens, perfume it with rose water and crushed musk (*misk*). Put the pot away from heat, sprinkle it with pounded sugar, and stir it constantly until it cools down.

Spread the pudding on a platter, sprinkle it with sugar [granules] to give it a sandy look,³³ and serve it, God willing.³⁴

³² *Ḥaṣīr* is a small mat woven with date palm fronds.

³³ The verb is *armala*. It derives from *raml* ‘sand.’

³⁴ In Helsinki MS version, it is “sprinkle it with a bit of pounded white cane sugar.”

A recipe for *khabīṣ* of *khashkhāsh* (poppy seeds):

Prepare ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) almond oil, 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), and 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) ground and sifted sugar.

Put the oil in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and add 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) saffron. Light a low-heat fire underneath it. When the oil is hot enough, sprinkle on it the flour bit by bit, and continue cooking [and stirring] until flour fries.

Sprinkle the flour with ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) rose water and stir the pot until mixture is cooked. Sprinkle it with 1 *ūqīyya* (1 ounce) white poppy seeds. Then take the pot away from the fire and let it cool down. Add the pounded sugar to it, mix it well,³⁵ and spread it on a platter, God willing.

A recipe for fresh ripe dates (*ruṭab*) when not in Season:³⁶

Choose *qasb* (dry dates) that are still soft and fleshy (*layyīn al-laḥm*) and soak them overnight in milk. Take them out of the milk and put them in *ʿasal mādhī* (smooth, thin, and white honey). Nobody will suspect that these are not fresh dates. If you replace the date-stones with skinned almonds, they will be even more delicious.

The best way to eat *ruṭab* (ripe dates with a nice crunch) and *tamr* (fully ripe, sweet and soft dates) is to put them on a platter and scatter broken pieces of ice all over them. They will be scrumptious chilled this way. Likewise, *shahd* (honey with its wax) can be eaten chilled by putting crushed ice around its dish. Al-Maʾmūn used to do this with *tamr* and *ruṭab*,³⁷ and any other sweet foods. Al-Wāṭhiq used to have his *qaṭāyif* (filled crepes) always served chilled with ice.³⁸

³⁵ The verb *latta* (لَت) indicates that the pudding is thick at this stage.

³⁶ This recipe is almost identical with recipe no. 740 in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id*. It is included in Chapter 23 on preserving fresh fruits (259). See Introduction, Section V, n. 71.

³⁷ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 833).

³⁸ Abbasid Caliph, grandson of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 847).

عمل النخيص بالجوز والسكر واللوز المفتر

MAKING *KHABĪṢ* (CONDENSED PUDDING) WITH WALNUT, SUGAR, AND SKINNED ALMOND

A recipe for white *khābīṣa* made for al-Ma'mūn:

[This is repeated from Chapter 94, “A recipe for white and dry *khābīṣa* by him, too”]

A recipe for *khābīṣa* by al-Muktafi:¹

Finely pound $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ pound) skinned almonds and set them aside.

Dissolve $1\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭls* (1½ pounds) refined sugar in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and skim its froth. Pour on it $\frac{1}{2}$ *raṭl* (1 cup) almond oil and stir the pot. Pound and sift $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* (4 ounces) *khubz al-nāṭif al-samīdh*,² which has been fried in fresh sesame oil. Add it to the dissolved sugar [in the pot]. Add as well, the ground almonds.

Never stop stirring the pot. You should have all these ingredients ready for you so that you add them one after the other. Keep on stirring until the mixture thickens. Put the pot away from the heat, stir the pudding constantly until it cools down then spread it on a platter.

While the pudding is still in the *ṭanjīr* pot, [you need to] sprinkle it with crushed perfumed sugar (*sukkar muṭayyab*) and rose water.³ If you wish to color it yellow, add a little saffron steeped in water while it is still in the pot.⁴

A tried and tested recipe (*mujarraba*) for delicious *Ītākhiyya* pudding:⁵

Take shelled walnuts, peel the [thin] skins, and pound them finely.

¹ Abbasid Caliph (d. 908). I follow here the Oxford MS version of the chapter's recipes to avoid duplication, unless otherwise stated.

² Thin and crisp bread sheets made from batter. They are usually formed into sandwich cookies, filled with *nāṭif* (nougat). See the third recipe in Chapter 104, below. Fine white flour (*samīdh*) is used for the batter.

³ Sugar might be perfumed with camphor (*kāfir*) or musk (*misk*), as in the first recipe of Chapter 94.

⁴ The last addition about coloring the pudding is from Helsinki version of the recipe.

⁵ Named after *Ītākḥ*, chamberlain of the Abbasid Caliph, al-Wāṭḥiq (d. 847).

Take a similar amount of skinned almonds and pound them as fine. Take a *kūz* of refined sugar and pound it.⁶ The sugar amount should be twice as much as walnuts and almonds combined.⁷ Mix all three ingredients [and set them aside].⁸

Put a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) on the fire. Pour into it fresh sesame oil, the amount of which is third of the mixed dry ingredients [above], that is, half the amount of the sugar used. When the oil heats up, sprinkle on it fine *samūdī* flour (high in starch and bran free), half the amount of the sesame oil used. When it fries, pour into the pot honey, an equal amount to the sesame oil used. Keep on stirring the pot.⁹

Dissolve 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) starch in water and rose water, 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) each. This amount is enough for 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) of sugar and 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) of honey [used in the recipe]. Keep stirring the pot. Next, add the walnut-almond-sugar mixture (*al-mukhallat*), and stir.

Thus you keep stirring the pot continuously, adding ingredients one after the other until the pudding thickens. (130r)

Put the pot away from the fire, and keep on stirring until it cools down. Spread the pudding on a platter, sprinkle it with $\frac{1}{4}$ *raṭl* (4 ounces) pounded sugar, and serve it, God willing.¹⁰

A recipe for candy (*ḥalwā*) made like fish aspic (*qarīṣ*):¹¹

Toast skinned almonds but do not let them change color or burn. Pound them thoroughly. Pound a similar amount of refined white sugar, mix the two, and sprinkle them with rose water. Add enough of

⁶ *Kūz* is a cup with handles. It was made in different sizes (see Glossary, Section 15). However, size is not an issue in the recipe because it uses proportions by weight.

⁷ All the amounts in the recipe are by weight.

⁸ For the rest of the recipe, the sugar-nut mix will be referred to as *al-mukhallat* ‘the mix.’

⁹ Although the amounts given sound a bit confusing, they are quite accurate. Following the instructions, here is an example on how much to use of the given ingredients: $\frac{1}{2}$ pound almonds, $\frac{1}{2}$ pound walnuts, 2 pounds sugar, 1 pound sesame oil, $\frac{1}{2}$ pound flour, and 1 pound honey.

¹⁰ Measurements in this Oxford version of the recipe are more systematically consistent than Helsinki’s, which gives slightly different measurements, with some of the ingredients missing.

¹¹ The word more commonly occurs as *qarīs* (قریس). A recipe for fish aspic, a cold and sour dish of gelled fish, is in Chapter 33 above. In the Helsinki and Istanbul MSS (fol. 30r) the word occurs as *qarīsh* (قریش).

the rose water to combine the almonds and sugar into very stiff dough. Scent the mixture with camphor (*kāfūr*).

Take molds made of jujube wood (*khashab al-ʿunnāb*) carved into figures of fish. Fill them with the almond mixture, set them aside to dry out, and unmold them onto a platter, leaving a space between the fishes.

Put in a *tanjūr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) honey, which has already been boiled and skimmed of its froth. The amount should be enough to submerge the fishes [arranged on the platter]. Add sugar as well, fifth the amount of honey. Pour into it saffron that has been steeped in rose water, use enough to give the syrup a saturated red (*mushabbaʿ al-ḥumra*). Put the pot on the burning coals (*jamr*) and stir it until syrup thickens.¹² [Carefully and slowly] pour it all around the sides of the platter. Let it be lukewarm (*fātir*) and not hot so that it does not spoil [the shape of] the fishes. Allow the dessert to cool down.¹³

CHAPTER 97

فِي حَمَلِ النَّجِيسِ الْمَفْتُونِ بَغِيرِ نَارِ الْمَلْتُونِ

MAKING UNCOOKED *KHABĪṢ* MAFTŪT (CRUMBLY CONDENSED PUDDINGS)

A recipe for *khabīs*, dry and crumbly (*yābis maftūt*):

Take ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) shelled pistachios and put them in hot water to remove their thin skins. Toast the pistachios to dry them (*yujaffaf taḥmīsan*) but do not let them change in color. Finely grind them.

Pound 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) refined sugar into fine powder. Put it in a bowl and sprinkle it with a little rose water and camphor. Fold into it the pounded pistachio and mix until ingredients combine [and become one mass].

Shape the mixture into discs or make them look like dates, *sanbūṣaj*

¹² Helsinki MS specifies that it has the consistency of *ḥasū* حسو (thin and smooth soup). The word is written as حسق (?), the editors suggest حسك (?), but I believe حسو is our best bet here.

¹³ The almond-fishes submerged in the set syrup will simulate fish aspic, indeed.

(filled pastries),¹⁴ cucumber, and melon. You can also use molds. Set them aside to dry on *ṭabaq asal* (tray made of rush stems) and serve them, God willing.

A recipe for *ḵhabīṣ murmal*, also known as *mufattat* (crumbly):

[This recipe is repeated, from Chapter 94, “A recipe for *ḵhabīṣa murmala* by Iṣḥāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī.”]¹⁵

A recipe for uncooked *ḵhabīṣ (bi-ghayr nār)*:

Finely grind 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) skinned almonds. Shell two fresh coconuts, (130v) pound them until they release their oil, and mix them with the almonds.

Pound 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) sugar and sift it in [a fine-meshed] hair-sieve (*munkḥul shāʿr*). Set aside about ¼ *raṭl* (¼ pound) of it. Add the rest to the almond-coconut mixture, in addition to ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) ground saffron. Mix very well to moisten the ingredients. Next, pour on them ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) almond oil and keep mixing until they are moist enough to gather in one mass.

Spread the mix on a platter and sprinkle the reserved ¼ *raṭl* sugar on it, the way you do with [cooked] moist *ḵhabīṣ* [as in the previous chapters]. Decorate the top with colored almonds and serve the dessert, God willing.

***Ḵhabīṣ* recipe made with *futūt* (breadcrumbs):**¹⁶

Take bread made with fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), milk, and sesame oil. It needs to be dried in the *tannūr*. Alternatively, you may use good quality *kaʿk* (dry cookies) baked and completely dried in the *furn* (brick oven).¹⁷ Or you may use thin breads (*ruqāq*) made with *samīdh* flour and sesame oil, and dried in the *tannūr*. [Whatever you use,] take 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) of the dried bread, pound it and set it aside in a big bowl (*qaṣʿa*) or a wooden plate (*ṭabaq ḵhalanġ*).¹⁸

Now take clean dates (*tamr*), which have been recently dried (*tamr*

¹⁴ For shapes of the pastry, see Chapter 36 above.

¹⁵ There are some minor changes here, and it is repeated only in Helsinki MS. This is not the proper place for it because it is cooked. Nevertheless, it is useful for us in amending some obscurities in the edited text.

¹⁶ This recipe is found in Oxford MS only (editors’ comment, 259, n. 26).

¹⁷ This is the commercially baked *kaʿk*. The recipe al-Warrāq gives for *kaʿk* is baked in the *tannūr* (Chapter 13).

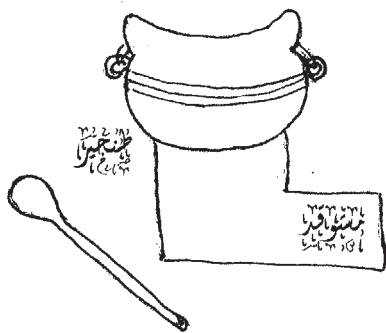
¹⁸ Made from the wood of heath tree.

ḥadīth).¹⁹ You may choose any of these varieties: *barnī*, *ṭabarzad*, *azādh*, or *maʿqil*.²⁰ Remove the stones and the skins of the dates.

Heat 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) fresh and enhanced sesame oil (*shayraj ṭarī ṭayyib*) in a *ṭanjūr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and add 4 *raṭls* (4 pounds) of the pitted dates (*tamr mufallas*). Stir the pot. As soon as the dates are heated through, put the pot away from the fire, and add the 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) of bread that was crushed to fine crumbs. Knead the mixture while it is still hot. Keep on kneading until it cools down then shape it into discs (*aqrās*).

Prepare a bowl of rose water mixed with crushed camphor. As you make the discs, sprinkle them with rose water, [stack them in a container], and stash them away [until needed].

This is the way to make *al-hays* (الهيس),²¹ which high-class people (*al-khawāṣ*) take with them [as part of their provisions] for their pilgrimage to Mecca. These are the basic amounts (*hādhā ʿiyāruhu*). If you want to make more, multiply the amounts (*dāʿifhu*), (131r) God willing.



¹⁹ I amend here (التمر النظيف ومن الوسخ الحديث) ‘clean dates and recently dried dirty dates’ to ‘clean dates, which have been recently dried (التمر النظيف... الحديث) (من الوسخ, الحديث) because it makes no sense for the recipe to call for dirty dates.

²⁰ I amend here *barrī* (irrelevant in the given context) to *barnī*, a popular variety of dates. All kinds of dates mentioned here are fleshy, sweet, and soft. See Glossary, Section 8, s.v. *tamr*.

²¹ *Hays* means ‘the pounded,’ but it also carries the sense of ‘being on the road’ (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. هيس). Both senses apply to our dessert here. However, it may well be another name for—or a misreading of—*hays* (حيس). According to *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *hays* is mixing dates with clarified butter and flour or breadcrumbs (*fatīl*). Besides, there is a similar recipe called *hays* in al-Baghdādī’s thirteenth-century cookbook. Al-Baghdādī says it is good as a provision for travelers (Arberry 214).

في عمل الحميات والمهلبات

MAKING *SHAḤMIYYĀT* (PASTRIES WITH TALLOW) AND *MUHALLABIYYĀT* (MILK PUDDINGS)¹

A recipe for *basīsa* (crumbled pie) from the copy of Ibn al-Mahdī, absolutely delicious:²

Mix 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) good quality, fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), 6 eggs, a piece of yeast—size of an almond (*lawzat khamīr*), and a small amount of fat. Knead them into stiff dough, which you put aside for an hour to allow the yeast to move in it [i.e. to rise].

Divide dough into two parts. Roll out one of the portions and make it big enough to line the frying pan (*maqlā*) you are using. When you spread the dough in the pan, press its edges upwards so that it lines the raised side of the pan, too [like a pie].

In this lined pan, spread 1 1/3 *raṭls* (1 1/3 pounds) honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Also add ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) fresh clarified butter of sheep (*ghanamī*).

Roll out the other dough portion. Make it as big as the frying pan with an additional thinner border to set on the edge of the first layer.

Drizzle a little sesame oil or butter over the filling, moisten the edges of the dough with some water, and cover the filling with the prepared crust. Seal the edges completely. There should be no cracks or holes in the dough [to prevent any seeping of the filling while baking]. Wipe the top crust with water then with some sesame oil.

Lower the pan into the *tannūr* after you have just finished baking your batch of bread,³ or [bake it] in a brick oven (*furn*), or *tannūr khabbāz al-Ruṣāfi*.⁴ Keep the *tannūr* covered while baking.

¹ *Al-Muhallabiyyāt* include all kinds of sweet milk puddings, thickened with starch, rice, noodles, or egg yolk. The dish was named after al-Muhallab bin Abī-Ṣufra, governor of Iraq during the Umayyad period (d. 702). It was his favorite dish. See Appendix.

² The Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣīd (d. 839). This recipe is included in Oxford and Istanbul MSS only. Helsinki MS does not have it. Instead, it has another recipe that the other two do not have. See next recipe. *Basīsa* derives from *bassa* ‘crumble,’ descriptive of the way the pie is served.

³ The pie will bake slowly in the remaining heat of the *tannūr*.

⁴ This should have been a major commercial bakery in the eastern side of Baghdad. People used to buy bread from such bakeries or bring their dough or

When the pastry is done baking and you take it out, you will see that it has developed a golden hue (*tawarrada*), an unmistakable sign of doneness.

Remove the pie from the pan and put it in a big bowl or plate. Set it aside until it loses some of its heat. Crumble the pastry with your hands until it looks like *tharīda*.⁵ Sprinkle it with pounded sugar and eat it. It is truly excellent and delicious, God willing.

A recipe for delectable *shaḥmiyya* (pastry with tallow), from the copy of al-Mahdī:⁶

Take the best you can get of tallow (*shaḥm*) surrounding the goat's kidneys, trim it of the blood vessels (*urūq*), chop it fine, and pound it in a mortar (*hāwan*).

Mix one part of the pounded tallow with two parts good quality, fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free). Rub the two and mix them with your hands until they develop dough-like consistency.

Add 1 *uskurruja* (½ cup) water and a bit of salt. Rub the mixture together until it becomes doughy in texture—rather on the stiff side. Shape it into a disc, the same size of the *maqlā* (frying pan) used. Dust the pan with a little flour then spread the disc of dough on it.

Break 1 or 2 eggs in a bowl and whip it with your hand until it mixes well. Score the spread disc of dough lengthwise and crosswise with a knife, but do not go all the way down. Rub over the surface of the pastry and its scores with the egg whip.

Next, lower the pan into a low-heat *tannūr* (*sākin layyin*) and cover the oven, which should not be hot because the pastry will cook and brown [with the low heat]. When it is almost done, smear your hand with the [whipped] egg in the bowl and rub it over the pastry so that it browns well. Do this several times.

When baking is done take the pan out of the *tannūr*, remove the pastry from it, and put it in a big wide bowl (*qaṣ'a*). Pour about 2 *uskurrujas* (1 cup) honey all over it. Rescore the pastry. Go all the way down this time so that the pastry absorbs the honey. Sprinkle it with

pastries to be baked in such professional ovens, where heat is more controlled.

⁵ Bread broken to pieces and sopped in broth. See, for instance, Chapter 49 for *tharīd* dishes.

⁶ Al-Mahdī is the Abbasid Caliph (d. 785), father of Hārūn al-Rashīd and the gourmet prince, Ibrāhīm. We learn from this heading that al-Mahdī has a cookbook. Another recipe mentioned as his, occurs in Chapter 92, p. 375. However, there is a possibility that the copyist neglected to add 'Ibn' before al-Mahdī. There is no way to verify this because the recipe occurs in the Helsinki MS only.

pounded *Sulaymānī* sugar (hard sugar-candy), dust it with a bit of black pepper, and serve it.

A recipe for *shahmiyyat al-khawāṣ* (pastry with tallow for the elite):⁷

Make dough using 3 *ratls* (3 pounds) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), [yeast, water, and a bit of salt] and knead it well. Take whites of 20 eggs and (131v) knead them into the dough, which will develop a soft consistency. Put it aside for an hour [to ferment]. You should have kneaded the dough with some yeast.

Pound kidney fat until it resembles bone marrow in consistency. Smear with it the inside of a soapstone pot with high sides. Use up all the tallow you have. Pour into the pot as well, ¼ *ratl* (½ cup) sesame oil. Pour the prepared dough into the pot and lower it into the *tannūr* after you have just finished baking your bread. Cover the *tannūr*.

When, according to your estimate, the eggs are cooked and the dough has firmed up, take a reed stick (*ūd nushshāb*) and pierce with it the cake at several places. Let the holes go all way down to the bottom of the pot. Return the cake to the *tannūr* to continue baking. You need to reinsert the stick into the same holes [after a while] the same way you did to make sure the holes stay open.

When the cake is fully baked, take it out of the *tannūr*, and fill the holes with whatever you fancy of pounded dried fruits such as walnut, hazelnuts, almonds, pistachios, pine nuts, soft dried dates (*tamr*), and *qasb* (hard and brittle dried dates). However, they all need to be pounded first. Keep some holes empty.

Take honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth, and pour it all over the *furniyya* while it is still hot and in the pot. Shake the pot gently with your hands to let the honey get into the sides of the cake and its empty holes. Return the pot to the *tannūr* briefly (*lahza* a second) then take it out of the oven. Turn the cake over onto a big wide bowl (*tayfūriyya*) and dust it with pounded sugar. [Turn it over again to] let its top side be up. Drizzle it with 1 *ūqiyya* (2 tablespoons) rose water syrup (*jullāb*) and present it,⁸ God willing.

⁷ According to Helsinki MS, this recipe is from the copy of the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāthiq. Al-Warrāq calls this pastry *furniyya* within the course of the recipe. It is a yeast cake baked in a round mold, called *furniyya* because it resembles *furnī* bread (brick-oven bread), which is round, thick, and domed in the middle.

⁸ Drizzling with rose water syrup occurs in Helsinki MS only.

Another *shaḥmiyya* (pastry with tallow) from the copy of al-Wāthiq:⁹

Make batter, thinner in consistency than *zalābiya* (fried fritters), using 2 Baghdadi *raṭls* (2 pounds) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free). [The rest is identical with al-Mahdī's recipe above, starting with the paragraph "Next, lower the pan into a low heat *tannūr* (*sākin layyin*)...."]

A recipe for *muhallabiyya* (milk pudding [with eggs]):¹⁰

Take 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) walnuts and almonds [altogether] and finely pound them. [Put them aside]

Break 30 eggs into a big bowl (*ṣuhfa*), add to them 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) refined pounded sugar and the ground nuts. Beat mixture until well blended [and set it aside].

Take a clean pot (**132r**) and pour into it 10 *raṭls* (20 cups) fresh milk that has just been drawn and is still warm. Light a fire underneath it and boil it down to 5 *raṭls* (10 cups). Add the egg mixture to it and stir it briskly and constantly until it thickens. At this stage, you can [further] sweeten the custard with some honey. You should never stop stirring the pudding until it thickens and pot is taken away from the fire.

A recipe for *muhallabiyya* (milk pudding) with *itriya* (dry noodles):

Take *itriya* noodles, pick them over,¹¹ and put them in a pot that already has boiling milk in it. Stir the pot with the handle of the ladle [so that the noodles do not break, and keep on cooking]. When mixture begins to thicken, add 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) sugar or honey, and stir the pot carefully lest you should mash the mixture. Pour on it 1/3 *raṭl* (2/3 cup) butter or fresh sesame oil.

When it is fully cooked, take the burning coals (*jamr*) from underneath the pot, wait until the pot settles then serve it, God willing.

⁹ Abbasid Caliph (d. 847). This recipe, like *shaḥmiyya* of al-Mahdī above, is found in Helsinki MS only. The first line indicates you start with thin batter, but the rest of the recipe is identical with al-Mahdī's recipe.

¹⁰ This pudding is more like custard because it is thickened with egg yolk.

¹¹ They needed to be checked because they were usually purchased dried.

A recipe for *muhallabiyya* (milk pudding) with *itriya* (dry noodles):¹²

Mix milk and *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar) in a pot and boil them for an hour until the mixture thickens. Beat 30 eggs in a bowl, pour them into the pot, and add walnuts or almonds. Serve the pudding as soon as it is cooked.

***Muhallabiyya* (milk pudding [with rice]) from the copy of al-Ma'mūn:**¹³

Wash the rice at night and put it in a new piece of cloth [to drain and dry]. In the following morning, crush the rice into fine powder like flour.

For each 10 *raṭls* (20 cups) of milk, use 1½ *raṭls* (1½ pounds) of rice flour.

Put warm milk in a pot and bring it to a boil.¹⁴ Sprinkle the rice flour on the milk the way you do with flour, stirring all the time. Let the pot cook on medium heat until rice is cooked. Pour on it walnut oil or fresh clarified butter. If pudding comes out thick, add more milk as needed.

When it is finished cooking, sprinkle it with [pounded] *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar). If you prefer the pudding white, keep it as it is. If you prefer it yellow, add some saffron.

A recipe for *muhallabiyya* (milk pudding [with rice and chicken]) from the copy of al-Wāṭhiq:¹⁵

Clean and disjoint an excellent chicken, put it in a pot that already has 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) water boiling in it. Let the pot boil until all moisture evaporates and chicken fries in its oil. Season it with a little coriander, cumin, cassia, and saffron [and set it aside].

(132v) Pour into a pot 7 *raṭls* (14 cups) milk of sheep or goat and boil it. Prepare 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) washed good quality rice and add it to the boiling milk along with the chicken. Light medium fire underneath the pot and let it cook.

¹² This recipe is found in Helsinki MS only. Despite the title, no noodles are mentioned in the recipe itself. It is more like custard for which there is a recipe above.

¹³ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

¹⁴ The milk should be very fresh. In fact, it is described as warm because it has just been milked.

¹⁵ Abbasid Caliph (d. 847). This recipe is found in Helsinki MS only.

When the rice is almost done, pour into the pot $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ratls* ($2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds) honey, and stir it gently so that you do not break the rice grains because the beauty of the dish is when the rice grains show through the honey.

Stop the fire underneath it (*taqtaʿ al-nār*) and perfume it with rose water and saffron, God willing.

A recipe of *shaḥmiyya* (pastry with tallow) ‘*Abbāsiyya*:¹⁶

Take *khubz samīdh* (bread made with *samīdh* flour) or *khubz furrānī* (thick bread baked in a brick oven), and soak it in milk. Let the milk cover the bread.

Crush $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ pound) sugar. You may use more or less depending on how much bread you are using. Add it to the soaked bread.

Take a clean pot with low sides. Put in it 1 *ratl* (1 pound) tallow and $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* (1 cup) olive oil (*zayt*). Cook the pot until tallow dissolves.

Press and mash (*umrus*) the bread-milk-sugar mix [and have it ready].

Line the pot with a *ruqāqa* (large and thin bread). [It should be much bigger than the circumference of the pan] Spread the bread mixture in the [lined] pot and overlap the *ruqāq* bread edges all over the filling to cover it completely and nothing of the filling seeps out.

Return the pot to slow burning coals. When the filling is cooked and set, take the pot away from the fire, turn it upside down onto a big wide bowl (*tayfūriyya*), and serve it, God willing.

Another recipe for *shaḥmiyya* (pastry with tallow) ‘*Abbāsiyya*:

Make dough with good quality, fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free) [yeast, and water]. Take shelled nuts such as almonds, pistachio, hazelnut, and pine nut. Finely chop them with a knife. Knead the nuts well into the dough and put it aside for almost an hour. You should avoid (*īyyāka*) letting it fully ferment. Otherwise, it will [get sour and] spoil.

Set a *tanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) on a trivet on the fire.¹⁷ Pour as much as you wish of fresh clarified butter or walnut oil.

¹⁶ After the name of the Abbasid dynasty.

¹⁷ The verb *tanṣub* suggests using a *minṣab* (trivet) on the fire.

Shape your dough into *furrānī*.¹⁸ You should avoid (*īyyāka*) letting it be too stiff, otherwise it will not come out right.

When the oil starts sizzling (*nashsha*) in the pot, put one disc, and let it fry until it is golden brown. Take it out (**133r**) and put another disc. Repeat this until you finish all the portions.

Clean the *ṭanjīr* [of the remaining fat], pour fine honey, and let it boil until it becomes thick but thinner than *nāṭif* (nougat).¹⁹ Chop what is left of the almond, pistachio, hazelnut, pine nut, and coconut. Add them to the thickened honey and stir the pot well.

Trickle this syrup over the [fried] discs and store them away in wicker baskets. You can take them with you wherever you travel for they will never change, God willing.²⁰

CHAPTER 99

فِي عَمَلِ اللُّوزِ نَبْوَ الْيَابِسِ وَالْمَغْرَقِ

MAKING *LAWZĪNAQ* (ALMOND CONFECTION),
DRY (*YĀBIS*) AND DRENCHED (*MUGHARRAQ*)²¹

A recipe for *lawzīnaj* from the copy of al-Mu‘taṣim:²²

Take *lawzīnaj* [sheets] made by pouring the batter on the *ṭābaq* (large flat pan).²³ Cover the sheets after they cool down so that they stay malleable.

Take equal parts of shelled pistachios and skinned almonds, and finely grind them. Grind *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar), the amount of which should be equal to that of the nuts. Mix the sugar with the nuts and sprinkle them with rose water in which a few cloves were steeped overnight. Add more sugar if needed.

¹⁸ The pastries are shaped into round and thick discs to resemble *furrānī*, brick oven bread. See Glossary, Section 2, s.v. *ḫubz al-fūn*.

¹⁹ For recipes, see Chapter 104 below.

²⁰ Although the recipe is called *shahmiyya*, we notice that no tallow is required. We understand from this that the name at some point started to designate molded yeast cakes in general.

²¹ The dry variety of this confection is similar to almond brittle, and the drenched is similar to baklava pastries.

²² Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 842).

²³ For a recipe, see Chapter 13 above.

Stuff *lawzīnaj* sheets with the nut filling,²⁴ cut them into [smaller pieces], and arrange them in a small delicate platter. Pour on them fresh almond oil, and sprinkle pounded *ṭabarzād* sugar on, and in between, the rows of the pieces. You also have the option of perfuming the *lawzīnaj* with mastic (*maṣṭakā*) and musk (*misk*). It is fabulous (*ghāya min al-ghāyāt*).

A recipe for sumptuous drenched *lawzīnaj*, usually made for kings when traveling:

Take as much as you need of shelled and skinned almonds and shelled walnuts. Take sugar as well, the amount of which should be equal to both of them. Pound each of the three ingredients separately. Then combine them and bind them with rose water. Mix in, as well, 1 *ḥabba* (1/12 gram) musk (*misk*), 2 *ḥabbas* (1/6 gram) ambergris (*‘anbar*),²⁵ and mastic (*maṣṭakā*) [all crushed]. Of the latter, use just enough for its flavor to be discernable in the filling.

Now take some walnuts and almonds, other than the amounts mentioned at the beginning of the recipe. Extract their oil, put it in a glass bottle (*zuḡāja*), and set it aside.

Take malleable *lawzīnaj* sheets (**133v**) and fill them with the nut mix. Stuff the pieces very well. Cut them into smaller pieces, the size of which you decide to your fancy. Take a clean *barniyya* (wide-mouthed jar), either green-glazed (*ghaḍār*) or glass (*zuḡāy*), and pack it with the *lawzīnaj* pieces until it is almost full. Pour on them the oil you extracted. Put enough to drench them (*yugharraḡ*). You can use them when traveling or at home.

Dry *lawzīnaj* (almond brittle) cooked on the fire:

Take 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) skinned almonds. You need to taste them lest some should turn out to be bitter.²⁶ Grind them finely and set them aside. Pound 4 *raṭls* (4 pounds) refined sugar and set aside ½ *raṭl* of it.

Take a wide *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) or a wide *nugra* (big copper pot), and pour 2/3 *raṭl* (1 1/3 cups) water into whatever pot you choose to use. Add the sugar to it and start a medium fire underneath it. Bring it to a boil until it foams. Then sprinkle it

²⁴ Al-Warrāq does not give details on how the filling is done, perhaps too obvious to describe. Other details he gives indicate that the sheets are stuffed as rolls then cut into smaller fingerlike pieces.

²⁵ *Ḥabba* may designate a small lump, too.

²⁶ In fact, this needs to be done whenever almonds are called for in recipes.

with water mixed with egg white and stir it. [Skim the froth with the coagulated egg white to which all impurities in the syrup have adhered] Repeat this [i.e. spraying the syrup with egg-white wash] whenever you see that foam is getting black until the syrup is cleansed and purified.

Stir the syrup for a while until it thickens and is almost stiff. Sprinkle it with rose water to which you have added some aromatics (*tīb*) [such as musk and camphor]. Add the [set aside] ground almonds, mix well, and put the pot away from the heat.

Beat the mixture with a *dakshāb* (stirring wooden utensil) or a piece of wood (*khashaba*)—the way you do when you make *sukkar Sulaymānī* (hard sugar-candy)—until syrup looks white and starts to crystallize (*yanbut*).²⁷

Sprinkle some of the reserved ground sugar on a plate. Take a chunk of the sugar mass from the pot, put it on the plate, and knead into it crushed camphor (*kāfūr*) and musk (*misk*). Shape it into a ball—size of a fist—and roll it under your palm making it look like a *qaṭṭhāya* (ribbed long cucumber). Cut it crosswise into finger-long pieces or whatever size you fancy. Arrange them on a platter the way you do with *qaṭāyif* (crepes).²⁸ Set them aside to cool down and serve them.



²⁷ This is a valuable comment because it hints at how *sukkar Sulaymānī* was made in medieval times. See Glossary, Section 5.

²⁸ Judging from the recipes and poems in Chapter 102 below, *qaṭāyif* rolls were attractively arranged on a platter in layers.

فِي حَمَلِ الزَّلَّابِيَّاتِ السَّوَادِجِ وَالْمُتَبَّكَاتِ

MAKING *ZALĀBIYĀT* (FRIED FRITTERS),
PLAIN (*SAWĀDHĪ*) AND LATTICED (*MUSHĀBBAKĀT*)

(134r) *Zalābiya* recipe made for al-Ma'mūn:¹

Prepare 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free). Put ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) fat in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and heat it under low fire. When the oil boils, sprinkle it with the flour and stir the pot until it toasts (*yataḥammaṣ*). Pour on it 2 *raṭls* (4 cups) water, and constantly stir the pot until it releases its fat. Put the pot away from the fire and stir the pot until mixture cooks and develops a firm consistency.

Form dough into smooth balls (*yukarhak*).² Shape each *karhaka* (ball) into fingers, rings, or discs, the way you do with *sukkar Sulaymānī* (hard sugar-candy).³

Next, take 1 *raṭl* (1 pound), or as much as you need, of honey, which has been [cooked and] skimmed of its froth. Sprinkle on it ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) rose water mixed with some aromatics (*tīb*) [such as musk and camphor]. Put the pot on the burning coals until it comes to a boil. Take it away from the heat [and set it aside].

Grind and sift one *raṭl* (1 pound) *ṭabarzād* sugar (white cane sugar) and set it aside.

Pour 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) fat into an iron frying pan or a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom). Start frying the dough pieces that have been shaped like *sukkar Sulaymānī*, and fry them the way you do with *zalābiya*. The best fat to use for frying is fresh and enhanced clarified butter (*samn ṭarī ṭayyib*).

The moment you take the fried pieces out of the pan, dip them immediately and while still hot in the heated honey. Keep them there

¹ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 833). I translate here the Oxford MS version of the recipe because it is more detailed and coherent than the one in Helsinki MS.

² *Karhaka* (v.) to make something round like a *karhā'* (head).

³ A valuable remark, which hints at how this sugar candy was shaped. In the last recipe of the previous chapter, we learn how it was made. See Glossary, Section 5.

until they absorb enough of the syrup. Take them out and arrange them on a platter. Then sprinkle the sifted sugar all over them and between the pieces. Do the same thing with the rest and serve them.

A recipe for *zalābiya mushabbaka* (latticed fritters) called *Wāthiqiyya*:⁴

Make soft dough using ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) good quality, fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), yeast, [and water]. Cover the dough and let it ferment overnight. In the following morning, knead ½ *raṭl* (½ pound) starch with yeast dissolved in water (*libat al-khamīr*), and mix it with the prepared batch of fermented dough. Knead them together, adding water bit by bit until the dough becomes very soft—similar to ‘*ajīn al qatāyif*’ (crepe batter).⁵ Add a small amount of *būraq al-‘ajīn* (baking borax) that has been dissolved in some water.⁶ Let it rest for a short while (*lahza* a second).

Prepare a nut-cup for [pouring] the batter. It is made by cutting off the rounded end of a coconut, which leaves you with a cup-like shell. (134v) Pierce a [small] hole in its bottom, the width of a *mīl* (probe or bodkin).

Choose an iron or copper frying pan with a flat base. Pour fat, enough to cover the *zalābiya* [while frying]. Light the fire underneath the pan. When the fat becomes hot, scoop [with a ladle held with the right hand] some of the batter into the coconut shell, held with the left hand, and the hole blocked with a finger. Then hold the filled shell from its rim with the right hand—above the frying pan—and let the batter run through the hole into the hot fat, simultaneously moving your hand in circles to make the lattice form. You can make them like discs (*mudawwar*), balls (*mukabbab*), or squares (*murabba*). If your batter was done right, the moment the batter falls into the hot oil, it will puff and look like a bracelet (*dumliḡ*) with a hollow interior.

As soon as one *zalābiya* is done, take it out of the fat and dip it in honey, which has been boiled and skimmed of its froth and perfumed [with rose water, musk, or camphor]. Keep the pieces drenched in the honey until they absorb enough of the syrup. Then take them out and arrange them in the dessert platter (*tabaq al-ḥalwā*).

If they turn out to be good, [go ahead and] serve them. The well-

⁴ After the name of al-Wāthiq, Abbasid Caliph (d. 847). This recipe occurs in Oxford MS only.

⁵ For a recipe, see Chapter 102 below.

⁶ For details on the ingredient, see Glossary, Section 12.3.

made ones should feel brittle and dry to the bite, and crumble and fall apart in the mouth. On the other hand, if they turn out to be soft and leathery when eaten, they are not good. This happens for different reasons such as the dough did not ferment enough, the yeast was bad, or honey was not thick enough because it was not boiled enough. Besides, it could be the weather such as when it is cold and humid in winter.

If there was not enough yeast in the batter, wait until it ferments well. If the yeast was bad, add some more borax (*būraq*) to the batter. If the honey still had some moisture in it, take it back to the fire and boil it until it is thick enough. If you are making it during the cold and humid days of winter, prepare the *zalābiya* in a warm and dry room, and light a stronger fire. (135r) As a general rule, make it during the days when the [dry] northern and western winds blow. Put the fermenting dough next to the fire and cover it to protect it from the cold. Avoid making it during the days when the [humid] southern wind blows.

If you follow all these instructions and couple them with your discretion, your *zalābiya* will come out good, God willing.

A recipe for unlatticed *zalābiya* (*ghayr mushabbaka*, *furniyya*) by al-Wāthiq:⁷

Sift fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free) or starch (*nashā*) if you wish. Take as much as you need of it. Beat together, eggs, milk, and the sifted flour. Do this until the mixture becomes like a thick froth and rises to the top of the *qaṣ'a* (big wide bowl enough for serving ten people). [Put mixture in a pot].

Take a [big] clean pot and arrange some cane leaves (*ẓwaraq al-qaṣab*) in its bottom.⁸ This pot should be large enough to accommodate the smaller cake pot and should be tight enough when covered to lock in steam (*bukhār*) when water boils.

Now place the *furniyya* pot on the cane leaves inside the big pot and pour water into it [to surround the cake pot]. Start a low-heat fire underneath the big pot and let it boil covered with a tight lid. Keep on feeding the fire until the side of the *furniyya* looks golden brown.

⁷ Abbasid Caliph (d. 847). This recipe is included in Helsinki MS only. Within the course of the recipe, this pastry is called *furniyya* because it is round, thick, domed, and porous, like bread baked in *furn* (brick oven). It resembles a sponge cake (*isfanjiyya*).

⁸ This is to protect the bottom of the cake from scorching.

Besides, when you knock at the side of its pot, it sounds hollow (*yusmaʿ lahā dawī*).

Turn the cake upside down onto a big wide bowl (*qaṣʿa*) and let it cool down. Then turn it up again onto another bowl to let the other side cool down, too. Slice it into pieces. Pour milk, clarified butter, and oil [or honey?] all over it. Put enough to moisten the pastry. Sprinkle it with sugar and black pepper,⁹ God willing.

A wonderful plain *zalābiya furniyya* (sponge cake):

Make dough and knead it the way you do with *zalābiya Shāmiyya* (Levantine), which is called *al-zalaqanbaʿ*, also called *al-ṣafanj* (sponge).¹⁰ Set the dough aside until it ferments.

Prepare a soapstone pot for it, similar in shape to *ṭanjūr* [round-bottomed with high sides] or a round earthenware pot (*khazaf*). Pour into it a lot of sesame oil. Put the batter in it and even up the surface with your hand. Set the pot on a *daykadān* (trivet) put in the middle of a smoldering *tannūr*.¹¹ Put a lid on the top opening of the *tannūr* [and let the cake bake.] Uncover the oven when the cake is done, according to your estimate.

Take the pot out of the *tannūr* and turn the cake over onto a deep and rounded green-glazed earthenware bowl (*ghaḍāra muqaʿara*). Split the cake into four sections. While it is still hot, pour on it some unadulterated fresh milk, which has been milked that same day. Sprinkle *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar) all over it, God willing.

⁹ This sugarless cake batter will definitely need more than a sprinkle of sugar, as directed in the recipe. According to a recipe called *isfanjiyya* (sponge cake) in the anonymous thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook *Anwāʾ al-Ṣaydala* (215), honey heated with butter was used to moisten the cake. Quite likely, *zayt* (olive oil) was absent-mindedly written instead of *ʿasal* (honey).

¹⁰ According to *isfanjiyya* (sponge cake) recipe in the thirteenth-century cookbook *Anwāʾ al-Ṣaydala* (215, see note above), the batter is made as follows:

White flour is kneaded with warm water and yeast. When it rises, it is kneaded again. Water is added gradually until it becomes like thin batter. It is left to ferment for a short while then it is put in a pot with a lot of fat. A reed is put in the middle of the batter to make it look like a bundt (tube) cake when it is removed after baking. The function of the hole in the middle is to pour milk and honey into the baked cake so that it absorbs it slowly. The directions for serving are to cut the cake the way you do with a melon, i.e. divide it into wedges.

¹¹ I amend here the name of the trivet, based on Istanbul MS. In the other two MSS it is mentioned as *dankarān*, and *daykardān*, obvious misreading or metamorphoses of *daykadān*, a Persian word. In Arabic, it is *minṣab*.

If you want to serve it as *jūdhāba*,¹² return it to the oven as it is [i.e. after you add milk and sugar to it], put it under a [roasting] plump chicken for a short while, God willing.

A recipe for unlatticed *zalābiya* (*ghayr mushabbaka*):

Put in a pot, fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free) and fine-tasting fat (*duhn ṭayyib*) such as butter or sesame oil. Toast (*yūḥammaṣ*) the flour in the fat then add milk [and stir] until mixture cooks and thickens. Put it away from the fire and [when cool enough to handle] make the dough into small *zalābiya* pieces, shaped as rings [like doughnuts].¹³ Fry them in sesame oil (*shayraq*), olive oil (*zayt*), or clarified butter (*samn*).

You may have them with honey, or *murri* (liquid fermented sauce) and *harīsa* (porridge),¹⁴ God willing.

Another *zalābiya* recipe:

Take starch and add milk to it, enough to moisten it. Beat the two together very well and add to them a small amount of borax (*būraq*) and salt.¹⁵ [Shape them into rings,¹⁶ and] fry them in sweet olive oil (*zayt ṭayyib*),¹⁷ sesame oil, or clarified butter. Use a soapstone frying pan (*maqlā birām*) [so that they do not burn]. Serve the fritters with honey, God willing.

A poet described *zalābiya*:

For dessert, I have *zalābiyyāt*, round and latticed.
 (135v) White and yellow and colored, in oil of hulled sesame fried,
 Smooth to the touch, and in *mādhī* honey drowned.¹⁸
 Like cornelian arranged in rows, as if of hollow tubes of pure gold
 woven.
 Laced into each other, as if with embroidered silken fabric made.
 Buried in white sugar, cloistered from the prying eyes.
 Soft and delicate to the bite.

¹² It is meat roasted in the *tannūr* while suspended on a casserole of sweet bread pudding. See Chapter 92 above for recipes.

¹³ Helsinki MS suggests sprinkling them with nigella seeds (*shūnīz*).

¹⁴ For recipes, see Chapter 50 above.

¹⁵ For information on borax, see Glossary, Section 12.3.

¹⁶ As suggested in the previous recipe.

¹⁷ See Glossary, Section 7 for details on how to sweeten the taste of olive oil.

¹⁸ *Mādhī* is white and thin honey with a delicate taste.

فِي عَمَلِ التَّحْكَنَانِجِ وَاللَّبَنِ إِسْحَاقِي الْمَعْرِجِ

MAKING *khushkanānaḥ* (DRY COOKIES)¹ AND
abū ishāqī mu'arraḥ (CRESCENT-LIKE COOKIES)²

A recipe for exotic (*gharīb*) *khushkanānaḥ Wāthiqī* by Abū Samīn:³

Grind 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) refined sugar and sift it in a fine-mesh sieve (*munkhul ṣafīq*). Add 1½ *raṭls* (1½ pounds) fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free). Mix them well. Add ¼ *raṭl* (½ cup) sesame oil and knead mixture the way you usually do with flour dough.

Put the mixture in a mortar (*hāwan*) and pound it to crush ingredients into each other and help them bind.

Take a small bowl (*uskurruja*), the smallest you have, or anything similar in shape such as a wooden or brass *huqqa* (bowl) with a rounded base and a wide rim. Stuff the bowl tightly with some of the sugar-flour mixture and turn it over onto a *khivān* (wide low table). Do this with the rest of the mixture.

Prepare a large level pan with low sides and arrange the molded pieces, leaving a space between them.

Lower the pan into a slow-burning *tannūr*. Let cookies bake until they are golden brown. Take the pan out and take the cookies out of the pan with a thin spatula (*istām raqīq*). You carefully slide the spatula underneath each cookie and transfer it to a clean platter. Arrange the pieces in one layer (*yusaff*),⁴ God willing.

¹ Literally, 'dry bread.' They are dry cookies that have always been popular in the region. See Glossary, Section 2.

² The crescent-like cookies may have been named after the gourmet prince Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 839), or the gourmet poet Abū Ishāq al-Ṣūlī (d. 857). See Appendix.

Mu'arraḥ is written as *mu'awwaj* in the Istanbul MS, both words mean 'bent,' descriptive of the crescent-like shape of the cookies.

³ The professional cook in the palace kitchens of the Abbasid Caliph, al-Wāthiq. The cookies in this recipe are reminiscent of the ones known nowadays as *ghureyyiba* in most of the Arab countries, and *shakarlama* in Iraq. Al-Warrāq calls it *gharīb*.

⁴ I amend here the word *yusaffar* (make yellow) to *yusaff* (arrange one piece next to the other), based on Istanbul MS (fol. 97r). These cookies can easily break and crumble, so they need careful handling.

(136r) A recipe for *khushkanānaj* called *Abū Ishāqī mu‘arraġ* (shaped like crescents):⁵

Take 4 *raṭls* (4 pounds) fresh (*tanī*) almonds, taste them for bitterness, shell them then dry them in a big copper pot (*nuqra nuḥās*) set on the fire.⁶ Grind them finely.

Pound 8 *raṭls* (8 pounds) refined *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar), and mix it with the almonds.

Take 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) pith of *furrāmī* bread (brick-oven thick bread), dry it in the *tannūr*, and as soon as you take it out, sprinkle it with ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) rose water. Crumble the pith on a plate and dry it. Finely crush it with some camphor and musk then mix them well. Add the breadcrumbs to the almond-sugar mixture and sift them in a sieve so that they all mix well.

Take 15 *raṭls* (15 pounds) excellent-quality fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free). Knead it with ¼ *raṭl* (4 ounces) fresh yeast dissolved in water, and 2½ *raṭls* (5 cups) fresh sesame oil. Mix them all together then knead and press and rub the dough vigorously.⁷ Keep on doing this while gradually feeding it with water, 5 *dirhams* (1 tablespoon) at a time until it is thoroughly kneaded. The [final] dough should be on the stiff side.

Divide the dough into portions, whether small or big is up to you. Take a portion of the dough, roll it out on a *khiwān* (wooden low table) with a rolling pin. Let it look like a tongue, wide in the middle and tapered towards both ends. Spoon some of the filling and spread it on part of the dough, leaving the borders free of the filling. Fold the dough on the filling [lengthwise]. Press out air so that the dough and the filling become like one solid mass. If any air remains inside, the cookie will tear and crack (*yataṣṣaqqaq*) while baking in the *tannūr*. Bend the two ends of the piece to make it look like a crescent (*hilāl*). Arrange the finished ones on a tray (*ṭabaq*) and cover them with a piece of cloth (*mindīl*).

Light fire in the *tannūr* and wait until the coals look white. Wipe the inside walls of the *tannūr* with a wet piece of cloth after you brush it with a broom (*miknasa*). Gather all the embers in the middle, and shape

⁵ This variety is similar to today's Iraqi cookies *klecha*. See notes 1 and 2 above.

⁶ The almonds need to be dried because they are shelled by dipping them in boiling water.

⁷ (يعجن عجنًا قويًا يلت بقوة ويفرك ويفرك) a labor-intensive dough, indeed.

them like a dome. Now, transfer the tray closer to the *tannūr* and put a bowl of water next to the top opening of the oven (*ra's al-tannūr*).

When ready to bake, take the filled pastries from the tray one by one, (136v) wipe their backs with water, enough to make them sticky, and stick them all to the inner wall of the *tannūr*, taking care not to let them fall down. When you see that all the pieces are sealed well at the seams, cover the [top opening of the] *tannūr*, and close the *rawwāj* (bottom vent hole) for a short while (*lahẓa*, literally a second) to create moisture in the oven (*ya'raq*, literally sweat).

When the cookies start to take on color (i.e. to brown), open the bottom vent hole, remove the oven's top lid, and start scraping off the browned ones as they are done with a spatula (*iṣṭām*) held in one hand and a huge iron scoop (*mighrafa ḥadīd*) [held in the other hand to receive the scraped cookies].

You should have prepared a bowl of gum Arabic (*ṣamgh* 'Arabī) dissolved in water. Wipe the *khushkanānaj* tops with the gum solution [to give them a nice gloss], and stow the cookies away in a wicker basket (*salla*), God willing.

***Khushkanānaj* of fried *qaṭāyif* (crepes) by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:**⁸

Pound 2 *ratls* (2 pounds) sugar and 1 *ratl* (1 pound) skinned almonds.

Bake *qaṭāyif* crepes shaped [round] like mirrors (*marāyā*),⁹ the size is up to you. Crush some aromatics (*tīb* such as musk and camphor) in the filling, and fill each crepe disc with some of it. Fold each crepe in half and shape it like *khushkanānaj* [half a moons] after you stick the sides together by applying some of the *qaṭāyif* batter around the edge. Press around the edge with the fingernail (*yuzaffār*), or do whatever you can to seal it closed [to prevent filling from seeping out while frying].

Heat almond oil or sesame oil in a *ṭanjūr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and fry *qaṭāyif* in it until they are golden brown (*yaḥmarr*). Take them out and put them in honey, which has been boiled and skimmed and mixed with an equal amount of thick sugar syrup (*qiwām qawī*), and perfumed with musk and mastic.

When *qaṭāyif* pieces absorb enough syrup, take them out, arrange

⁸ The Abbasid gourmet prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839). The difference between regular *qaṭāyif* and *khushkanānaj al-qaṭāyif* is that the former pastries are soft filled rolls, left unfried (Chapter 102). *Khushkanānaj al-qaṭāyif*, on the other hand, are filled, shaped into half moons, and fried.

⁹ For batter recipe, see the following chapter.

them on a platter, and sprinkle them with white sugar. Let them cool down and serve them, God willing.

Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad bin al-Ḥusayn recited to me these verses describing the pastries:¹⁰

Khushkanān skillfully contrived. Before they were folded and sealed,
Their shells were made into delicate thin rounds, smooth and lustrous.

(137r) Like ornaments adorning the neck, stuffed with sugar and saffron,

And ground almonds. The cook fried them in oil of sesame hulled,
The way adepts masterly fry. They came out like luminous moons,
With slender waists and pointed tips, clad in beautiful gowns.
Like crescents outshining the night. Similar to rows of *dirhams*,
Which a scrupulous hand has minted. Of princely honey, they had their fill,

Perfumed with excellent rose water of Jūr.¹¹ Arranged thus on a crystal platter,

They do, dear folks, half moons resemble. So well made, they look like

Lines upon lines of beautiful writing. As if with salt and camphor topped

The lines of sugar sprinkled look. Resplendent with their spread out gown.

They are, by God, blemish-free. Our cook sent them to the vizier as a gift.

I did not include recipes for the regular baked cookies (*khushkanānaj al-khubz*) because they are widely used, easy to prepare, and everybody knows how to make them.¹²

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kātib recited to me a few verses of his own on *khushkanānaj al-qatāyif* (Fried filled crepes, shaped like half-moons):¹³

The cook brought us *khushkanānaj* after of rose water and sugar pure they had their fill.

Their shells of luscious *qatāyif* made, perfectly twisted with fresh almonds and pistachio [oil] sealed.

Their entrails sugar and almonds hid, which only a bite revealed.

Having dainty forms, in length and width perfectly configured.

¹⁰ Kushājīm (d. c. 961). I follow the version of the name given in Helsinki. In Oxford MS, it occurs as Muḥammad al-Ḥasan.

¹¹ A region in Persia famous for its red roses.

¹² How unfortunate for us!

¹³ Kushājīm.

فِي عَمَلِ الْقَطَايِفِ بِالْسُكَّرِ وَاللُّوزِ وَالْجُوزِ وَالصُّنْبُورِ

MAKING *QATĀYIF* (CREPES) WITH SUGAR, ALMONDS, WALNUTS, AND PINE NUTS

A recipe for making crepe batter (*‘ajīn al-qatāyif*):¹

Take 2 Baghdadi *raṭls* (2 pounds) of sifted fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free). Also take ¼ Baghdadi *raṭl* (4 ounces) [fresh] yeast made of *ḥuwwārā* or *samīdh* flour.² Dissolve the yeast in water and remove any lumps. Add 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) salt, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) *būraq al-‘ajīn* (baking borax),³ both should be crushed and sifted.

Add the dissolved yeast along with some water to the flour, and knead the mixture well until it becomes smooth and free of any lumps. In consistency, it should be soft enough to the point if you were to pour some of it on a marble (*rukḥām*), it spreads.

Set the dough aside to ferment and put a mark for the height of the dough on *kayl al-daḡiq* (container for bulk measurements) [that you put next to the bowl]. The batter is done fermenting when it puffs and rises about a finger's width above [the marked line].

Heat a clean marble slab on the fire. When it is hot enough, ladle some of the fermented batter, and pour it onto the marble, the size is up to you. When it is done, take it away, and examine the back. If it looks too brown, reduce the fire.⁴

Whenever you bake five pieces, wipe the marble with a piece of cloth. When you are done baking, cover the crepes with a clean damp cloth for about an hour and fill them with whatever you wish, God willing.

***Qatāyif* made for Harūn al-Rashīd:⁵**

Choose ripe fresh walnuts whose shells can easily be rubbed off (*jawz*

¹ This recipe can be found in Helsinki MS only.

² *Ḥuwwārā* is fine bran-free wheat flour, *samīdh* is also bran-free, but it is high in starch and low in gluten.

³ See Glossary, Section 12.3.

⁴ Notice that al-Warrāq does not say the crepe is flipped to the other side. *Qatāyif* are baked on one side only so that the upper side stays soft. This will make sealing the filled ones easier.

⁵ The famous Abbasid Caliph of the *Arabian Nights* (d. 809).

akhḍar farik bāligh), and peel off their thin skins. (137v) Chop walnut with a knife, the way you chop fresh herbs (*abzār ruṭb*). Take a similar amount of *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar), pound it, and mix it with the walnut. Sprinkle the mix with rose water of Jūr (*mā' ward jūrī*),⁶ and mix and bind the mixture (*yulatt*) with almond oil.

Use this walnut mix to fill *qaṭāyif* crepes [recipe above].⁷ Let each piece be as small as a morsel (*luqma*). Arrange them on a platter in attractively organized layers (*yunaddad*) and pour freshly extracted almond oil on them. Sprinkle pounded sugar over and between the layers. Put the platter in a big wide bowl (*tayfūriyya*) filled with ice, and present it, God willing.

A recipe for pretty (*zarīfa*) *qaṭāyif* by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī:⁸

Choose the tender innermost part (*qalb*) of fresh *jummār*,⁹ for it tastes exactly like newly dried walnuts (*jawz ḥaḍīṭh*). Finely chop it along with skinned fresh walnuts. Mix the two. Add a similar amount of crushed *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar). Mix and bind (*yulatt*) them with rose water and a little oil of almond and walnut.

Fill small *qaṭāyif* crepes with the mix [and roll them]. Each filled piece should not be bigger than a morsel (*luqma*). Arrange them on a platter in nicely organized layers (*yunaddad*) and pour newly extracted almond oil on them. Sprinkle pounded *ṭabarzad* (white cane sugar) over and between the layers and serve them, God willing.

Abū al-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib recited to me some verses of his own on *qaṭāyif*.¹⁰

⁶ Jūr was a city in the region of Fāris (Persia) famous for its export of excellent rose water. In modern Iraq *warid jūrī* designates fragrant red roses.

⁷ There are no instructions on how to shape them after they are filled, perhaps too obvious to mention. However, we can safely say that they were rolled like small Swiss rolls. For instance, in the first poem in this chapter, they are described as *mudarrāj* (rolled), and compared to *kuthub* which are small arrows with no pointed heads or feathers (line 5). Besides, they were nicknamed *lafā'if al-na'im* (لفائف النعيم) 'rolls of bliss' (Ibn Ḥamdūn 1103). At the end of Chapter 99 above, finger-like almond candy is compared to them. See the previous chapter for *qaṭāyif* shaped like half moons.

⁸ The gourmet Abbasid prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839).

⁹ *Jummār* is the sprouting leaves of the date palm that appears at the very top of the tree. See Glossary, Section 8.

¹⁰ Kuṣṣājīm (d. c. 961). The poem can be found in al-Mas'ūdī (696).

I have for friends when hunger strikes, *qaṭāyif* like piles of books stacked.

They resemble honeycombs—with holes and white—when closely seen.

Swimming in almond oil, disgorged after they had their fill of it.

With glistening bubbles, back and forth, rose water sways.

Rolled and aligned like purest of arrows,¹¹ their sight the smitten-hearted rejoice.

More delicious than they are is seeing them plundered, for man's joy lies in what is most hankered.

(138r) A recipe for *qaṭāyif*, tasty and pretty:

You can make the crepes small or long and wide. After you fill them, you need to trim their edges with a knife so that they all have a uniform shape and size. Thus, they can be arranged [on the platter] in an attractive way.

You may make the crepes huge then divide each into three or four pieces. They can even be a yard wide each.¹²

Mix and bind finely ground almond [or] walnut, sugar, and a little bit of rose water—just enough to bind the dry ingredients. Too much rose water will make sugar melt and cause the filling to be too thin in consistency (*yariqq*).

Fill the *qaṭāyif* crepes, [roll them,] and arrange them [on a platter] in nicely organized layers (*yunaḍḍad*). Pour almond oil on the pieces if they are filled with walnut, and walnut oil if they are filled with almond.¹³ Drench the pieces with [ground] *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar).

You may whip the oil with thick rose water syrup and drown the pieces with it. [After *qaṭāyif* pieces have their fill of the syrup, the surplus] will settle in the bottom of the plate, like sauce (*maraq*).

¹¹ I follow here the reading of Ibn Ḥamdūn's version (1105), which is *kuthub* (small arrows with no pointed heads or feathers, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. كُتُب) instead of *kutub* (books) because it is more relevant here. Anyway, the book analogy has already been mentioned in the first line.

¹² In Helsinki MS, the size is tamed down to the width of *raghīf* (flat bread).

¹³ This is done most probably to balance the humoral qualities of the oils used, since almond is cold and walnut is hot. See Glossary, Section 8, s.v. *lawz*, *jawz*. Also, see Introduction, Section IX for details on the humoral theory.

فِي صِفَةِ النَّزَائِسِ عِلْمِيِ الْخُلُوعِيِ وَالْحَمَاسِيِ

MAKING DECORATIONS AND ORNAMENTATIONS FOR DESSERTS

A recipe for *ḥalāqīm* (cannolis) used for decorating desserts:¹

Take as much as you like of dough made with pure fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free). Rub it very well with olive or sesame oil.

Prepare some yard-long reeds (*qaṣab*), scrape their outer layers, and clean them. Wrap the prepared dough around them,² cut them into finger-long pieces, and make decorative impressions on them with pincers (*minqāsh*). Then color them red, yellow, green, and blue, using the dyes mentioned at the beginning of the book, where it is explained how to produce them [Chapter 3].

Put the finished reeds in the *tannūr*. When baked, remove the reeds, which will leave you with [pastry] tubes (*anābīb mujawwafā*). Fill them with a mixture of pounded walnut and sugar. (138v) Dip both ends of the reeds in thick and sticky sugar syrup. Sprinkle the ends with chips of *Sulaymānī* sugar (hard sugar-candy) colored with the dyes mentioned above. They will look like a vivid orchard (*bustān*), God willing.

A recipe for cookies (*aqrāṣ*) used to decorate desserts:

Take excellent dough made of fine white flour and rub it with sesame oil. Roll it out [with a rolling pin] and cut it out into rounds using cookie cutters (*qawālīb*). They should all be the same size, neither smaller nor bigger. Prick them with a feather in a decorative manner (*yurrayyash*) and fry them in sesame oil. Take them out of the oil and set them aside.

Melt bees' honey in a pot, boil it until it thickens considerably, and

¹ The literal meaning of *ḥalāqīm* (sing. *ḥulqūm*), is 'windpipe.' See Glossary, Section 2.

² Al-Warrāq does not give details on how to wrap (*laḥḥa*) the dough around the reeds. A recipe on similar cookies, called *qanānīt* (tubes), in the anonymous thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook *Anwāʾ al-Ṣaydala* mentions that the dough is flattened into thin sheets then wound around the reeds (217).

add a bit of saffron to give it a reddish hue. Daub the faces of the cookies with this honey then sprinkle them with coarsely crushed sugar that has been dyed with the colors mentioned [above]. Press the sugar onto the cookies with your hand.

Use these cookies in any way you like to decorate whatever you choose of desserts, God willing.

A recipe for plain white cookies (*aqrāṣ*) used as ornamentations:

Take some of the dough [mentioned above] and roll it into a thin sheet (*ruqāq*). Cut out cookies shaped as rounds (*mudawwar*), squares (*murabbaʿ*), crescent-like (*muʿarraḡ*), triangles (*shawābīr*), or whatever you like. Fry them in hot sesame oil and take them out. Do not color them. Leave them white and let them dry out in the air.

When their oil is all absorbed and they are fully dry, take some *Sulaymānī* sugar (hard sugar-candy), pound it, sift it, and lightly sprinkle (*dharartuhu*) the cookies with it. Press the sugar onto the cookies so that it adheres to them.

Use these cookies to decorate whatever you like of desserts and however you wish, God willing.

A recipe for stuffed cookies (*ḥalwā maḥshuwwa*),³ delicious and unusual (*tarīfa*):

Take equal amounts of almond, pistachio, and hazelnut. Shell them, finely pound them, and add an equal amount of sugar. (139r) Mix and moisten the ingredients with rose water in which you have dissolved a lump of musk.

Make dough with pure fine *smīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free), milk, sesame oil, and yeast. When the dough ferments, flatten portions into small discs, using a rolling pin. Line a concave mold (*qālab*) carved with decorative shapes (*ṣuwar al-tamāthīl*) with a flattened disc, and fill the cavity with some of the sugar-nut mixture. Put another flattened disc on the filling, and seal the edges. Take the cookie out of the mold, [and repeat with the rest of the dough].

³ *Halwā/ḥalwāʿ* is sometimes used loosely as a generic term for dessert. The cookies described here are similar to today's traditional Iraqi stuffed cookies *klecha*, made using similar carved wooden molds (*qālab*). In Ibn al-ʿAdīm's thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣla ilā ʿl-Ḥabīb* there is mention of *qālab al-katīja* (2: 625). See Glossary, Section 2, s.v. *khushkanānaj*, *raghūnūn*.

[Bake the cookies] by sticking them to the inner wall of the *tannūr*.⁴ Alternatively, you can arrange them in a shallow copper pan with a handle similar to that of the bucket (*saṭl*). Lower the pan into the *tannūr* and cover its upper opening with a lid for a short while [to create moisture then remove it].⁵ When the cookies are done, [take them out and] serve them while still hot.

You also have the choice to put some fat in the pan [before lowering it into the *tannūr*]. When you take the cookies out of the oven and while still hot, dip them in ‘*asal muṭaffā*,⁶ which has been skimmed and scented with aromatic spices (*muṭayyab*). Let the cookies absorb the syrup then take them out, and arrange them on a platter. Sprinkle them with sugar and serve them. This variety (*hādhā al-fann*) is called *raghūnīn raṭb mulūkī* (royal moist cookies), so know this, God willing.⁷

⁴ See Chapter 101, where he describes more fully how to do this.

⁵ The handle will be used to keep the shallow pan suspended in the *tannūr*.

⁶ Honey purified and improved by boiling it in water and skimming its froth. See Glossary, Section 5.

⁷ It is to be assumed that the dry variety is just called *raghūnīn* (literally, ‘the luxurious’). Similar cookies are called *amīn* in thirteenth century cookbooks such as al-Baghdādī’s *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (al-Bārūdī 79) and Ibn al-‘Adīm’s *Al-Wuṣṣā ilā ‘l-Ḥabīb* (2: 651). See Glossary, Section 2, s.v. *raghūnīn*.

في عمل الطرايف من انواع الناطف

MAKING EXQUISITE VARIETIES OF NOUGAT (*NĀṬIF*)¹

A recipe for *nāṭif* Ḥarrānī:²

Take *ʿasal muṭaffa*,³ which has been skimmed of its froth and put it in a round copper pot (*qidr nuḥās*) or a round *ṭanḡūr* (copper or brass pot). Add $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratl* ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup) water and beat the honey while cooking for about an hour. Set the pot aside until it cools down.

Vigorously beat egg whites into the honey until mixture is blended. For each 10 *ratls* (10 pounds) of honey, use 10 egg whites.⁴

Return the pot to the fire and continue beating the mixture lest the egg should burn, and keep on stirring and so that honey whitens. When *nāṭif* thicken, season it with cassia, black pepper, cloves, and spikenard (*sunbul al-ṭīb*). Add as well whatever you like of dried fruits such as (139v) almond, pistachio, hazelnut, walnut, coconut, pine nut, hulled sesame, or hemp seeds (*baẓr al-qinnab*). You have the option of combining all these nuts or not using anything at all to make it plain (*sādhaj*).

Three hours are needed to beat the nougat until it becomes satisfactorily thick, God willing.

¹ This dessert is called *nāṭif* because it is cleansed of all impurities that might be in the honey or sugar before it is beaten to whiteness. Adding egg whites to the boiling syrup helps remove impurities. To make the nougat, a fresh batch of egg whites is added. See for instance, Chapter 99 above, recipe “Dry *hwazīnaj*, cooked on the fire.”

² From Ḥarrān, a city in northern Mesopotamia. See Appendix.

³ Honey purified by boiling it in water and skimming its froth. See Glossary, Section 5.

⁴ *Nāṭif* pots have rounded bottoms and three straight legs (*ṭhalāṭhat aṭṭāfi muntaṣibāt*). At this stage, when beating is done on a wooden board away from the fire, the legs prevent the pot from turning around when beating and whitening the candy. This is mentioned at end of Chapter 2.

A recipe for *nāṭif* called *khushkafarūs* (dry candy):⁵

Take 4 *ratls* (4 pounds) white sugar, finely grind it, and put it in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom). Add 1 *ratl* (2 cups) water. Bring the pot to a boil and remove the froth with egg whites.⁶ Light low-heat fire underneath the pot and let it cook until it thickens. Add to the syrup, 1/3 *ratl* (5 ounces) good quality, fine *ḥuwwārā* flour (bran-free) [and cook and beat the mixture] until it thickens.

Spread the pudding on a board (*khīwān*) that has been greased with oil of almond, walnut, or clarified butter. Make the pudding sheet as thin or as thick as you want it to be. Cut it out into squares or triangles and serve it.

If you want the candy yellow, add some saffron to it while still cooking.

A recipe for another *nāṭif*, used to be made for al-Ma'mūn whenever he was on the road.⁷ It keeps for a long time:⁸

Use newly dried almonds and avoid the old ones.⁹ Pound them until their oil oozes. [Set the oil and the ground almonds aside, separately]. Also take newly-dried walnuts and pound them until they have the consistency of bone marrow (*mukḥḥḥ*), but not to the point where their oil separates.

Make honey *nāṭif* and set it aside.¹⁰

Take fine *samīdh* flour (high in starch and bran free) and make it into dough. It can be dough of *furrānī* (bread baked in a brick oven) or that of *khubz al-mā'* (flat plain bread baked in the *tannūr*).¹¹ Flatten the

⁵ The name can also be *khushkafarūsh*, a combination of two words: *khushk* dry, and *afūs* or *afresh*, which is *khābīs* (condensed thick pudding, meanings of words from Steingass). In Ibn al-'Adīm's thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣā ilā 'l-Ḥabīb* there is a dessert recipe called *afūshīyya*, made of starch, sesame oil and honey. In texture it is dry and crumbly (2: 753).

⁶ See n. 1 above.

⁷ Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 833).

⁸ In this recipe, I mostly follow Istanbul MS (fol. 99v–100r) because the Oxford version is a little confused.

⁹ I amend here (واحد), meaningless in the given context, to (واحذر) 'avoid,' similar in meaning to Istanbul MS (لا عتيق) 'not old.'

¹⁰ As in the first recipe of this chapter.

¹¹ See Chapter 13 above for a recipe of *khubz al-mā'*. No recipes for *furrānī* bread are available in this book because they are commercially baked in brick ovens. Both kinds of dough are rather soft in consistency.

dough into very thin sheets (*yuraqq*) and bake them on the *tābaq* (large flat pan).

Spread the *nāṭif* on a sheet of bread while it is still hot. Sprinkle it with *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar) and the pounded almonds and walnuts. Cover it with another layer of bread. With clean clippers, cut the filled bread into smaller portions, [two-finger wide squares].

Put strained honey in a pot and immerse the pieces in it, one by one. Layer the pieces [as you take them out of the honey] in *barānī* (wide-mouthed green-glazed jars), sprinkling each layer with pounded sugar. When you are done layering, pour on the pieces the almond oil [you set aside].

Take them with you [as provisions] wherever you travel. They will stay as long as you wish, (140r) God willing.

Another *nāṭif* recipe called *al-Wāṭhiqī*,¹² made with honey and red sugar. Exquisite:¹³

Put in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) honey and red sugar, a pound each. Pour on them a small amount of rose water and let the mixture boil until the sugar melts. Skim off the froth as it comes up.

When syrup is almost thick and before it becomes too sticky, add 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) saffron, and 1 *ratl* (1 pound) shelled and picked over walnut. Stir the syrup very well then pour it onto a greased slab of marble or a board and flatten it. Break it into pieces and serve it, God willing.

Another *nāṭif* recipe, called *lu'lu'ī* (like pearls):¹⁴

Put 2 *ratls* (2 pounds) honey in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) that has been securely mounted [on the stove] (*mu'allā*). Let it boil very well and remove the froth as it appears.

When honey is well thickened, add as much as it takes of hulled sesame seeds. Continue stirring the mixture until it becomes one mass.

Pour it onto a greased marble slab, [and spread it evenly]. Break candy into pieces and use it as needed, God willing.

¹² Named after the Abbasid Caliph, famous for his big appetite (d. 847).

¹³ This recipe and the following one will yield candy similar to today's nut brittle. Red sugar (*sukkar almar*) is unrefined and crystallized brown cane sugar. See Glossary, Section 5.

¹⁴ The added sesame seeds will be the pearls of this candy.

A recipe for another kind of *nāṭif*:

Pour white bees' honey into a round pot and add a lot of water or rose water.¹⁵ When it comes to a boil, skim the froth, and beat the syrup vigorously to mix it well.

[Put the pot away, wait until it cools down,] and beat egg whites into it. Continue beating until they combine.¹⁶ Return the pot to the fire and keep on stirring and beating until mixture thickens and looks white.

Add 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) mastic and 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) *afāwīh* (aromatic spices). Finally, mix in broken pieces of dry 'afzīnaj (walnut brittle),¹⁷ use as much as the syrup can take. Stir the pot to incorporate them into the syrup, God willing.

(140v) Abū al-Ḥusayn recited to me verses of his own on *nāṭif*.¹⁸

After the meal, the cook brought in *nāṭif*, luminous as silver or marble necks.

Drenched in smooth honey with a soul of its own, surging with waves that flow and surcease.

Like solid silver it looks, but soft and sweet as lips it tastes.

So welcome in bosom, heart, and belly, like safety when between the ribs of the frightened nests.

How lovely in hue, taste, and sight, sweeter still than the stealthy touch of a gazelle.

With almonds and walnuts doubly stuffed, and with pistachio shelled between the layers tucked.

With an assortment of dried fruits filled, like spring flowers most beautifully arranged.

Break it, and the inside even surpasses how it looks when on a platter displayed.

What the honey, what the musk and ambergris, what the mastic, crushed and mixed!

¹⁵ The honey is also known as 'asal *mādhī*, light-colored with a smooth taste. See Glossary, Section 5.

¹⁶ See n. 4 above.

¹⁷ It derives from 'afz, an unusual name for walnut. This led to several renderings of the walnut confection's name, 'afzīnaj (عَفْزِينَج). In the edited text, the candy is written as 'afritaj (Oxford MS), and tafriṇaj (Helsinki MS). In Chapter 2 above, it is given as bafriṇaj. The name occurs as nafriṇaj in other medieval sources, such as al-Tha'libī (*Fiḡh al-Lughā* 69) and al-Suyūṭī (*Al-Muzhir* 86). The confection is synonymous with jawzīnaj (walnut confection). It is made like lawzīnaj (Chapter 99). To make the dry variety, follow either of the two recipes preceding this one, using walnut.

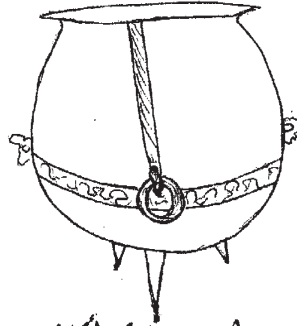
¹⁸ Kuṣḥājīm (d. c. 961).

What the eyes of the eater see is a moon in hands of maids resplendent.

On a platter, it shines with blooms like those of trees on rugs luscious and green.

This is the sweet that pleasures my heart and my craves fulfills. Anything else previously offered by hands of slaves was made.

Here end the sections that deal with
cooked dishes and desserts.



طنجبر بقلالة لكان في

فِي مَا يَتَغَذَّى بِهِ الْعَلِيلُ مِنْ مَزْوَاجِ الْبَقُولِ

HEALTHY VEGETARIAN DISHES (*MUZAWWARĀT AL-BUQŪL*)¹ FOR THE NOURISHMENT OF THE SICK

A recipe for *muzawwara* of gourd (*qarʿ*) cooked for people with fevers, from the copy of Ibn Māsawayh:²

Take a fresh and tender gourd, peel it well, and discard the [fibrous] inside and all the seeds.³ Cut it into chunks (*fuṣūs*), and put it in a clean pot. Add chopped white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*), a bit of fine salt,⁴ and a piece of cassia. Pour into it (**141r**) a suitable amount of oil of hulled sesame. Add as well 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) pounded chard, 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) fresh water (*māʾ ṭayyib*), and coriander seeds and cassia, both ground.

[When the stew is cooked], thicken it with some pith of bread (*lubāb al-khubz*), and serve it, God willing.

***Muzawwara* recipe, good for fevers and people suffering from excess of yellow bile (*aṣḥāb al-ṣafrā*), from the same copy:**

Take a clean gourd, peel it, and discard the inside seeds. Dice it and put it in a pot. Pour on it a small amount of fresh and good

¹ *Muzawwarāt* (simulated, fake) are meatless dishes which Christians eat during Lent and physicians prescribe for the sick because they are deemed lighter and easier to digest. See also Chapter 46 above for other types of *muzawwarāt*. For more information on such dishes, see Glossary, Section 6.

² The famous Nestorian physician who served a long line of Abbasid Caliphs. Some of the recipes in this chapter, with a few minor differences, occur in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawāʾid* (82–89). See Introduction, Section V. n. 71.

³ Gourd was believed to be a suitable food for the sick because of its cold properties and bland and neutral flavor. Preparations in this chapter's recipes suggest a type of gourd different from the small zucchini-like *qarʿ*, known in the Arab world nowadays as *kūsa*. The latter has a soft green skin, usually peeled and discarded.

The variety of gourd called for in this chapter is described as green, it has to be peeled very well, and the inside seeds and fibers are discarded. It also seems to be big because the recipe calls for one *qarʿ*. Indeed, one of the recipes calls for a gourd to be boiled and crushed and only one pound of it is used. See Glossary, Section 14.1.

⁴ *Milh ḥilu* (literally, 'sweet salt') pleasant-tasting salt, free of bitterness.

quality sesame oil, a small amount of fresh herbs (*abzār ruṭb*) rue, and a pinch of salt.

When the stew is done, sprinkle it with a little rose water and coriander seeds only. Sprinkle it lightly with sour juice of unripe grapes (*mā' ḥiṣrim*). Add as well a bit of white sugar, enough to balance its sweet and sour taste (*mazāza*). Thicken the stew with some crumbled pith of *khubz ma'rūk* (bread with a chewy texture).⁵ Ladle it [into a bowl and serve it], God willing.

***Muzawwara* of zīrbāj (delicate stew) for people suffering from excess in yellow bile (aṣḥāb al-ṣafrā):**⁶

Dice the white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*) and fry it in almond oil with fresh herbs. Take whichever is available of lettuce stems (*uṣūl al-kḥass*) or gourd. Cut them into big pieces, add them to the onion, and fry them until they are all golden brown (*yaḥmarr*). Sprinkle them with a small amount of wine vinegar. Add as well a bit of saffron and a piece of cassia and serve it, God willing.

Chard stew for people with fevers:

Boil chard, take it out of the pot and press out its moisture. Pound it into paste in a mortar [and set it aside].

Put in a clean pot, the white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*), cilantro, and rue, all chopped. Pour on them 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) fresh water (*mā' adḥb*), 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) sesame oil, and a piece of cassia. (141v) When water starts boiling, add the chard to the pot. If there is not enough liquid in the stew, add another *raṭl* (2 cups) of water. When the onion is cooked, season the pot with pleasant-tasting salt (*milḥ ṭayyib*). Taste the stew, adjust the seasoning then thicken it with pith of bread, God willing.

Another *muzawwara* recipe of chard (*silq*):

Dice the onion, and [put it in a pot] with slightly bruised chickpeas, and a little salt. Boil them in water until they are cooked. Add oil of almond or sesame, a few stalks of chard (*azlā' al-silq*), a suitable amount of skinned almond, and a little vinegar. Also add coriander seeds, cumin, a piece of *Sulaymānī sugar* (hard sugar-candy), and enough of

⁵ This bread is believed to be easier on the digestion because it is very well made. For a recipe, see Chapter 13 above.

⁶ This dish is usually cooked with chicken. See Chapter 57 for recipes.

pith of fine *khubz ma'rūk* (bread with a chewy texture) to thicken the stew.⁷

Stir the pot and take it away from the fire. Ladle it and let the sick person eat it, God willing.

***Muzawwara* of gourd (*qar'*) for the sick ('*alīl*):**

Peel gourd, cut it into pieces, and boil it. When it is almost done, add some *laban* (milk/yogurt?), salt, cumin, and black pepper. It is recommended for people with fevers, (*humma*), dizziness (*dawarān*), and diarrhea (*al-mashū*), God willing.

Another stew recommended for people suffering from pleurisy (*barsām*):

Take the tender tips (*aṭrāf*) of [cilantro sprigs],⁸ parsley, and dill, as well as sesame oil and water. Make stew with them. When it is done, add a small amount of fennel seeds (*rāzyānaḡ*) and *nānkhawāh* seeds (ajowan). It will cure people with dry (phlegm-free) pleurisy, with God's permission.

Another recipe good for pleurisy and ailments in liver and abdomen (*hashā*):

Combine in a pot, water, salt, dill, and ground pistachio. [Boil the mixture] Eat the solids and have its liquid for soup (*taḡsū maraḡahu*). It is beneficial for pleurisy, liver ailments, and fever, with God's permission.

(142r) Another recipe for the same conditions:

Cook together, gourd, onion, lentil, water, *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), and cumin. Eat the solids and have the liquid for soup, God willing.

Another recipe for the same conditions:

Take a fresh and tender green gourd, smear it with mud, and put it in the fire. When it is cooked, remove the peel, and discard the inside seeds with the fibers surrounding them (*laḡā*). Cut the gourd

⁷ See n. 5 above.

⁸ In the edited text it is written as *aṭrāf al-raṭba*, where obviously there is a missing word. I here make it read as *aṭrāf al-kisfara al-raṭba*. Al-Warrāq consistently uses the word *raṭba* in association with *kisfara* (fresh coriander, cilantro) to differentiate it from *kisfara yābisa* (coriander seeds).

into small pieces. Drench them in *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), and eat them.

Gourd is soft (*layyin*). It agrees with people with hot temperaments and sick people can have it to satisfy their hunger. Indeed, it is recommended for any sicknesses provoked by heat, God willing.

Another stew recipe:

Wash liver and discard its gall bladder (*marāra*). Cook it in oil [and water] and season it with ginger, long pepper (*dār fulful*), salt, and some parsley. Let it cook until it is done. The stew should be thin in consistency. Let the sick person have it like soup. It is good for hemorrhoid (*bāsūra*), indigestion (*baṭan*), and weakness in the stomach (*riqqat al-ma'ida*). Besides, it strengthens the body and stimulates the appetite, God willing.

A recipe for muzawwara of gourd (*qar'*), beneficial to feverish people:

Take a gourd, peel it, discard the inside, and dice it. Boil it in a pot with sour juice of unripe grapes, a piece of galangal, 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) almond or sesame oil, a bit of salt, and diced white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*).

When stew is done, season it with coriander and cassia and thicken it with pounded [dried] pith of bread (*lubāb al-khubz*).⁹ Offer it to the sick person with a spoon (*mil'aqa*).

It is good for people with fevers, especially those triggered by surfeit of yellow bile (*ḥumma ṣafrāʾ*).

(142v) A recipe for muzawwara of gourd (*qar'*) for people with fevers and those suffering from excess in hot properties (*aṣḥāb al-ḥarārāt*):

Choose a tender green gourd, peel it, and discard the inside including the seeds. Chop it, boil it until cooked, and pound it in a mortar until it resembles bone marrow in consistency (*mukh*). Set it aside.

Now take a clean pot and put in it 1 *dirham* (3 grams) diced white part of fresh onion (*bayād baṣal*), a piece of cassia, 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) oil of almond or sesame, a small amount of chopped fresh herbs (*abzār nuṭb*), and 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) of the prepared gourd. Pour on it juice of unripe sour grapes and fresh water, ½ *raṭl* (1 cup) each.

⁹ *Madqūq* (adj.) indicates that the bread pith is used dried.

When the onion is cooked, add to the pot, 2 *ūqīyyas* (2 ounces) skinned and ground almonds, 1 *ūqīyya* (1 ounce) *Sulaymānī* sugar (hard sugar-candy), 1 *dirham* (3 grams) salt, 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) ground coriander seeds, and 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) bread pith mixed with 5 *dirhams* (1 tablespoon) rose water.

The final stew should be medium in consistency, neither too thin nor condensed. Offer the stew to the sick person with a spoon. It is good for feverish people and those suffering from excess in hot properties, God willing.

A vegetable dish (*baqla*) for people with fevers and acute diarrhea (*ikhṭilāf al-mashī*):

Choose a tender gourd, peel it, and cook it. When it is almost done, take it out, pound it, mash it, strain it [to get a smooth consistency free of lumps], and return it to the pot.

Add what equals half its amount of milk. Add as well a small amount of the white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣaḥ*), salt, black pepper and cumin, all crushed. Thicken the dish with pith of *saḷjan* (*kaʿk*),¹⁰ and add a small amount of almond or walnut oil.

Another stew recipe for similar conditions:

Put milk in a pot. When it boils, add chard that has been boiled, pounded, and mixed with chopped onion. (143r) Also add cilantro, a bit of salt, black pepper, coriander seeds, and cumin. Stir the pot.

When stew is cooked, add *khatḥḥāra* (thickening agent) to it, [such as] a ladleful of fine crushed bread that has been rubbed with oil of almond or sesame, and serve it.

Muzawwara of chard for people suffering from excess in yellow bile (*aṣḥāb al-ṣafrāʾ*):

Boil chard stalks (*aḍlāʿ al-silq*) then take them out and put them in cold water. Press out their moisture and put them in a green-glazed bowl (*ghaḍāra*). Dredge the chard with a handful of sifted sumac. You may stir the sumac so that the chard absorbs its tartness. Season the dish (*yutaṭṭayab*) with a small amount of olive oil (*ṣayṭ*), sesame oil (*duhn ṣhayraj*), or almond oil (*duhn al-lawz*).

¹⁰ *Saḷjan* is *kaʿk*, according to al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-Lughā* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 1461, 1563. *Kaʿk* is a variety of dry cookies traditionally shaped into rings. See Glossary, Section 2.

ما يتغذى به العليل الجسد من اللحم وما اللحم

STEWES AND MEAT JUICE (*MĀ' AL-LAḤM*) FOR THE
NOURISHMENT OF THE AILING BODY¹

A recipe for meat juice (*mā' al-laḥm*) good for people suffering from chest pain, coughs (*su'āl*), and shortness of breath (*buhr*):

Choose tender lamb, preferably from the upper thigh (*uṣūl al-afkhādih*), shoulders (*mutūn*), and tenderloins (*bashṭamāzījāt*). These are the most nourishing cuts of the meat and the strongest in properties.

Cut the meat into very thin slices, put it in a pot, and [without adding water] let it cook on the fire. Whenever it releases some moisture, take it, strain it, put it in a small bowl (*uskurruja*), and sprinkle it with a bit of ground cassia.

Serve this meat juice to whoever needs it. It will sustain the stomach (*yūqawwī al-mā'ida*).

A recipe for meat juice (*mā' al-laḥm*), good for the same conditions:

Take cuts of meat from the shoulders, tenderloins, and upper thighs. Cut them into thin slices, and put them in a pot. Add neither salt nor water, and light slow-burning fire underneath it. Whenever the meat releases its juices, take it all out, and [repeat doing this] until the meat is completely dry. Add a bit of salt to the [accumulated] meat juice. (143v) If you want to increase its hot properties, add some Chinese ginger (*zanjabīl ṣīnī*).² If you want to decrease its hot properties, add some aniseeds (*anīsūn*). Let the sick person drink it.

This meat juice is good for people with consumption (*sull*) and those suffering from excess in hot or cold properties (*aṣḥāb al-ḥarārāt wa 'l-burūdāt*). It also agrees with people whose bodies are naturally

¹ Meat juice, as the recipes show here, is different from broth, usually obtained by boiling meat in a large amount of water. Meat juice is extracted by slicing meat and cooking it—no liquids added—until it ‘sweats’ and releases all its moisture. See Glossary, Section 6, s.v. *mā' al-laḥm*.

² A variety of ginger. See Glossary, Section 9.

prone to cold or hot properties (*ajsām bārīda wa ajsām ḥārira*), God willing.

A recipe for *nārbāj* (pomegranate stew) good for diarrhea (*ikhṭilāf al-baṭn*) caused by abrasive bowel disorders (*saḥj*), from the copy of Yuḥannā bin Māsawayh:³

Take as many as you can get of larks (*qanābir*), clean them, discard the entrails, and wash them. Put them in a pot, pour on them some *zayt anḡāq* (olive oil made from unripe olives). Add as well, the white part of fresh onion (*bayāḏ baṣal*), and a piece of galangal.

Pound together raisins and pomegranate seeds, mix them with water, and add them to the pot.

Start the fire underneath the pot and let it cook until meat is done. Season the pot with coriander seeds, black pepper, and cassia. Serve the dish, God willing.

A recipe for lark stew (*marqat qanābir*) for people with colic (*qawlanj*), from the copy of Ibn Māsawayh:⁴

Clean larks thoroughly, put them in a pot, pour on them water, and drizzle them with a small amount of olive oil (*zayt*). Add as well salt and the white part of fresh onion (*bayāḏ baṣal*). Boil the pot until meat is done then season it with these spices [i. e. mentioned in recipe above].

The sick person should have the liquid only. He should eat nothing of its meat.

A recipe for chicken juice (*mā al-laḥm min al-dajāj*) beneficial to people with ulcers (*qurūḥ*) in their bowels:

Take a plump chicken and slaughter it. Do not scald it to remove the feathers, but strip off its skin, instead. Take its breast and fat, slice them thinly, and put them in a pot. Start a slow fire underneath the pot, [and let it cook until] it releases its moisture.

Take the released juice and fat, season it with a bit salt, and let the ailing person have it.

³ The famous Nestorian physician who served a long line of Abbasid Caliphs.

⁴ See note 3 above.

A stew recipe recommended in cases of *ikhṭilāf al-aghrās* (frequent bowel movements due to taking laxatives):⁵

Take meat from a partridge (*ḥajal*) and larks (*qanābir*), wash it, and put it in a clean pot. Add a drop of (144r) olive oil (*zayt*), 1 *dirham* (3 grams) white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*), and a piece of galangal. Pour a bowl of strained sumac juice, and a bowl of strained juice of raisins and pomegranate mixed together. Add enough to submerge the meat.

When meat is done, strain it with a sieve (*munkḥul*), and discard the bones. Thicken the stew with pith of bread or *saljan* (*kaʿk*),⁶ and pounded almonds.

Let the sick person have it like soup (*ḥasū*). It is very beneficial, God willing.

A recipe for *maṣūṣ* (meat cooked in vinegar) for phlegmatic diarrhea (*ishāl al-balgham*):

Boil chicken, larks (*qanābir*), and sparrows (*ʿaṣāfir*). Stuff their cavities with a mix of parsley, rue, and *naʿnaʿ* (cultivated mint); as well as seeds of anise, caraway, cumin, and coriander, all fried. Add to these, *nānkḥawāh* (ajowan) and thyme.

Boil the birds [again] in vinegar that has been left overnight to steep in thyme, cumin, cassia, and black pepper then strained.

It is good and very effective, God willing.

Another *maṣūṣ* recipe recommended for diarrhea caused by excess in yellow bile (*ishāl al-ṣafrāʾ*):

Combine toasted pomegranate seeds, sumac, myrtle berries (*ḥabb al-ās*), and toasted coriander seeds. Pound them all and stuff with them the birds' cavities [mentioned in the previous recipe]. Cook the birds in vinegar of myrtle berries, sour juice of unripe grapes, and sour pomegranate juice. It is beneficial, God willing.

Another *maṣūṣ* for the same condition:

Take *naʿnaʿ* (cultivated mint), parsley, rue, fresh thyme, and *nammām* (cultivated oregano), and cook them with pullets, larks, partridge, or sparrows. [The liquid they are to be cooked in] is sour juice of

⁵ As al-Azharī explains, 1053.

⁶ *Saljan* is *kaʿk* (al-Azharī 1461, 1563). *Kaʿk* is a variety of dry cookies, traditionally shaped into rings. See Glossary, Section 2.

unripe grapes that has been infused with parsley, mint, fresh and dried thyme [and strained]. Add to the liquid, black pepper, caraway, cumin, anise, and toasted *milḥ andarānī* (good quality translucent rock salt), God willing.

Another recipe, recommended for the same condition, tried and effective (*mujarraba*):

Take *al-baqla al-ḥāmiḍa*,⁷ stems of purslane (*riḡla*), and cilantro. Cook them with young fowls (*firākḥ*) in (144v) sour juice of unripe grapes. Add to the liquid, sour pomegranate juice, coriander seeds, juice of citron pulp (*ḥummāḍ al-utruḡ*), and citron leaves, with God's permission.

Another *maṣūṣ* recipe used for the same ailment, from the copy Ibn Māsawayh:⁸

Put together parsley, *na'na'* (cultivated mint), fresh and dried thyme, cilantro, rue, and a small amount of the white part of fresh onion (*bayāḍ baṣal*). Add as well, a few citron leaves and a few tender and fresh myrtle leaves with their berries if available. Put all these on a board, and pound them with a knife. Sprinkle on them salt, coriander seeds, and black pepper. Continue pounding the mixture until the ingredients mix well.

Sprinkle them with juice of sumac, juice of sour unripe grapes, and juice of pomegranate that has been pressed with its white pith (*shaḥm*) and peel. Put as much as needed. Mix all these ingredients together, and stuff the cavities of cleaned birds [mentioned in above recipes] with them.

Boil the birds in vinegar until they cook and absorb the flavors of the spices. Serve the dish, God willing.

⁷ A bland variety of *ḥummāḍ* (sorrel), similar to endive. Also called *baqla Khurāsāniyya*. See Glossary, Section 14.1.

⁸ See n. 3 above.

ما يوافي أصحاب النزل من اللحماء والحريرات

SOUPS (*IḤSĀ* AND *ḤARĪRĀT*)¹ FOR COLD-RELATED
MALADIES (*NAẒLĀT*)

A recipe for almond soup (*ḥasū al-lawz*):

Wash a pot, fill it with clean water, and put it on the fire. Add white sugar, half the amount of water used. Add as well finely ground almonds, the amount of which is equal to that of sugar. When the soup is cooked, add crushed dried bread pith,² and almond oil. When you ladle it, the soup should be moist and runny (*raṭba*) in consistency. It will do the sick person good, God willing.

A recipe for fava-beans broth (*mā' bāqillī*), good for soothing pain of a sore throat and hoarseness of the voice (*baḥḥa*) caused by having a cold:

Take sprouted fava beans (*bāqillī manbūt*) and boil them with the skin until they fall apart. Take 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) of the beans broth, dissolve in it 1/3 *raṭl* (10 ounces) *fānīdh* *shajarī*,³ and sip it (*yuhṣā*). It is quite beneficial, God willing. After that, eat the beans themselves unsalted, for they are also good, God willing.

(145r) Stew recipe (*marqa*), recommended for coughs:

Cook together, gourd, onion, lentil, water, *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), and cumin. Sip the broth (*yuhṣā*) and eat the vegetables.

Another stew, recommended for the same condition:

Peel fava beans, pound them, and cook them [with water] until stew is done and thickened (*rabā*). Season it with ground caraway and a bit of salt. It can be eaten hot or cold.

¹ *Iḥsā* (sing. *ḥasū*) are light and smooth soups; *ḥarīrāt* (sing. *ḥarīra*) are silk-smooth soups made with starch or fine white flour.

² In Helsinki MS, it is *saḥjan maftūt*, which is *kā'k*, a variety of dry cookies traditionally shaped into rings. See Glossary, Section 2.

³ Chewy candy, a variety of pulled taffy. The name *shajarī* seems to be a corruption of *Sijzī*, named after Sijistān, a region to the east of Persia. See Glossary, Section 5.

Another recipe, good for coughs:

Take sweet and sour pomegranate, parsley, dill, onion, and sesame oil. Cook them all together and season them with a small amount of *murri* (liquid fermented sauce). Sip the broth (*yuhṣā*) and eat the vegetables.

A stew recipe good for coughs, from the copy of Ibn Māsawayh:⁴

Take fresh fish and cook it well. Add pounded walnut and boil them together. Sip the broth (*yuhṣā*), for it is healing, God willing.

A recipe for stew of *kishk*,⁵ recommended for coughs, tightness of the chest (*ḥaṣar*), and pleurisy (*barsām*), a tried-and-true cure (*mujarraba*):

Cook the *kishk* in water, and season it with ginger, long pepper (*dār fulful*), and cumin. Add a small amount of clarified butter of sheep.

Let the stew be thin in consistency so that the sick person can sip it (*yahṣū*). It will ease the tightness of the chest, coughs, and pleurisy, God willing.

Another recipe for curing coughs, asthma (*rabū*), and wheezing (*ṣufār*), from the same copy [Ibn Māsawayh]:⁶

Take one part of each of the following: cassia, long pepper, ginger, *kathīrā* (gum of tragacanth tree),⁷ kernels (*lubāb*) of cottonseeds, *lubān dhakar* (white frankincense),⁸ condensed licorice juice (*rubb al-sūs*), gum Arabic, and *nānkhawāh* (ajowan).

Pound the spices and sift them. Add honey, which has been [boiled] and skimmed of its froth, and mix them into paste. Store it in a green-

⁴ The famous Nestorian physician, who served a long line of Abbasid Caliphs.

⁵ *Kishk* is dried dough of wheat and yogurt used to flavor soups and stews. See Glossary, Section 2.

⁶ This recipe and the following two are not soup recipes but medicinal compounds for curing cold-related symptoms, which is after all the purpose of this chapter.

⁷ I amend here *kababrā* (?) in the edited text to *kathīrā*, gum commonly used in cough medicines (Ibn al-Bayṭār 581). See Glossary, Section 12.2.

⁸ I amend here *lubāb* (kernels) to *lubān* (frankincense) based on context. *Lubān dhakar*—literally, ‘male frankincense’—is excellent quality, white variety of frankincense. According to Ibn al-Bayṭār, this ingredient is used to treat bronchitis and dry up phlegm in the chest (613), which is a perfect fit for the given recipe.

glazed earthenware jar (*burma khadrā'*) or glass jars (*qawārīr*). (145v)

Take a lump, size of a hazelnut, of the paste twice daily—first thing in the morning and before you sleep. It is a tried-and-true cure.

Another cough medicine from the same copy

[Ibn Māsawayh]:

Take 5 *mithqāls* (22½ grams) *fānīdh shajarī* (sugar-candy),⁹ 5 *mithqāls* (22½ grams) *kundur dhakar* (excellent-quality frankincense),¹⁰ 1 *mithqāl* (4½ grams) *afyūn* (opium).

Pound the ingredients separately. Knead them into paste by adding some cold water to them. Set mixture aside for a short while then form it into small balls (*banādiq*), the size of the stone of the fruit of the medlar-tree (*nabq*), each.¹¹

Put one piece under the tongue once a day.

Another cough medicine, quite effective, from the same copy:

Take one part of each of the following: seeds of *marū* (sweet-smelling herb of the mint family), seeds of *shāhasfaram* (variety of mint, smells like thyme), *bazr qattūna* (fleawort),¹² and *kathīrā* (gum of tragacanth tree).¹³

Pick the ingredients over and put them in a glass (*qadaḥ*). Pour on them a small amount of water and whip the mixture. Stir in oil of violet (*banafsq*) or narcissus (*narjīs*). Drink it first thing in the morning.

A recipe for *harīra* (silk-smooth soup) recommended for coughs and chest pain, from the same copy

[Ibn Māsawayh]:

Take strained broth of fava beans and throw into it a suitable amount of *fānīdh* (chewy sugar-candy). Dissolve starch in water, strain it, and add it to the broth. Let the soup cook into a soft and smooth

⁹ A variety of pulled taffy. The name *shajarī* seems to be a corruption of *Sijzī*, named after Sijistān, a region to the east of Persia. See Glossary, Section 5.

¹⁰ Also known as *lubān*. See Glossary, Section 9.

¹¹ See Glossary, Section 8.

¹² For information on the herbs mentioned, see Glossary, Section 9.

¹³ See n. 7 above.

consistency (*layyin rakhū*). Add oil of sesame or almonds. When it is done, ladle it into a bowl, and let the sick person have it.

Another *ḥarīra* (silk-smooth soup) for people suffering from excess in hot properties (*aṣḥāb al-ḥarārāt*):

Put *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar) in a pot and pour water on it, enough to cover it or even less. Let it boil, strain it, and skim the froth.¹⁴

Rub starch between your fingers very well [to break down lumps] and sift it in a fine sieve (*munkhul sha'r*). Add it to the pot and cook the mixture until the soup becomes soft and smooth (*layyin rakhū*). Add oil of almond or oil of unhulled sesame (*duhn al-ḥal*) and let the soup absorb it. Ladle it into a bowl (*ghaḍāra*), God willing.

A recipe for *ḥasū* (smooth soup), good for chest pain and coughs, from the same copy [Ibn Māsawayh]:

(146r) Pour the needed amount of water into a clean pot. Add sugar, half the amount of water used. Drizzle into the pot a few drops of fat. When it comes to a good boil, add 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) black pepper, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) coriander seeds, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) gum Arabic, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) *lubān dhakar* (excellent-quality frankincense),¹⁵ and 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) flour of fava beans.

Let the pot come to a boil then add some fine *ḥuwwārā* flour (bran-free) to thicken its broth. When it boils and develops a smooth and moist consistency, add almond oil, or oil of unhulled sesame seeds (*duhn al-ḥal*).¹⁶ Let the sick person have it. It is a tried-and-true cure.

¹⁴ Skimming the froth should have been mentioned before straining it.

¹⁵ Also called *kundur dhakar*. See Glossary, Section 9.

¹⁶ I replace here (خل) 'vinegar' with (حل) 'sesame oil', clearly a mistake on the part of the copyist.

فِي حَمْلِ اللَّامِرَاقِ مِنَ الْمَجْبُوبِ لِلْعَلِيلِ الْمَكْرُوبِ

MAKING GRAIN STEWS FOR THE SICK

Stew recipe for upset stomachs and indigestion, from the same copy [Ibn Māsawayh]:¹

Start with unhusked rice, dry toast it in a frying pan and remove whatever is shelled of its husk.² Then boil the rice with pomegranate seeds [and water]. When it is done, add a piece of long pepper (*dār fulful*), a small piece of ginger, salt, and cumin, all ground.

Continue boiling until everything is cooked. Let the final stew be thin so that the sick person can sip it (*yaḥsū*). It is good for indigestion (*fāsād al-maʿida*) and for those whose food lingers in the stomach undigested. It purges flatulence and softens and improves the bowels. It is quite healthy (*ṣāliḥ*) and easy to digest (*marī*), God willing.

A recipe for stew of pomegranate seeds and dry toasted rice (*aruzz maqlū*), good for liver, fevers, and pain in the upper gate of the stomach (*wajaʿ al-fuʿād*):

Put in a pot, pomegranate seeds, dry toasted shelled rice (*aruzz muqashshar maqlū*) [see recipe above], sesame seeds, long pepper, ginger, cumin, and salt. Add water to the pot and let it cook. The stew should be thin in consistency so that the sick person can sip it (*yaḥsū*).

It is recommended for the liver, fever, gall (*marār*), wind in the ureters (*ḥālibayn*) and the sides (*al-janb*). It relieves pain in the upper gate of the stomach (*fuʿād*), (146v) strengthens the body, cures and sustains the stomach. It is a tried-and-true cure.

¹ The famous Nestorian physician, who served a long line of Abbasid Caliphs.

² The verb is *qalā*, literally, ‘fry.’ Usually, a frying pan is used in dry toasting grains and seeds. The verb retains the same sense in the modern Iraqi dialect such as when dry toasting salted melon seeds.

A recipe for another stew, good for gastric ailments and painful joints:³

Cook together in water, cumin, dill, and 3 crabs (*saraṭān*). When the stew is done, sprinkle it with ground walnut, and eat it. It is good for all the ailments we mentioned, God willing.

Another stew recipe, recommended for a person suffering from gastric ailments (*mabṭūn*):

Pound cumin and put it in a *qaṣ'a* (big, wide plate). Add to it a few cloves of garlic and pound them together. Sprinkle them with a little hot water, olive oil (*zayt*), and sumac. Eat this [paste] with the meal.

In the following morning, eat *ḥurf* (seeds of pepper grass) and *baẓr qaṭṭūna* (fleawort) mixed with some water and olive oil (*zayt*). This will restrain bowel movements and relieve gastric pain.

Alternatively, you can wash unhusked rice and let it dry in a shaded place for a short while. Boil it, remove its husk then crush the grains. Next, cook it with cumin, a bit of coriander seeds, a small lump of salt, and a small amount of clarified butter (*samn*) or olive oil (*zayt*). Eat [the solids] and sip the liquid. Add a generous amount of black pepper to the stew. This is a proven cure.

Another stew recipe for gastric ailments:

Cut off both ends of leeks (*kurrāth*) and chop the remaining part [i.e. stalks]. Pour water enough to submerge them. Let them cook until all moisture evaporates and leeks cook and turn yellow.

Mince the leeks, break on them 3 eggs, and add a small amount of *murri* (liquid fermented sauce). Briefly cook the ingredients and mix them gently. Serve the dish when the eggs are slightly set. It is very good for gastric ailments, God willing.

Another recipe, good for pleurisy (*barsām*):

Mix clarified butter of cow's milk with sesame oil. Rub this on the head of the patient, and wrap it with a bandage. This is good for severe cases of pleurisy.

³ *Riyāḥ al-mafāṣil* (winds in joints). According to the medieval medical theories, some physical disorders were attributed to accumulation of winds of various densities in the body such as in the head (causing headaches), womb, and joints.

(147r) Another recipe [a poultice] used when pleurisy affects the head:⁴

Mix flour of barley and wheat and knead them together [with some water] until they resemble bread [dough]. Make it into a ball (*qurṣ*), which you then flatten and smear with hot oil of violet (*banafṣaj*).

You need to have two discs drenched in the oil and ready to use. You put one under the [back of] the patient's head (*qahf al-ra's*) and when it cools down, replace it with a hot one. Repeat this [procedure] three times. Do it twice daily—once in the morning, and once at bedtime. Moreover, use violet oil to induce sneezing (*tas'īt*).

A Recipe for barley broth (*mā' al-sha'īr*) from the copy of Ibn Māsawayh:⁵

When you want to make this broth for the patient, take new or old barley [with the husk] and wash it clean after you pick it over. Soak it for a whole hour (*ṣā'a ṣāliḥa* a good hour), [drain it then] cover it with a thick cloth overnight.

In the following day, pound the barley in a stone mortar (*ḥajar*) or brass mortar (*ḥāwan*). You can also use a hand mill (*mijashsha*) to bruise it. Then winnow it (*yunassaf* to get rid of husk), pick it over, and put it in a clean pot.

For each *kayl* (measure) of barley, add 14 *kayls* (measures) of water. Start a slow fire of coals underneath the pot and let it simmer slowly until two thirds of the liquid evaporate and it develops a slightly thick consistency. Let the patient drink (*yusqā*) [the drained] broth, with or without sugar. It is beneficial.

Barley broth can also be made by putting the [prepared] barley and water in a pot. Put this pot in another pot that has water in it. Light the fire underneath it and cook it as described above, God willing.⁶

⁴ I here translate the Oxford MS version of the recipe only because it is more detailed than Helsinki's. The latter is useful in making minor amendments.

⁵ See n. 1 above. *Mā' al-sha'īr* (barley broth) is also known as *mā' al-kishk* (ماء الكشك), and *kishkāb* (كشكاب) (Ibn Waḥshiyya 1: 424).

⁶ Prolonged cooking on slow fire or in a double boiler, as described here, is one of the secrets of cooking good barley broth. See Glossary, Section 6, s.v. *mā' al-sha'īr*.

ما يتغذى به أصحاب اليرقاه من التَّبَوُّط والبناف

NOURISHING FISH DISHES OF *SHABBŪṬ* AND *BUNNĪ*¹ FOR PEOPLE WITH JAUNDICE

A recipe good for people with jaundice (*yaraqān*):

Wash the fish thoroughly in juice of small and smooth cucumber (*khiyār*). Stuff it with cucumber and sprinkle it with a bit of salt and olive oil. Bake it and let the sick person eat it.

Another fish recipe:

(147v) Take *ukshūth* (dodder),² pulp of small and smooth cucumber (*khiyār*), sprigs of rue, a small amount of parsley, and fresh leeks. Chop them all into fine pieces. Stuff the cavity of a fish with this mixture and bake it or cook it in vinegar or any other liquid. It is a tried-and-true cure, God willing.

A medicinal recipe for jaundice that men can use (*yasta'miluhu al-rijāl*):

Mix equal amounts of sticks of gum-lac (*luk*),³ *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar), dried dodder (*ukshūth*), and dried peel of yellow cucumber (*khiyār asfar*).⁴ [Grind them all and] knead them with pure honey. Let the man sick with jaundice have it with juice of rue (*mā' sadhāb*).

Another recipe for jaundice [women can use]:

If the afflicted person is a woman, pregnant or breast-feeding, let her have what we prescribed above with fresh juice of small and smooth cucumber (*khiyār*), or juice of endive (*hindibā*). It will do her good, God willing.

Another one [for jaundice]:

Take leeks (*kurrāth*) and eat it with boiled fish, [especially] *shabbūt* (carp). It is beneficial, God willing.

¹ Esteemed species of river fish. See Glossary, Section 11.3

² For information on this weed, see Glossary, Section 9.

³ For information on this ingredient, see Glossary, Section 12.2.

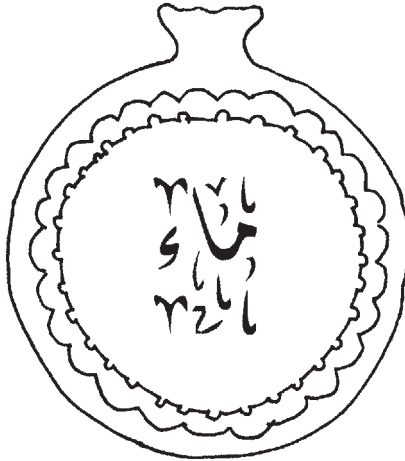
⁴ Fully ripe cucumber, which has turned yellow.

تدبير الماء المتروب المنزّل وبالتلج المتروب

MEASURES TAKEN WHEN DRINKING WATER
COOLED IN *MUZAMMALA*¹ OR CHILLED WITH
CRUSHED ICE (*ṬHALJ MADRŪB*)

One should avoid drinking water first thing in the morning. Neither is it advisable to drink it while having a meal, or even after having it until the upper part of the abdomen feels light. Meanwhile one should drink just enough to abate feelings of thirst, and no more. It is only when the digesting food descends and the upper belly feels light that one can have his fill of water and any other drinks, God willing.

Ice-chilled water (*mā' al-ṭhalj*) should be taken in small amounts when having a meal, and only sparsely.² In such a case, drinking it



¹ *Muzammala* was a large green-glazed vessel used for cooling water. It was usually insulated by wrapping it in sackcloth. For better insulation during the summer, straw was stuffed between the sackcloth and the outside walls of the glazed vessel. See Glossary, Section 10.1.

A chapter in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id* is identical with this one, both in title and content (12-13). See Introduction, Section V. n. 71.

² I amend here *bāridan* بارداً (cold) in the edited text to *nādiran* نادراً (rarely, sparsely), based on the duplicate passage in *Kanz al-Fawā'id* (12). It makes more sense in the given context. See above note

in small quantities will not do harm. (148r) However, people with weak nervous systems or cold stomachs and livers should shun ice-chilled water. In fact, it is not good for anybody who suffers from slow digestion, and feels weak and drained of energy. Those who have a lot of flesh on them, their blood is red, and their appetites are strong, these should not be wary of it. They can have it whenever they wish, and even while eating because it will do them very little harm, God willing.

Drinking water first thing in the morning:

You need to know that drinking cold water first thing in the morning is recommended only for people suffering from acute heat (*iltihāb*), fevers, and hangovers (*khumār*). However, they should avoid drinking it in one big gulp. Rather, they need to have it in several small doses and breathe deeply between one dose and the other.

Water is good, and drinking it according to these regulations will benefit the body and keep it strong.



فِي خَاصِيَةِ الْمَاءِ الْمُبَرَّرِ فِي الْهُوَاءِ

QUALITIES OF AIR-COOLED WATER (*MĀ' MUBARRAD BI'L-HAWĀ'*)

Regulations for drinking water:¹

Know that water preserves the body's innate moistures. It thins down the nourishing liquids and facilitates their absorption. It also restrains heat. Therefore, it suits people with fevers and those with hot temperaments more than wine (*sharāb*) does.

Know also that the best and the most beneficial water is the lightest in weight, the fastest to heat up or cool down, and the sweetest in taste. Water with an odious taste or smell is the worst. It is bad, and thereby is not fit to drink. However, it might be useful medicinally (**148v**) Murky water (*kadīr*) causes blockages in the liver and stones in the kidneys.

Salty water causes diarrhea first then constipation. If a person drinks it all the time, it will cause putridity to settle in, the spleen to enlarge,² and the humors to spoil. Drinking it propagates fevers.

Water chilled with ice (*mubarrad bi 'l-thalj*), or water which of itself is as cold, will awaken and arouse the drinker if taken first thing in the morning. It is also good for cooling down the liver. However, only people prone to excess heat should have it first thing in the morning as they will benefit greatly from it. Having it with the meal strengthens the stomach and arouses the appetite, provided it is taken only in small amounts.

Chilled water that is too cold to enjoy causes flatulence, does not quench feelings of thirst, spoils the appetite, and slackens the body. In short, it is not good.

¹ Part of this chapter is identical with Chapter 4 of the medieval Egyptian cook-book *Kānẓ al-Fawā'id* (13, 266). The title is similar, with this addition (وما قالت فيه) (الحكماء) “and what the physicians said about it.” See Introduction, Section V. n. 71.

² I amend here this statement with the help of *Kānẓ al-Fawā'id* (266). See above note.

Boiled water is very good if taken first thing in the morning. Tepid water nauseates and is only good for inducing vomiting (*'ilāq*).

Hot water taken first thing in the morning can cleanse the stomach of the previous day's excretions. It can also have a laxative power. However, having too much of it will exhaust the stomach (*yukhliq*) and cause it to smell bad (*yuzhim*).

CHAPTER 112

ذِكْرُ الْإِنْتِفَاعِ بِسُرْبِ الْفَقَّاعِ

BENEFITS OF DRINKING *FUQQĀ'* (ALCOHOL-FREE BEER)

***Fuqqā'* made with ground malted barley (*daqīq al-sha'īr*):³**

Know that *fuqqā'* made with ground malted barley (*daqīq al-sha'īr*) is harmful to the nerves and causes headaches and flatulence. It is diuretic. It abates excessive heat generated by fevers (*thāyirat al-ḥumma*) and subdues yellow bile (*ṣafrā'*). It also cures excessive heat in the stomach.

Fuqqā' made with *khubz ḥuwwārā* (bread made with fine bran-free flour) and seasoned with *na'na'* (cultivated mint), parsley, tarragon, (149r) and rue, is good. It is even more nourishing than *fuqqā'* made with ground malted barley (*daqīq al-sha'īr*). However, it is not recommended for people with excessively hot properties or those suffering from fevers.

³ *Fuqqā'*, literally 'bubbly drink,' is non-intoxicating beer due to the brief period it is allowed to ferment—from morning to evening or evening to following morning. It can be alcoholic if left longer to ferment. The recipe for making ground malted barley (*daqīq al-sha'īr*), the base ingredient for this drink, is in the following chapter.

عمل الفجاج المختار السافج وباللبنار

MAKING EXCELLENT *FUQQĀ'*
(ALCOHOL-FREE BEER), PLAIN (*SĀDHAJ*)
AND FLAVORED (*BI 'L-ABZĀR*)

A recipe for *i'māl al-fuqqā'*,¹ which 'Abdullāh al-Sharābī used in making *Ḥarrāniyya* for al-Mu'taḍid:²

Choose good quality newly-harvested white barley. The best would be barley that was harvested two or three months ago. Wash it thoroughly to get rid of the husk, dirt, and stones that might be in it. After that, let it soak for a day and a night [24 hours].

Drain the barley the following day and spread it on a clean reed mat (*bāriyya*) put in a shaded place. Sprinkle the barley with water whenever it looks dry until it sprouts and becomes thick and entangled like green fenugreek (*hulba*). At this point, stop sprinkling it with water and leave it until it dries out. Then grind the sprouts with the grain shells and use whatever amount you need of it to make beer.

The resulting ground barley is called *daqīq al-sha'īr* (ground malted barley). It is used in making *fuqqā'*.

Barley sprouted during the coldest days [of the year] will grow faster, and yield better results, God willing.

A recipe for *fuqqā'* made with *khubz samīdh*:³

Take *daqīq al-sha'īr* (ground, malted barley, recipe above) and put it in a vessel. For each 50 *kūz ṣaghīr* (beer glasses) you are making, use 3 *raṭls* (3 pounds) of the malted barley.

Boil water, enough for making 50 beer glasses, and pour it on the malted barley. Stir and mix until only barley shells remain. Set it aside to cool down then strain it and take the amount enough for making 50 beer glasses. Add a suitable amount of *andarānī* salt

¹ Malted barley, basic ingredient in making beer.

² *Ḥarrāniyya* must be a variety of *fuqqā'* named after the ancient city of Ḥarrān in northern Mesopotamia. See Appendix. al-Sharābī, as the name suggests, must have been the palace butler of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'taḍid (d. 902).

³ Bread made with fine flour, high in starch, and free of bran.

(pure and white rock salt) so that the beer will be neither too salty nor bland. The best way to judge is for the beer-maker to taste it. (149v) Set the liquid aside until it settles and looks like clear water. [This clear water will be referred to in the recipes as *mā' al-sha'ir* 'barley water'].

Now take *khubz samīdh*, and for each 50 beer glasses, use 2½ breads. Remove the crust, and put the pith in a sieve set on a [big] glass (*qadah*). Pour some of the strained barley water on the pith and keep on mashing and rubbing it in the strainer, adding barley water as needed until nothing of the pith remains in the sieve.

Put the sieve right above the barley water vessel and let the mashed pith [you have in the glass] pass through the sieve into the barley water.

For each 20 beer glasses of barley water, add 1½ *ūqīyyas* (1½ ounces) *Sulaymānī* sugar (hard sugar-candy), and 1 *dānaq* (½ gram) *sukk* or musk.⁴ Therefore, [for making] 50 beer glasses, you will be adding 3¼ *ūqīyyas* (3¼ ounces) *Sulaymānī* sugar (hard sugar-candy), and 2½ *dānaqs* (1¼ grams) *sukk* or musk.

Pour the prepared brew into big decanters (*kīzān*) in which beer has recently been brewed (*tariyya*).⁵ Any *hubb* (big earthenware jar), *inā'* (container), and *kīzān* (decanters) used in making *fuqqā'* need to be used for 10 days only. They have to be replaced [to prevent fermentation]. You put the prepared *fuqqā'* in the container from the morning until the night or from the night until the following morning. Then replace it with a new batch of *fuqqā'*. Keep on doing this for ten days until you notice signs of fermentation—a line of bubbles appearing [on the surface] around the inside wall of the container.⁶ [During these ten days] the brewing containers should be washed only from the outside.

When you put the prepared liquid to brew in the container, add rue, tarragon and *na'na'* (cultivated mint). Set it aside in a warm place in winter and in a cool place in the summer, from the morn-

⁴ *Sukk* is an aromatic compound formed into pastilles. See Glossary, Section 13.

⁵ *Kūz* (pl. *kīzān*) is made in different sizes. The small *kūz* mentioned earlier in the recipe is for drinking beer; a bigger one functions as a pitcher; and an even bigger one made of clay (*fakḥkhār*) to brew the beverage. See Glossary, Sections 10.1, and Section 15.

⁶ This will be a sign that the vessels need to be replaced with new ones. Otherwise, they will cause the brewing drink to ferment.

ing prayers till sundown or [from sundown] till the morning prayers, God willing.

A recipe for *fuqqā' al-aruzz* (rice beer):

In all its varieties, rice beer is done the same way bread beer is done [previous recipe]. You only substitute bread with rice.

For each 20 beer glasses (*kūz*) of barley water (*mā' al-sha'ir*) [details in previous recipe], use 1 beer glass of *ja'farī* rice.⁷ Wash the rice thoroughly, finely grind it, add it to the strained barley water, and whip the mixture.⁸

Increase the amount of sugar specified in the bread beer [recipe above] (**150r**). Add $\frac{1}{2}$ *ūqiyya* ($\frac{1}{2}$ ounce) more to the 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *ūqiyyas* (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ounces) of *Sulaymānī* sugar (hard sugar-candy) we specified for each 20 beer glasses.

Add to the liquid the same amounts of *sukk* and all the other ingredients we mentioned in the bread beer [above], God willing.

A recipe for *fuqqā' al-lawz* (almond beer):

Substitute rice used [in recipe above] with almonds. For each 20 [*kūz* of barley water], use [1 *kūz* of] skinned almonds. Grind them as you did with rice and add them to the barley water. Prepare the drink as described in the bread beer, God willing.

A recipe for *fuqqā' Qarashī*,⁹ flavored with spices:

You make it exactly as we described in the bread beer [recipe above] up to the point where we say, “until it settles and looks like clear water.”

Now, to each 50 beer glasses (*kūz*) of barley water add 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) black pepper, 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) cassia, 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) spikenard and cloves, and two nutmegs. Add as well mace (*basbāsa*), black cardamom (*qāqulla*), chestnut (*kistāna*),¹⁰ and long pepper (*dār*

⁷ Perhaps called so because it is a yellowish variety of rice (based on Steingass's interpretation of *ja'farī* as 'finest kind of gold'). Alternatively, it could be a variety of river rice, *ja'far* being a 'river' (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. جعفر). In the latter sense, it might have been similar to the aromatic rice, nowadays called 'timman 'anbar,' growing in the southern marshes of Iraq.

⁸ Whipping encourages more bubbles to form while brewing (*Kanz al-Fawā'id* 161).

⁹ Named after Quraysh, the famous Arabian tribe of the Prophet Muḥammad.

¹⁰ Also known as *shāhbalūt* and *qaṣṭal*.

fulful), use 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) of each. Crush all these spices until they are as smooth as bone marrow (*mukḥ*), and add them to the strained barley water. Whip the mixture with the hand and set it aside to let it settle and become clear.

Add 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) *sukk misk*,¹¹ and 1/3 *raṭl* (5 ounces) *Sulaymānī* sugar (hard sugar-candy) for each 50 beer glasses (*kūz*) of barley liquid. Flavor it with rue, tarragon, and *na'na'* (cultivated mint). [The rest is as in bread beer recipe above]

***Fuqqā' al-ʿasal* (honey beer):**

Take good quality honey and for each part of honey, use 4 parts water. Honey [if thick] might take more than four parts of water.

Take equal amounts of black pepper, long pepper, cloves, ginger, cassia, (150v) Ceylon cinnamon (*qarfā*), spikenard, and a small amount of black cardamom (*qāqulla*). Grind them all very well, and mix with them a handful of millet flour (*jāwarsh*).

Get the beer-brewing containers (*kīzān*) ready and for each *kūz* make two covers of leather.

Now, fill these containers with honey, which has been whipped in hot water [ratios mentioned above], and add what your nail can hold of the ground spices. Put sprigs of rue in each container, and cover and tie their heads, but not too tightly [to allow some of the gases to escape].

Prepare a hole in the ground for them, line its bottom with pieces of felt (*labda*), and stack the containers one above the other in it. Cover them with felt and leave them there for two days. Drink of the beer on the third day, God willing.

Another honey beer:

Mix honey with [hot] water and add cassia, spikenard, cloves, and black pepper.¹² Add ½ *qisṭ* (1½ cups) of the barley water [recipe in bread beer above], and put mixture in the containers (*kīzān*). Add some sprigs of rue to the brew then [cover the containers], turn them upside down, and leave them like this overnight, God willing.

¹¹ Aromatic compound, perfumed with musk, usually formed into pastilles. See Glossary, Section 13.

¹² Quantities used are similar to the recipe above it.

Another [honey] beer recipe:

Boil water and mix it with honey, using five parts of water for each part of honey. While water is still hot, whip the mixture with the hand very well. Add to it a small amount of wine dregs (*durdī nabīdh*) and set it aside for a day to sour (*qaraṣa*).

Now, add to the honey liquid, a similar amount of barley water (*mā' al-sha'ir*) [recipe in bread beer above]. Flavor it with Ceylon cinnamon (*garfa*), spikenard, saffron, and a few sprigs of rue. Pour it into bottles (*qawārīr*), which you set aside overnight. The beer will become clear and no longer murky (*kadīr*).

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kātib recited to me verses that 'Abdullāh bin al-Mu'tazz composed on *fūqqā'*.¹³

(151r) Made of hearts of wheat, pure and cool like silver, redolent with tender aloe of Mandal.¹⁴

Such a fragrance it gives, the soul yearns to have it. A taste so delicious like lovers' saliva when kissing exchanged.

When poured into bottles, even the most proficient would think it with sandalwood infused.

Flavored with musk, *sukk*,¹⁵ and ambergris, mixed all together with essence of cloves.

Such a drink would quench the heat before the meal proceeds, and like *ṭaranfal*,¹⁶ it makes yellow bile recede.

A cure for hangovers taken with ice, first thing in the morning or after a hurried meal.

Like water from heaven descending when from the decanter into a glass 'tis poured.

Topped with woven nets of wet pearls. Fresh, like strings of pearls securely enmeshed.

He also recited to me verses of his own composition:

When waking up with a hangover on a summer morn, nothing relieves the pains of wine better than

Fūqqā' drink on an empty stomach taken. Head and chest it will relieve alike.

¹³ Kuṣḥājīm (d. c. 961), and the Abbasid prince, poet, and man of letters (d. 908), respectively. See Appendix.

¹⁴ An Indian city famous for its excellent aloe wood.

¹⁵ Aromatic compound perfumed with musk, usually formed into pastilles. See Glossary, Section 13.

¹⁶ Myrobalan electuary. See Glossary, Section 12.2, s.v. *īṣṭīfal*.

Having *fuqqā*¹⁷, to me, has more benefits than *jullāb*,¹⁷ if only you heed advice.

Drink it and the hangover fizzles, and in drunkenness, the heart it soothes when with heat it sizzles.

Fifth of it is ice, with Dārī musk crushed,¹⁸ like a green emerald vibrant with sheen.

Of barley water made, spikenard, musk, and *sukk*,¹⁹ spiked with white ambergris *Shahrī*.²⁰

A drink radiantly green, like necklaces of precious stones on bountiful bosoms.

Here it comes draped, like darkness suspending over the dawn.

Crushed ice floating in the drink resembles crushed camphor scattered on pearls.

When opened, splendid aromas emit like fumigated *nidd* on burning embers sizzles.²¹

(151v) Aromas of camphor, musk, and ambergris diffuse like scents emanating of a perfume box freshly unsealed.

Bubbling in its brewing jars,²² as if woven pearls are running on it.

When poured into a pint,²³ on its face nets of silver form, some neatly thrown and some not.

Agonies of hangovers it will set to rest, and in heat and cold, yellow bile it will arrest.

¹⁷ Rose water syrup, believed to have medicinal benefits. See Glossary Section 5.

¹⁸ Excellent musk imported from India through the ancient seaport of Dārīn in Bahrayn (al-Bīrūnī *Kītāb al-Ṣaydana* 4).

¹⁹ Aromatic compound perfumed with musk, usually formed into pastilles. See Glossary, Section 13.

²⁰ Top quality ambergris, named after the Yemenite coast al-Shahr.

²¹ Perfume compound. See Glossary, Section 13.

²² Called *kurr* (pl. *kirār*) cistern-like container, also used as a measuring unit.

²³ Called *ratl*, which like a pint, is also used as a measuring unit.

فِي طَبِيعِ اللَّابَنَةِ وَاللَّسْرِبةِ الْمُتَخَمَّرَةِ

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF WINES (*ANBIDHA*)¹ AND OTHER BEVERAGES (*SHARĀB*)²

Know that beverages (*sharāb*) differ greatly with regard to their properties due to changes and transformations they undergo, each according to its own essential nature.

A recipe for making *khamr* (intoxicating wine) from raisins:³

For each 10 *ratls* (10 pounds) of raisins, use 22 *ratls* (22 pints) of soft water (*mā' ḥilū* sweet). Follow the instructions we give in making *al-shamsī* wine (fermented in the heat of the sun) [last recipe in this chapter]. Use the same ingredients required except for *faṭṭāra* (fermented dough used as wine yeast),⁴ which you replace with honey. For each jar (*jarra*) of wine, use 3 *ūqiyyas* (3 ounces) honey.

Whisk the mixture with *midrab* (whisk) and stow the jars away in a sunny place, as we mention [in the last recipe].

A recipe for plain honey wine (*sharāb mu'assal sādhaḡ*):

Take 10 *ratls* (10 pounds) good quality bees' honey and 20 *ratls* (40 pints) river water, which you collect at the time of the river rising tide (*madd*). Whip them together and boil the mixture until one third of it evaporates. Add 1½ *ūqiyyas* (1½ ounces) saffron.

¹ *Nabīdh* is wine made with grapes, dates, or honey. The non-intoxicating varieties, kept for no more than 3 days, were permissible. The intoxicating varieties, allowed to ferment for more than three days, were prohibited by observant Muslims for they were regarded like *khamr* (see note 3 below). See Glossary, Section 1.

² *Sharāb* and *ashriba* were used in the general sense of beverages. However, *sharāb* may designate wines (intoxicating and non-intoxicating). A regular imbiber of alcohol was called *shirīb* or *sharrāb* (drinker).

³ *Khamr* derives from *takhammara* ferment. According to the religious Islamic restrictions, any grape drink left to ferment and bubble without cooking and causes its imbiber to get intoxicated is *ḥarām* (non-permissible).

⁴ The yeast in the dough gives the wine must its first crack (*faṭr*) at fermentation, and hence *faṭṭāra* 'the cracking agent.'

Empty the liquid into large flagons (*qarrābāt*). Leave the vessels in the sun for 40 days after which you can store them and use the wine as needed. In color and taste, it will be exactly like *Shīrāzī*.⁵

A delicious drink (*sharāb ṭayyib*) from the recipe of Abū Yazīd al-Madīnī:⁶

Prepare 20 *raṭls* (20 pounds) honey, which has been [boiled] and skimmed of its froth, and 60 *raṭls* (60 pints) water. Also prepare nutmeg, cloves, black cardamom (*qāqulla*), *zurnubād* (zedoary),⁷ and fennel, 6 *mithqāls* (a little less than an ounce) each. Use as well, 30 *mithqāls* (4 ounces) ginger. Grind all these spices, sift them, and put them in a loosely tied bundle of thin cloth.

Put honey, water, and the spice bundle in a pot. Let them cook on low heat until all the water evaporates and only honey remains. Put the pot away from the fire. Add 1 *mithqāl* (4½ grams) saffron and 1 *mithqāl* (4½ grams) musk, each crushed separately.

Pour the drink into a glass jar (*qārūra*) and use it. With God's permission, it is a good cure for cold kidneys, kidney pain (*waja' al-khāṣira*), and a cold stomach. It also stimulates the appetite and cleanses the stomach.

Making cooked raisin wine (*nabīdh zabībī mu'ālaj*):⁸

Take one measure (*kayl*) of raisins and 20 measures of water.⁹ Soak the raisins in the water overnight. In the following morning, put the pot on the fire and boil it until one third of the liquid evaporates. Crush the raisins, strain their liquid, and return it to the pot. Add 10 *raṭls* (10 pounds) honey and let liquid boil until sixth [of the original amount] is reduced and only half [of the original amount] remains.¹⁰

⁵ Called after *Shīrāz*, a city in Persia.

⁶ A trustworthy *muḥaddith* (transmitter of the Prophet's traditions). This is an alcohol-free drink.

⁷ Aromatic rhizome. See Glossary, Section 9.

⁸ This wine is also called *maṭbūkh* (cooked) and *munaṣṣaf* (boiled down to half its original amount). It is permissible because the boiling and reduction happen by cooking it on actual heat. Wines fermented in the heat of the sun are not permissible.

⁹ *Kayl* is a dry measure by volume, mostly used for grains (2½ pounds). The word may designate the container itself. See Glossary, Section 15.

¹⁰ Accurate directions, although they might sound confusing: If you divide the total of the amounts into sixths, two sixths (=one third) will evaporate in the first stage and one sixth in the second, which will leave you with three sixths=half.

If you prefer it flavored, then go ahead and add some spices to it. It will be wonderful, God willing

Making Egyptian wine (*nabīdh Miṣrī*):

Take one part (*juzʿ*) honey with its wax and froth [no need to boil it and skim it] and put it in a pot. Stir into it 5 parts water and bring it to a boil until fourth of it is reduced. Set the pot aside to cool down and then pour the liquid into *dinān* (large earthenware casks) or *kīzān* (decanters).¹¹

Spread grape leaves all over the liquid to cover it but leave a hole to let the fermentation gases escape.¹²

When fermentation subsides, seal the wine containers with mud and leave them in the sun for 40 days after which you put them away from the sun. Empty the wine into glass jars (*qawārīr*), cover their openings with pieces of leather, and stow them away in a shaded place for 4 months after which you can use the wine, God willing.

A recipe for sun-fermented raisin wine (*zabīb shamsī*), done the Egyptian way (*ʿala raʾī ahl Miṣr*):¹³

For each 10 Egyptian *ratls* (approx. 7 pounds) [of raisins],¹⁴ use 27 *ratls* (18 pints) soft water (*māʾ ḥilū*). Put aside 7 *ratls* (approx. 5 pints) of the water mentioned, and soak the raisins in the remaining 20 *ratls* (13 pints) in *muṭr muzaffat*.¹⁵ Any other similar vessels will do. Let the raisins soak for six to seven days. Meanwhile, press and mash them very well with the hands (*marasa*) twice or thrice a day.

Empty the raisin mash into a large *mājūr* (large earthenware tub), press it with your feet, and strain the juice. Next, thoroughly wash

¹¹ *Dann* sing. Because these vessels taper into rounded bottoms, they are usually kept partly buried in the ground to keep them from falling. See Glossary, Section 10.1.

¹² The word for fermentation is *ghalayān*, literally, ‘boiling.’

¹³ This is an interesting recipe in which al-Warrāq gives his readers a true Egyptian flavor of the wine by incorporating some typically Egyptian expressions and dialectical idiosyncrasies such as (ويضاف اليم بفلس), (ثني ثلاثة), (يقعد منقوع), (ويحط في الشمس), (ويوعى في الجرار), (وبلبا فلوش). A similar dialectical tendency to pronounce ‘s’ as ‘sh’ is shown in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawāʾid* (Introduction 8).

¹⁴ The Egyptian *ratl* equals two thirds of the regular Baghdadi *ratl*. I assume it is used throughout the recipe.

¹⁵ *Maṭṭāra* or *maṭṭār* is *qirba*, a large leather bag used for keeping liquids (see Glossary, Section 10.1). *Muzaffat* is ‘coated with pitch.’ Pitch helps wine to ferment and age without getting sour (see Glossary, Section 12.2, s.v. *zifī*).

the remaining pith with the set-aside 7 *ratls* of water until nothing remains to be extracted from it. Strain the liquid [and add it to the rest of the juice].

Add to the raisin juice, 1 *fals* (3 grams) fresh fennel seeds (*shamar gharīd*),¹⁶ 3 *fals* (9 grams) *murratayn akhḍar* (fresh wormwood and rosebay),¹⁷ 8 *dirhams* (24 grams) laurel leaves (*waraq rand*), and 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) rose buds (*zir ward*).

Incorporate sugar (*yuhalla*) to the must by whipping in 3 *ratls* (2 pounds) of *fattāra* ‘*āl*’.¹⁸ Empty the must into jars (*jirār*) and stow them away in a sunny place for two weeks. Adding *durdī al-khamra* (wine dregs), as well, will make even a better wine.¹⁹

CHAPTER 115

في دفع ضرر الشراب للجسم ذي الاضطراب

HARMFUL EFFECTS OF WINES ON PEOPLE WITH PHYSICAL INFIRMITIES,²⁰ AND HOW TO AVOID THEM

Know that sun-fermented wines made from honey and raisin are excellent for people with phlegmatic humors (*aṣḥāb al-balgham*). They do wonders in driving away the harms of phlegm and moisture. Therefore, such people should have a lot of it.

Date wine is beneficial to people whose bodies are dominated by

¹⁶ *Fals* is an Egyptian coin and a weight measure worth approx. 1 *dirham* (3 grams). *Shamar/shamār* is the name for fennel seeds in the Levant and Egypt (Ibn al-Bayṭār 429).

¹⁷ *Murratayn* (literally, ‘the two bitters’) is *shīḥ* (wormwood) and *ālā* (rosebay). These plants with their narcotic properties and tannin content are added to wine to preserve it and increase its potency. See Glossary, Section 1.

¹⁸ Excellent-quality fermented dough used as wine yeast. See note 4 above.

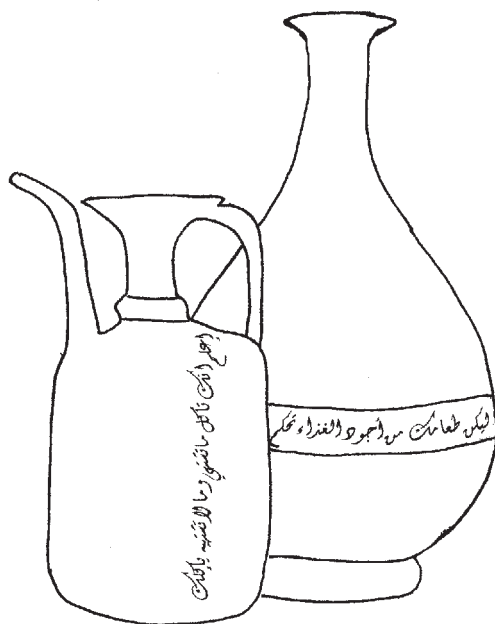
¹⁹ The word is written as *khamīra* ‘yeast,’ a possible misreading of *khamra* (wine). Wine dregs were usually used to encourage fermentation and make a better wine. Besides, yeast *fattāra* has already been used in the recipe.

²⁰ This chapter and the following five are found in Helsinki MS only. The corresponding chapter in the Istanbul MS deals with the bad influence of wines on the body and treatments for hangovers.

humid properties (*aṣḥāb al-ruṭūba*) because it helps abate their excesses. However, they should have it sparingly, and even then, they need to drink it diluted with water (*mamzūy*). On the other hand, it is harmful to people in whose bodies the humor of blood is dominant.

Honey wines made without raisins benefit people whose bodies are dominated by excessively humid properties. It is also good for people suffering from hemiplegia (*fālay*). Very old people are strongly advised to use it because they will benefit greatly from it. However, very young people should avoid it. The same applies to anyone whose body is temperamentally prone to fevers. If they still want to drink it regardless, then they need to take it diluted by half.

Uncooked [fermented] grape wine hydrates the temperament and brings it back to normal. It also invigorates the digestive power of the stomach, especially when taken diluted [with water] because it will enable the water to penetrate into places it can only reach when mixed with it.



فِي حَمَلِ الشَّرَابِ غَيْرِ الْمُسْكِرِ وَطَبِيعِ السَّافِجِ [و] الْمُبْنِزِ

MAKING NON-ALCOHOLIC DRINKS, AND HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF PLAIN AND FLAVORED VARIETIES

A non-intoxicating drink (*ghayr muskir*), delicious:

Put 5 *manns* (10 pounds) of fine *ṭabarzad* (white cane sugar) in a *ṭanjūr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and add 5 *manns* (20 cups) grape juice. Boil them together then add 100 *dirhams* (10 ounces) poppy seeds (*khashkhāsh*) and 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) milk.

When mixture comes to a boil, add 5 *manns* (20 cups) water. Bring it to a boil and put it away from heat. Sprinkle it with rose water, empty it into *dasātīj*,¹ and use it.

A recipe for another drink made from sugar, non-intoxicating:

Take bowlfuls of refined sugar and dissolve it in half its amount of water. Add a small amount of juice of unripe excellent-quality apples. Let the liquid boil until it is reduced to two thirds of its original amount. Flavor it with ginger and empty it into glass jars (*qawānīr*). Use it [diluted with water], God willing.

A recipe for another drink, for wintertime:

Take 10 *raṭls* (10 pounds) bees' honey and a similar amount of water [20 cups]. Add juice of white grapes, an equal amount to both of them [i.e. 20 *raṭls*/40 cups].

Let the mixture boil and flavor it with a bit of spikenard and cloves. When it is done boiling, empty it into a green-glazed jar (*jarra khaḍrā*) and use it. It is a healthy drink.

¹ *Dastīj* (sing.) a medium-size jar, which can be carried by hand.

في عمل الشرابة من اللبأ من اللبل والبقر والضأ

MAKING DRINKS FROM MILK OF CAMELS, COWS, AND SHEEP

Making a sour drink (*qāriṣ*) from camel's milk (*laban al-ibl*):¹

Take camel's milk and pour it into a leather bottle.² Put in it a small amount of black raisins (*zabīb aswad*) and set it aside overnight.

In the following morning, add to the milk 10 *dirhams* (1 ounce) black pepper, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) galangal. Keep the leather bottle suspended in a cold place and drink of the beverage as needed. You will find it sour and biting to the tongue.³ It is beneficial, God willing.

Another drink [from sheep's milk (*ḥalīb al-dān*)]:

Dissolve 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) sugar in 10 *raṭls* (20 cups) milk of sheep, no need to boil the mix at this point. Add 20 *dirhams* (¼ cup) rose water, 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) crushed mastic, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) saffron.

Boil mixture briefly (*ghalya khafīfa*), let it cool down, and drink it mixed with *sawīq* (crushed toasted grains).⁴ It is healthy and delicious (*nāfiʿ laḥḍiḍh*).

A drink recipe made from cow's milk (*albān al-baqar*):

Take 20 *raṭls* (40 cups) cow's milk and put it in a vessel. Stir in 10 *raṭls* (10 pounds) refined bees' honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Put the mix in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom), boil it, and add 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) spikenard (*sunbul*), 3 lumps of musk, and 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) mastic (*maṣṭakā*).

¹ I amend here *fāriḍ* فارض (none of its meanings apply in this context) to *qāriṣ* قارص (sour). See Glossary, Section 4.

² *Siqī* (sing. *siqā'*) are leather bottles used for keeping water or milk, made from skins of two-year old sheep (Steingass).

³ I amend here *fāriḍan* to *qāriṣan* (sour). See n. 1 above.

⁴ For recipes, see Chapter 13 above.

When the mixture comes to a vigorous boil, take it away from heat and sprinkle it with 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) saffron. Set it aside to cool down and use it. It is a wonderful drink (*ghāya*).

CHAPTER 118⁵

في عمل اللّسربة المطفّية للحمرارة الملهبة

MAKING THIRST-QUENCHING DRINKS

Making a thirst-quenching, healthy drink (*muṭaffī nāfi*):

Put 20 *raṭls* (20 pounds) of refined sugar in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom). Add 100 *dirhams* (2½ cups) juice of *jummār* (heart of the date palm) and 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) poppy seeds (*khashkhāsh*).⁶

Bring mixture to a boil then add 5 *raṭls* (10 cups) grape juice, 2 *raṭls* (4 cups) mulberry juice, and ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) camphor.

Boil mixture well, put it away from heat, empty it into glass jars (*qawārīr*), and use it. It is a healthy tried-and-true drink.

A recipe for another drink:

Dissolve 5 *raṭls* (5 pounds) white sugar in 100 *dirhams* (2½ cups) *mā' al-buzūr* (strained liquid of boiled seeds).⁷ Add 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) camphor and 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) jujubes (*unnāb*). Let the fruit be whole.

When mixture comes to a boil, discard the jujubes. Pour into it juice of Nabatean *tūt* (white and sweet mulberry), the amount of which should be equal to that of sugar [i.e. 5 pounds/10 cups], and use it.

A recipe for another drink:

Dissolve 5 *raṭls* (5 pounds) refined white sugar in 5 *raṭls* (10 cups) *mā' qar'* (strained juice of gourd) and bring them to a boil. Add to

⁵ The chapter is erroneously numbered as 128 (editors' note, n.2).

⁶ For *jummār*, see Glossary, Section 8.

⁷ According to Ibn Sīnā, the most effective seeds for quenching thirst are *baẓr qaṭṭūna* (fleawort seeds) and *baẓr al-baqla al-ḥamqā'* (purslane seeds). He recommends them for summer travelers (163).

the syrup, 100 *dirhams* (10 ounces) purslane seeds (*bazrat baqla*) tied in a cloth bundle.⁸

When the syrup is done boiling, empty it into containers. To use, dilute the syrup with an equal amount of water. It is a tried and healthy drink.

CHAPTER 119⁹

فِي حَمَلِ الشَّرَابِ مِنَ التَّمْرِ وَخَصِيرِ اللَّحْنَابِ

MAKING DATE WINE (*DĀDHĪ*) AND GRAPE WINE¹⁰

A recipe for wine (*nabīdh*) made from dates (*tamr*) and *dādhī*:¹¹

Take 100 *raṭls* (100 pounds) of good quality dates, which have been newly dried, and put them in a big pot. Add water to submerge them and let them boil until one third of the liquid is gone. Set the pot aside [to cool down]. Strain the dates then press them in a silk cloth [to extract whatever juice remains to yield].

Add water to the strained date juice to make it watery in consistency and pour it into big earthenware vessels (*hibāb*).¹² Take a stick, fasten a round piece of wood to one of its ends, and use it to stir the juice.¹³ Do this for three days.

⁸ According to Ibn Sīnā, *bazr al-baqla al-ḥamqā* (purslane seeds) are extremely effective in quenching thirst (163).

⁹ The chapter is erroneously numbered as 129 (editors' note, n. 2).

¹⁰ *Dādhī* is a strong date wine condemned by observant Muslims as *sharāb al-fussāq* (drink of scoundrels) as in *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. دُوذ. The name comes from the ingredient used to enhance date wine with its aromatic, tannic, and bitter properties. It can be one of many things (see Glossary, Section 1). In this chapter's recipes, the references to the plant point to hop cones.

¹¹ See above note.

¹² *Hubb* (sing.) a big earthenware jar with two small handles. Because it has a tapered rounded bottom, it is put on a four-legged wooden stand. See Glossary, Section 10.1.

¹³ This round piece of wood is called *falka*, similar to the children's parish top (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. فَلَكَ). It will prevent the stick from splintering or breaking while stirring the juice.

Add to the juice, 5 *raṭls* (5 pounds) of good quality clusters of brownish hop cones (*dādhī*).¹⁴ Add as well 5 *raṭls* (5 pounds) honey.

Seal the vessels with mud and do not use the wine until three months have passed. This will make fabulous wine.

A recipe for wine (*nabīdh*) made from date syrup (*dibs*) and *dādhī*:

Take 50 *raṭls* (50 pounds) date syrup [and put it in a vessel]. Pour on it a similar amount of water and put [the vessel] in a sunny place for 20 days.

Take 5 *raṭls* (5 pounds) *dādhī* and a similar amount of honey.¹⁵ Put them in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom) and pour on them 10 *raṭls* (20 cups) water. Boil them and pour them into the prepared date syrup. Whip the mixture for three days after which you seal the vessels with mud.

When two months have passed, open up the vessels. The wine will be splendid.

A recipe for sun-fermented grape juice (*‘aṣīr al-‘inab al-shamsī*):

Choose fully ripe juicy grapes and press them in the press (*mi‘šara*). Let the resulting juice warm up under the sky for three nights.

Prepare pitched (*muzaffāt*) wine vessels.¹⁶ Fumigate them with mastic and moistened aloe wood (*‘ūd nay*).¹⁷ Empty the juice into the vessels and spread grape leaves all over the juice to cover it [leaving a hole in the middle] to allow the fermentation gases to escape.¹⁸ Keep the jars like this for 5 days then seal them with mud. Put them in a sunny place for 40 days after which keep them under a shade.

The longer this wine is allowed to age, the better it gets in aroma, taste, and color, God willing.

¹⁴ Al-Warrāq describes *dādhī* as *ṣhamārīkh ḥumr* (brownish-red cone-like clusters). See Glossary, Section 1, s.v. *dādhī*.

¹⁵ See notes 10 and 14 above.

¹⁶ The vessels used are *jīrār* (sing. *jarra*) earthenware ewers and *dīnān* (sing. *dann*) very large cylindrical wine casks with rounded bottoms. They are partly fixed in the ground. Smearing the inside of wine jars with pitch helps preserve the wine. See Glossary, Section 12.2, s.v. *zīft*.

¹⁷ Moistening the aloe wood before burning it helps produce more smoke. See Glossary, Section 9.

¹⁸ The word used is *raghwa* (literally, foam). The text at this point is rather confused. I amend it based on wine recipes in Chapter 114.

Another recipe for grape juice [wine]:

Choose grapes with the most juice and the thinnest skin and press them. Put the juice in pitched vessels (*zurūf muzaffata*).¹⁹ Cover the surface of the juice with grape leaves [but leave a hole in the middle so that the fermentation gases escape] out of the vessels.²⁰ Keep them like this for 5 days. Seal the vessels with mud and open them after a whole year has elapsed, God willing.

CHAPTER 120

فِي عَمَلِ اللَّابَنَةِ الْعَسَلِيَّةِ وَالزَّبِيبَةِ

MAKING MEADS AND RAISIN WINES

A recipe for raisin wine (*nabīdh zabībī*):

Take 50 *ratls* (50 pounds) *zabīb* (raisins) [and put them aside].

Take 30 *ratls* (30 pounds) bees' honey, which has been [boiled] and skimmed of its froth. Add half its amount of water [30 cups]. Bring them to a vigorous boil.

Add the raisins [to the boiling liquid] as well as 20 *ratls* (40 cups) water. Boil the mix then strain it to get rid of the raisin seeds. Flavor it with 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) saffron, 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) spikenard, 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) mastic, and 1 *dānaq* (½ gram) musk.

Empty the liquid into glass jars (*qawārīr*) and stow them away in a shaded place. You can use it after 40 days. It is a wonderful wine.

A recipe for mead (*nabīdh 'asalī*) without raisins:

Put 50 *ratls* (50 pounds) honey in a pot and add 50 *ratls* (100 cups) water. Let it boil until one third of the liquid evaporates, which amounts to 33 *ratls*. At this point, add to the pot 2 *mithqāls* (9 grams) saffron and 2 *dirhams* (6 grams) mastic. Pour into the pot 5 *ratls* (10 cups) cold water.

¹⁹ Smearing the inside of wine vessels with pitch helps preserve the wine. See Glossary, Section 12.2, s.v. *ziḥ*.

²⁰ The text at this point is rather confusing. I amend it based on previous wine recipes (Chapter 114) and reading the words *وتغلي خارج الظروف* (?) as *وتغلي خارج الظروف*.

Empty the liquid into glass jars (*qawārīr*). Set them aside in a shaded place for 50 days after which you seal them with mud. Use the wine in winter by mixing one part of it with two parts of musk-flavored water (*nāfābā*).²¹ It will be a splendid drink.

CHAPTER 121

فِي عَمَلِ النَّبِيذِ مِنَ السُّكَّرِ وَالْفَانِيذِ

MAKING WINES (*NABĪDH*) FROM SUGAR AND *FĀNĪDH* (CHEWY SUGAR-CANDY)

A recipe for sugar wine (*sharāb al-sukkar*) which Abū al-Ḥurr made:²²

Take 12 *kūz* of *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar),²³ grind it, and put it in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom). Pour on it 26 *raṭls* (52 cups) pure water. (152v) Boil the [dissolved] sugar until 11 *raṭls* (22 cups) of it evaporate.

Fumigate *qarrābāt* (large flagons) with aloe wood and fill them with the cooked sugar. Flavor it with a small amount of musk if it is winter, and camphor in the summer,²⁴ God willing.

A wine recipe (*sharāb*) from chewy candy (*fānīdh sukkarī*, *Khurāsānī*, and *Shajarī*):²⁵

Take 10 *mann* (20 pounds) or as much as you need of any of these of candies. Break them into smaller pieces and put them in a huge *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom). Sprinkle them with 1 *uskurruja* (½ cup) of water. Light low-heat fire under the pot and let it cook until the candy melts.

²¹ I amend here *nāfāya* (?) in the edited text to *nāfāba*, a possible combination of *nāfā* (bag or bladder of musk) and *bā* (water, meanings of words from Steingass).

²² The name is written as Abū al-Ḥurr in Oxford MS and Abū al-Ḥasan in Helsinki and Istanbul MSS. See Appendix, s.v. Abū al-Ḥurr.

²³ *Kūz* is a cup made in different sizes. See Chapter 113, n. 5.

²⁴ Musk has hot properties and camphor, cold. Each spice is meant to counterbalance the nature of the season during which the wine is consumed.

²⁵ These are varieties of *fānīdh* (chewy candy) made in different textures and colors. See Glossary, Section 5.

Strain the melted candy, measure it, and return it to the cauldron with three times of its amount water.²⁶ Let it boil under a slow fire until it reduces to one third [of its original amount] or less if you wish.

Empty the boiled liquid into jars—green-glazed (*khadrāʾ*) or glass (*zujāj*). Flavor it with saffron, spikenard, cloves, cassia, and nutmeg—as you usually do with mead (*sharāb al-ʿasal*).

You can use the wine after a month.

Another sugar wine:

Take one part pounded sugar and pour on it five parts water. Boil it until two parts evaporate and three parts remain. While boiling, add some saffron tied in a piece of cloth to color it yellow. But you need to use it sparingly.

[After boiling the liquid,] empty it into a glass jar (*qārūra*) or a green-glazed one (*jarra khadrāʾ*). Tie the mouth of the container, God willing.

CHAPTER 122

عمل اللاسربة من الفرج والجوز والراس وفضبا الكبر

MAKING DRINKS (*ASHRIBA*) FROM GOURD, CARROTS, ELECAMPANE (*RĀSAM*), AND CAPERS²⁷

Making gourd drink (*sharāb al-qarʿ*) with sugar:

Take 10 *ratls* (10 pounds) gourd and gourd seeds. Discard the fibrous pulp (*shahm*) around the seeds. Also take 10 *ratls* (10 pounds) white *Sulaymānī* sugar (hard sugar-candy). (153r) Thoroughly pound each separately.

²⁶ I replace here the word فانيذ (chewy candy) with ماء (water), a possible copyist's absent-minded mistake.

²⁷ All drink recipes in this chapter are used for medicinal purposes and thereby served in small amounts. Some of the drinks are similar to liqueur.

Take 5 *raṭls* (5 pounds) ginger conserve (*zanjabīl murabba*) and 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) *jalanjabīn* (rose petal and honey conserve).²⁸ Add to these, frankincense (*lubān*),²⁹ cassia and spikenard, 30 *mithqāls* (5¼ ounces) each. Use as well, 40 *mithqāls* (7 ounces) cloves. Grind them all and sift them.

Add all these ingredients (*adwiya*) to 10 *raṭls* (10 pounds) good quality honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Knead them together and put the paste in a green-glazed jar (*jarra khadrā*). Set it aside in a shaded place for a month.

This drink will be similar in effect to electuaries (*juwārishun*), which stimulates the appetite and warms up the kidneys.³⁰

A recipe for carrot drink (*sharāb al-jazar*):

Wash carrots, cut off their ends, crush them lightly (*yuradḍakh*), and put them in a copper pot (*qidr nuḥās*). For each measure of the carrots used, add seven measures of water. Let pot come to a single boil and strain the carrots.

[Return carrots to the pot and] add to them honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. For each *raṭl* (pound) of honey, use 11 *raṭls* (11 pounds) carrots. Bring the pot to a boil and let it cook until carrots are completely done.

Add to the pot, ginger conserve (*zanjabīl murabba*) and a small amount of water. Put it away from the fire and let it cool down. Then strain the mixture and put [the resulting syrup] in a pitched jar in which wine has previously been made (*jarra muzaffata dāriya*).³¹

²⁸ For a recipe, go to Chapter 125 below. See also Glossary, Section 5.

²⁹ See Glossary, Section 9.

³⁰ Since the paste is kept aside for a month, it will develop some alcohol and hence will be similar to liqueur, the sweet alcoholic beverage is usually taken after meals to aid the digestion.

I amend here the last word in the edited recipe (نميرله) ? to (بمنزلة) and continue the sentence with the aid of Istanbul MS (fol. 262r), which reads as بمنزلة الجوارشن يشهي الطعام ويسخن الكلتيين .

³¹ This is to encourage some fermentation in the syrupy mix (see Glossary, Section 12.2, s.v. *zift* 'pitch'). I amend here صارية (*ṣāriya* (?)) in the edited text to *dāriya* ضارية, descriptive of a vessel in which wine has previously been made and hence causes the drink in which it is kept to develop some alcohol (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ضرا). A recipe in the medieval Egyptian *Kanz al-Fawā'id* describes how to make a new jar *dāriya*: A piece of yeast is dissolved in water and seasoned with rue, mint, and

Flavor it with the spices usually used with honey wine.³² Throw into it a few stems of uncrushed saffron and stir in $\frac{1}{2}$ *uskurruja* (1/4 cup) honey, God willing.

A recipe for caper drink (*sharāb al-kabar*) made by Ibn al-Muḥibbī:³³

Take as much as you wish of fresh caper [branches].³⁴ Wash them in water once or twice then soak them in a tub (*ijjāna*) or a bucket (*naʿār*).³⁵ Pour brine on them, put as much as needed to submerge them. Put the vessel in the sun for two days or three or more until the capers' flavor seeps into the liquid. Strain the brine and put it in a copper pot coated with lead (*qidr nuḥās murassas*). Add a small amount of saffron (**153v**) or dried ginger (*zanjabīl yābis*). Add as well, walnut, spikenard, and cassia.

Light a low-heat fire underneath the pot, and let it cook slowly until the liquid thickens and darkens. Let it cool down in the pot, strain it, and pour it into glass jars (*qawārīr*) or whatever vessels you prefer.

Whenever you need to use it, pour as much as required into a glass (*qadah*), dilute it with enough water, and drink it. It is good for expelling winds (*riyāḥ*) in the abdomen and the joints.

Carrot drink to warm up the kidneys and invigorate coitus:

Slice carrots like *darāhim* (coins), put them in a pot, and pour on them an equal amount of water. Let them cook until done then strain the liquid and discard the dregs (*thafal*).

In a clean pot, combine two parts of the strained carrot juice and one part honey. Boil the mixture until one third of it evaporates. Add a small amount of mace (*basbāsa*) and nutmeg (*jawz bawwa*). Set it aside for days then use it. It is a beneficial drink, God willing.

lemon juice. It is kept in the new jar and set aside in a warm place for three days (152-53).

³² Mostly saffron and mastic, judging from the two recipes given in Chapters 114 and 120 above. See also p. 472.

³³ I have not been able to identify the person but he might well have been a contemporary famous druggist.

³⁴ The chapter's title mentions the capers as *quḍbān al-kabar* (caper branches) which include caper buds, blossoms, and leaves. See Glossary, Section 3.

³⁵ See Glossary, Section 10.1 for more information on the vessel.

A recipe for chickpeas drink (*sharāb al-ḥimmaṣ*). It warms up stomach and kidneys, expels dense excretions (*fuḍūl ghalīẓa*), and invigorates coitus:

Take as much as you want of chickpeas and cook them [with water] until one third of the liquid evaporates. Transfer them to a clean vessel and add to them a small amount of saffron, black cardamom (*qāqulla*), cloves, galangal, and ginger.

Seal the vessel with mud, set it aside for days, and use it.

A recipe for poppy seeds drink (*sharāb al-khashkhāsh*), good for chest pain and persistent coughs:

Soak 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) poppy seeds in 8 *raṭls* (16 cups) rain water (*mā' al-maṭar*) and spring water (*mā' al-ʿuyūn*) for a day and a night. Then cook the poppy seeds [with the water they were soaked in] until liquid is reduced by half. Strain and press the seeds [to extract all the juice from them].

Return the resulting liquid to the pot and add honey and cooked wine (*ṭilā maṭbūkh*),³⁶ 1 *raṭl* (2 cups) each. Cook the mixture until it is thickened. Add a small amount of saffron and stow it away to mature and age (*yāʿtaq*).

Whenever you need it, take a spoonful of it and mix it with *mā' al-kishk* (barley broth).³⁷

A Recipe for *ṭilā* (cooked wine),³⁸ recommended for pain in liver, chest, lungs, and cold-related aches and pains:

Take 12 *raṭls* (24 cups) spring water and boil it down to half its original amount. Add 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) honey and cook them together until they boil down to thick syrup. Add a small amount of saffron.

Some physicians add [to the water used] 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) honey and 1 *raṭl* (1 pound) sugar. Then they boil it down to syrup.

Stow the syrup away and use it as needed.

A Recipe for chard drink (*sharāb al-silq*):

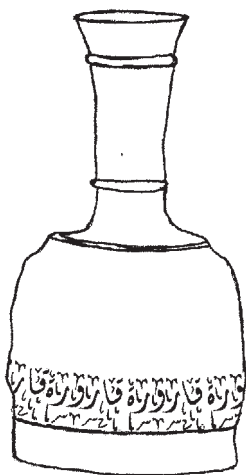
Pound chard leaves and press out their juice. Put in a pot equal amounts of chard juice and honey, which has been [boiled and]

³⁶ Cooked wine prepared by boiling down grape juice until reduced to one third of its original amount. See Glossary, Section 1.

³⁷ It is also known as *mā' al-shaʿīr*. See last recipe in Chapter 108 above, and Glossary, Section 6.

³⁸ See n. 36 above.

skimmed of its froth. Light a slow fire underneath the pot and let it cook down to half its original amount. Add the four spices (*al-afāwīh al-arbaʿa*) which are spikenard, cloves, cassia, and nutmeg. Empty the drink into glass jars (*qawārīr*) and use it as needed, God willing.



فِي عَمَلِ اللَّسْرِبَةِ مِنَ الْفَوَاكِهِ الرُّطْبَةِ

MAKING FRESH FRUIT BEVERAGES¹

A recipe for apple drink (*sharāb al-tuffāh*):

Choose sweet and sour apples, pound them, and press out their juice. (154v) Mix 4 parts of the apple juice with 1 part honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Add all kinds of aromatic spices (*min jamīʿ al-afwāh*) to the drink and empty it into a green-glazed jar.

Drink of it as much as you wish whenever you need it, God willing.

Quince drink (*sharāb al-safarjal*):

Pound quince and press out its juice. Combine 5 parts of quince juice with 1 part good quality honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Also add 12 parts of *ṭilā* (cooked grape wine) made by boiling down [grape juice] to third of its original amount. Stir and mix all these ingredients.

Empty the drink into a scented clean vessel (*muṭayyab*) and use it.²

A recipe for pomegranate drink (*sharāb al-rummān*):

Cook well together 9 parts pomegranate juice and 1 part honey. Stir into the liquid, *ṭilā* (cooked grape wine) made by boiling it down to a third of its original amount. Shake the drink (*khadkhiḍhu*) and empty it into a clean vessel. You may flavor it with a bit of spices.

A recipe for plum drink (*sharāb al-ijjāṣ*) with honey:

Take as much as you like of unripe plums, remove the pits, pound them, and press out their juice. Take one part of this juice and one part honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Cook them together under a slow fire until mix develops a thick consistency.

¹ Some of the drinks are for immediate consumption and others are made into syrups preserved for future use. When needed, they are diluted with water. Such drinks are similar to today's Middle-Eastern *sherbet*/ *sherbāt*.

² They are usually fumigated with aloe wood, as mentioned in some of the recipes.

You have the option of replacing honey with *ṭabarzad* sugar (white cane sugar). A single drink of this mix weighs 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce/2 tablespoons) [used diluted with water].

A recipe for peach drink (*sharāb al-khawkh*):

In a clean pot, put 10 *qisṭs* (30 cups) juice of peach and 3 *qisṭs* (4½ pounds) honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth.

Prepare a bundle of thin cloth containing saffron, spikenard, (155r) cloves, Ceylon cinnamon (*qarfa*), cassia (*dār Šīnī*) and mastic, ½ *dirham* (1½ grams) of each, and let them be crushed. Put this bundle in the pot and bring it to a vigorous boil. After you put it away from the heat, strain the liquid, empty it into glass jars (*qawārīr*) and use it, God willing.

Drink of unripe grapes (*sharāb al-ḥiṣrim*) which curbs yellow bile (*ṣafrāʾ*) and heat (*ḥarāra*):

Take 10 parts juice of unripe grapes and 3 parts honey. Put them in a clean pot. Take saffron, spikenard, Ceylon cinnamon (*qarfa*), cassia (*dār Šīnī*), white mastic gum (*ʿilk al-Rūm*), and camphor, a bit of each.³ Grind them and add them to the pot.

Let the pot boil twice or thrice.⁴ Then, take the fire away from underneath the pot to let the drink cool down. Empty the drink into vessels and use it as needed, God willing.

³ For the spices, see Glossary, Section 9.

⁴ For details on this cooking method, see Glossary, Section 10.2, s.v. *fawwara*.

فِي حَمَلِ الْمَيْبَةِ مِنَ اللَّاسْرِبَةِ الْمُطَيَّبَةِ

MAKING AROMATIC MEDICINAL DRINKS (*MAYBA*)¹

A recipe for apple *mayba* made for al-Mutawakkil:²

Take unripe sour apples and keep them whole. Peel and core them, pound them, and press out their juice.

Take the juice and boil it in a clean pot until it is reduced to half its original amount. Take it away from the fire, let it cool down, and strain it. [Set it aside overnight and] return it to the pot the following morning. For two parts of the apple juice, add one part honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth, and one part pleasant-tasting *ṭilā* (cooked grape wine). In a piece of cloth, tie mastic, *qāqulla* (black cardamom), *hāl* (green cardamom), and cassia, 3 *mithqāls* (13½ grams) each, and add it to the pot.

Cook the mixture until it becomes like thin honey. Add 1 *mithqāl* (4½ grams) saffron, 20 *ḥabbas* (1¼ grams) cloves, (155v) one nutmeg—outer skin scraped (*muqashshar*), 3 pieces *qaṣab al-dharīra* (chiretta plant),³ and 1 *mithqāl* (4½ grams) ground Indian aloe wood (‘*ūd Hindī*).⁴

[Empty the syrup into vessels] and cover and tie their openings. You can use the syrup after a month.

To drink it, take 1 *ūqīyya* (2 tablespoons) of the syrup and dilute it in cold water. It is recommended for *ghashī* (fainting fits) and *daʿf* (debility). It also strengthens the stomach, with God’s permission.

***Mayba* recipe prepared for al-Muʿtamid:**⁵

Take 10 *raṭls* (20 cups) of strained juice of half-boiled (*maṭbūkh* ‘*lā al-nisf*) sweet and sour quince. Take also 5 *raṭls* (10 cups) of each

¹ Originally, *mayba* was made from quince juice. However, as the first recipe shows, it was made from other juices, as well. The preparations in this chapter are taken diluted in water. Information on spices and aromatics can be found in Glossary, Section 9, unless otherwise mentioned.

² Abbasid Caliph (d. 861).

³ See Glossary, Section 13.

⁴ See Glossary, Section 13.

⁵ Abbasid Caliph, died poisoned in 892.

of the following: juice of Levantine apples; honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth; and well aged sweet-smelling cooked wine (*maṭbūkh* ‘*atīq rayḥān*’).

Mix all these ingredients in a pot and cook them under a slow fire, skimming the froth as it comes up. When liquid is reduced to syrup, take the pot away from the fire.

Combine 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) choice aloe wood (‘*ūd muṣṭafā*’), 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) *sukk* (aromatic compound),⁶ 4 *dirhams* (12 grams) saffron, and 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) mace blades (*shaḡḡīz basbāsa*).⁷ Also add spikenard, cloves, nutmeg, *aẓfār al-ṭīb*,⁸ *hāl* (green cardamom), and *qāqulla* (black cardamom), 1 *dirham* (3 grams) each. To these add, 3 *dirhams* (9 grams) mastic, and 1 *dirham* (3 grams) musk. Put all these spices in a tied bundle of linen cloth and throw it into the prepared syrup. Empty the drink into a vessel and cover it with a lid.

A recipe for *mayba* made with vinegar. It may replace the ones given above:

Take 5 *raṭls* (10 cups) juice of half-boiled quince. Combine it in a pot with 2 *raṭls* (2 pounds) honey and 2 *raṭls* (4 cups) vinegar. Cook the mixture until it becomes like thin honey. Skim the froth as needed.

Prepare *hāl* (green cardamom), *qāqulla* (black cardamom), *dār fulful* (long pepper), ginger, and cassia, 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) each. Coarsely grind them (**156r**) and tie them in a bundle made of a clean piece of thin cloth. Throw the bundle into the pot.

Empty the syrup into a green-glazed jar (*jarra khaḍrā*) or glass jars (*qawārīr*) and use it as required.

⁶ See Glossary, Section 13.

⁷ I amend here the word qualifying *basbāsa* (mace) written as شَعِير (barley) to شَغِير which means ‘large needles’ (*Tāj al-Anūs*, s.v. شَغِير). The latter is more descriptive of the mace blades.

⁸ Nail-like aromatic chips of various kinds of seashells. See Glossary, Section 13.

فِي عَمَلِ الْمُرِيَّاتِ وَالْجَوَارِسْنَاتِ

MAKING CONSERVES (*MURABBA'ĀT*) AND ELECTUARIES (*JUWĀRISHNĀT*)¹

A recipe for *jalanjabīn* (rose petal syrup) made with *ṭabarzad* (white cane sugar):

Take one part of red rose petals, which have just been picked and untouched by water. Clip the petals into small pieces with clippers (*maqārīd*) discarding the parts closer to the calyxes. Make sure to discard them all. Take as well 3 parts of crushed *ṭabarzad* sugar.

Prepare a vessel—green-glazed (*akhḍar*) or glass (*zujāj*)—and arrange in it the rose petals and the sugar in layers until you use up all the quantities you have. Press the layers hard, cover the vessel, and put it in an enclosed warm place (*hār kanīn*). Cover it with several layers of clothes and let it warm up. Leave it like this for the rest of the day and the night.

[In the following morning,] take the vessel out to the sun and gently stir its contents with a willow stick (*ūd khilāf*) until they mix well. Keep the vessel in the sun for a month or forty days, stirring the mixture two or three times during the day [and take it inside during the night].²

Take the vessel in and use the syrup. To have a dose of it (*sharba*), dilute 10 *dirhams* (1 ounce) of the syrup in hot water and drink it first thing in the morning (*‘alā al-rīq*), God willing.

A recipe for *jalanjabīn* (rose petal syrup) with honey:

Clip red rose petals into small pieces with clippers (*mīqrād*) and spread them on a piece of cloth or a tray made of date palm fronds (*ṭabaq khūṣ*). Set them aside for a day and a night. Then weigh the petals

¹ Most of the *murabbayāt* (conserves) were consumed for sheer joy. When combinations of spices and herbs were added to them, they were medicinally beneficial. *Juwārishnāt* (sing. *juwārishun*) were purely medicinal preparations taken mostly as digestives. They were like paste or thick syrup in consistency. Varieties containing some alcohol were similar to liqueurs. According to al-Warrāq's recipes, some were licked, others were eaten or sipped as a diluted drink.

² Based on directions in the following recipe.

and for each part use three parts honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Gently mix the two and put mixture in a glass container (*inā' zujāy*) or a green-glazed wide-mouthed jar (*barniyya khaḍrā*). Put the container out in the sun for 40 days, stirring the mixture [twice or thrice]³ during the day and take it inside during the night.⁴

If it needs more honey, then add some, God willing.

(156v) A recipe for *juwārishun* (electuary), which alleviates gripes. It is also recommended for winds (*riyḥ*) and flatulence (*naḥk*):

Combine equal parts of Ceylon cinnamon (*qarfa*), spikenard, cubeb (*ḥabb al-ʿarūs*),⁵ dried rose petals, and white cumin (*kammūn abyad*).⁶ Now take ginger, the amount of which should be twice as much as the amount of all the preceding spices combined. Grind the ingredients separately then sift and mix them.

Add to the spices enough of white honey with its wax (*shahd*) to bind them into paste, which you then store in a *bustūqa* (earthenware jar with a narrow neck).

A dose (*sharba*) of this paste will be what equals the size of 2 chick-peas, God willing.

A recipe for *juwārishun raṭb* (moist electuary) which invigorates coitus. Not to be given to women:

Take sweet Ceylon cinnamon (*qarfa ḥukwa*), spikenard, cloves, *qust baḥrī* (sea costus), and ginger, ½ *ūqiyya* (15 grams) each. Take as well, 3 *ūqiyyas* (3 ounces) of each of the following: long pepper (*dār fulful*), *ḥaṣwat al-baḥr* (sea musk),⁷ seeds of watercress (*ḥabb al-jirjir*), seeds of Persian leeks (*ḥabb kurrāth Fārisī*), and carrot seeds (*ḥabb al-jazar*).⁸

³ Based on directions in the previous recipe.

⁴ I amend here the last statement in the edited text based on Istanbul MS (fol. 115r).

⁵ Also called *kabāba*.

⁶ The most commonly used cumin (Nabatean and Levantine). The color is mentioned to differentiate it from the yellow and darkish varieties. See Glossary, Section 9.

⁷ A lump of musk is usually referred to as *ḥaṣwa* (stone). Some kinds of musk (such as Chinese and Indian) were carried to the Arab world by sea, and hence the name 'sea musk.' See Glossary, Section 9.

⁸ See Glossary, Section 9 for descriptions of the spices. For costus, see Section 13.

Pound all these spices and mix them with honey to bind them into paste.

Eat one lump of this paste—the size of an almond—twice a day, in the morning on an empty stomach and at bedtime, God willing.

A recipe for *juwārishun* recommended for colds and body aches:

Take black myrobalan (*ihlīlaj aswad*), ginger, white pepper (*fulful abyḍ*), and black cumin (*kammūn aswad*).⁹ Take equal amounts of these spices after you grind them and sift them except for cumin, which you do [not] sift.¹⁰

Bind all these spices with honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth, and make it into a thick electuary (*la'ūq khāthir*).¹¹

Have some of it after the meal as a digestive and emollient. A spoonful of it can also be taken in the morning on an empty stomach (*'alā al-rīq*).

***Juwārishun* recommended for asthma (*rabū*), labored breathing (*nafas*), and coughs (*su'āl*):**

Grind separately, dried fenugreek (*hulba*), Persian thyme (*ṣa'tar Fārisī*),¹² and rue (*sadhāb*), 1 *mithqāl* (4½ grams) each. Grind also ½ *mithqāl* (2¼ grams) *jawshīr*.¹³ Add walnut oil to these ingredients and knead them together.

Take it diluted in *mā' al-kammūn* (strained liquid of boiled cumin) for seven consecutive days.¹⁴

⁹ A wild variety of cumin, similar to nigella seeds.

¹⁰ I add 'not' here because the statement grammatically suggests that cumin is to be treated differently.

¹¹ Thick syrup taken with a spoon, *mil'aqa*. As *la'ūq*, this kind of medicine is to be taken slowly. It is kept in the mouth and swallowed as it dissolves so that it does not get into the stomach in one gulp (Ibn Sīnā 1226).

¹² A variety of thyme with dark green leaves. See Glossary, Section 9.

¹³ Aromatic gum resin of opoponax tree. See Glossary, Section 12.2.

¹⁴ I here shift 'seven days' to qualify dose prescription rather than kneading the mixture, based on Istanbul's version of the recipe (fol. 262v).

(157r) A recipe for *juwārishun* [lozenge] to restrain bowel movements (*ya‘qil al-baṭn*):

Put in a *ṭanjīr* (copper cauldron with a rounded bottom), 1 *mann* (2 pounds) *Sulaymānī* sugar (hard sugar-candy), 10 *ūqiyyas* (10 ounces) ginger, 2 *dānaqs* (1 gram) musk, and a small amount of saffron.

Let the ingredients boil into thick syrup, which you then empty on a board [to spread], and cut it into whatever shapes you like.

A Recipe for another *juwārishun* that benefits the stomach:

Take ginger, mastic, black pepper, and spikenard, 6 *mithqāls* (27 grams) each. Take as well 5 *mithqāls* (22½ grams) celery seeds (*baẓr al-karafs*) and add to them *ifranjamushk* and *nānkhawāh* (ajowan),¹⁵ 2 *mithqāls* (9 grams) each. If *ifranjamushk* is not available, use *sādhaj* (Indian leaf) instead.¹⁶

Grind and sift all these ingredients and make them into paste by binding them with honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth.

A recipe for conserve of ginger (*zanjabīl murabba*) beneficial to people with cold humoral properties (*amzāj bārīda*):

Take as much as you wish of big pieces of dried ginger. Soak them for three days in aromatic aged wine (*sharāb*) or aged cooked grape wine (*ṭilā*). Take ginger out of the wine, allow it to dry out, clean it very well, and put it in aged *sharāb* or *ṭilā*.

Now, take saffron, spikenard, black cardamom (*qāqulla*), black pepper, and long pepper (*dār fulful*), using eye measurements (*bi qadar raʾi al-ʿayn*). Grind these spices and sift them. But you grind saffron and add it separately.

Now boil the ginger with the saffron and honey. When the mixture is done, transfer it to a clean container and add the [set aside] ground spices. Keep on stirring the mixture until the ginger pieces are thoroughly coated with the spices. Stow the container aside for three to five months then use it as needed.

¹⁵ *Ifranjamushk* literally is ‘musk of the Franks,’ a species of mint. See Glossary, Section 9.

¹⁶ The last sentence in the paragraph is missing from the Oxford and Helsinki MSS. The Istanbul MS has it (fol. 263r).

Conserve of black *halīlaj* (myrobalan) is prepared the same way.¹⁷

Conserving Chinese black myrobalan (*tarbiyat halīlaj aswad Šīnī*):

Prepare them as described at the beginning [of the recipe above, i.e. soak them in aged wine] then put them in *rubb al-tamr* or *dibs* (date syrup) for days. (157v) Take them out and put them in honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. It will be excellent, God willing.

A recipe for conserving citron (*tarbiyat al-utruj*) from the book of al-Buzūrī:¹⁸

Remove the pulp of *utruj* (citron), put the [peels] in a clean vessel, and soak them in salted water for three days. Take them out and soak them in plain water for three days. [During these three days] replace the water twice a day to get rid of all traces of saltiness. Then take them out.

Boil honey until it thickens and pour it on the peels. Set the mixture aside for four or five days and have a look at it. If you find the honey has thinned in consistency, put the mixture in a pot and boil it once or twice. Then wash the mix by adding water to it and letting it boil to original consistency.¹⁹ [Put the mix aside and see if it has thinned again in consistency and repeat the ‘washing’ if needed.] The more you ‘wash’ the mix the better it gets.

Repeat the procedure until you see that honey has the same consistency as when you first put it.²⁰ It is only then that you consider the conserve done.

Conserves of gourd, small and smooth cucumber (*khiyār*), ribbed and long cucumber (*qiththā*), and shelled and skinned almonds and

¹⁷ *Halīlaj* is a variety of cherry plum exemplary for its unpleasant taste. It was highly valued for its medicinal benefits. See Glossary, Section 12.2.

¹⁸ Ibn Abī ‘Awf, a well-known merchant, who traded with seeds in Baghdad during the Abbasid rule (d. 909). See Appendix.

¹⁹ The process of adding water to honey and boiling it back to its original consistency is described in terms of washing (*ghasl*). It is believed that washing honey in this way improves its qualities by making it less acrid and less bloating (al-Isrā’īl 2: 230).

²⁰ I amend here the word نديا *nadiyyan* (moist) in the edited text to بديا *bidyan* (first), based on Istanbul MS (fol. 263r).

walnuts, all these are made the same way as above. Indeed, this is the way to prepare whatever needs to be made into conserve.

A recipe for conserving apples (*tarbīb al-tuffāh*) from the same copy [of al-Buzūrī]:

Choose large and fragrant Lebanese apples, peel and core them, and take 10 *raṭls* (10 pounds) of these.

Take honey [and vinegar],²¹ boil them in a pot, and add the prepared apples to them. Let the apples cook gently on slow fire stirring constantly until apples become as mushy as *khabīṣ* (thick pudding).

Add to the pot, 2 *ūqīyyas* (2 ounces) cassia, and 1 *ūqīyya* (1 ounce) of each of the following: black pepper, cloves, black cardamom (*qāqulla*), and mace. Also add ½ *ūqīyya* (15 grams) spikenard and 3 nutmegs with outer skins scraped (*muqashshar*). However, before adding them to the pot, you need to grind and sift each spice separately then mix them well, and add them to the pot. Besides, the amount of honey and vinegar used should be enough to cover the apples.

Finally, add 1 *mithqāl* (4½ grams) crushed saffron. Stir the pot until the ingredients mix well and look like *khabīṣ* (thick pudding). (158r) Transfer the conserve into a clean vessel, God willing.

Know that pear conserve (*tarbīb al-kumathra*) is done exactly like apples.

A recipe for conserving quince (*tarbīb al-safarjal*):

Quarter and core quince, put it in a pot with honey, and pour water on it. Let the pot come to a boil then [drain the quince, return it to the pot] and add honey to it. Do not use water this time. Cook the quince again until it is well done.

A recipe for conserving carrots and radish (*tarbīb al-jazar wa 'l-fujl*):

Take whichever you wish of these two, cut them to pieces, and soak them [in salted water] for three days.²² Rinse them in water or vinegar, [put them in a vessel,] and drench them in honey, which

²¹ The recipe will mention that honey and vinegar are added. Besides, the dual verb (جعلهما) 'put both of them' points to this.

²² Judging from the citron conserve recipe, above.

has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Add ground ginger and saffron or whatever you wish of the spices. Stir in sugar.

Let the vessel sit in the sun for a whole month. After that, you can use the conserve, God willing.

A recipe for conserving *busr*:²³

Choose dates that are still firm, boil them twice in pure water then remove the pits and the calyxes [discard the pits but keep the calyxes].

Grind spikenard, cloves, ginger, cassia, and saffron. Fill the dates with this mix to replace the pits and return the calyxes back to the dates. Put the dates in a glass jar (*qārūra*) and cover them with honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Set the glass jar aside until date conserve matures.

A recipe for conserving citron (*tarbīb al-utruj*):

Take whatever you wish of citron [rind] and peel it from the outside [the outer skin] as well as the inside [the white inner lining of the peel]. Cut the peels as you wish, soak them in salted water for a day and a night, take them out, and soak them in pure water for another day and night. (158v)

Drain the peels, put them in a pot, cover them with fresh water, and let them boil lightly. Drain them and set them aside to dry out a little.

Let the peels simmer in hot water for a day and a night, take them out of the water, color them yellow with saffron, [put them in a vessel,] and submerge them in strained sugar honey (*‘asal mā‘mūl*),²⁴ which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Add nutmeg, mace, cloves, cassia, *hamuwa*,²⁵ *hāl* (green cardamom), and mastic (*maṣṭakā*).

Store the conserve and use it as needed, God willing.

²³ Fully grown dates but still firm and crunchy. See Glossary, Section 8, s.v. *tamr*.

²⁴ *Mā‘mūl* is made from sugar as opposed to natural bees' honey.

²⁵ Berries of the aloe tree, a little smaller than peppercorns. Also called *fulayfula*. See Glossary, Section 9.

فِي عَمَلِ اللَّارِبَابِ مِنَ النَّسَارِ الْمُجْتَنَةِ مِنَ اللَّسْجَارِ

MAKING CONDENSED JUICES (*ARBĀB*) FROM TREE CROPS¹

A recipe for plain condensed plum juice (*rubb al-ijjās*):

Take as much as you need of ripe black plums, discard their pits, put them in a pot, and pour on them pure water (*mā'* *adhb*). For each 2 *qafīzes* (120 pounds) of plums use 1½ *dawraqs* (60 cups) of water. The *dawraq* equals 20 *raṭls* (40 cups).²

Cook the plums until the liquid turns red and the fruit falls apart. Press out the juice and discard the dregs (*thafal*).

Return the juice to the pot, and boil it until it condenses and becomes like thin honey in consistency. Strain the syrup and store it in a vessel.

A single dose of this (*al-sharba*) weighs 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce).

**A recipe for condensed walnut juice (*rubb al-jawz*),
recommended for sore throat, colds, and phlegm
(*balgham*):³**

Pound fresh green walnuts with the shell and press out the juice [discard the dregs]. Take as much as you want of the juice and boil it down to half its original amount.

¹ *Rubb* (sing.), sometimes referred to as *dibs*. Most of the juices in this chapter are condensed without using sugar unlike the honey-preserved conserves in the previous chapter. As the recipes indicate, they are prepared as medicinal syrups diluted and taken whenever needed. There is mention in other sources (as in *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. رُبِّب) of having *rubb* as *idām* (food eaten with bread). Nowadays, condensed juices like *rubb* or *dibs al-rummān* (pomegranate concentrate) belong more to the kitchen than the medicine cabinet.

² In other words, for each pound of plums, use ½ cup water. On the margin next to the recipe in the Istanbul MS, the following note is written: *dawraq* is 20 *raṭls*, and *qafīz* is 120 *raṭls* (fol. 116v). The same remark is repeated with the repeated recipe (fol. 263v). However, according to *Lisān al-ʿArab*, sv. قَفَز, *qafīz* measures 60 *raṭls* (pounds) in Iraq.

³ The word in the text is طَعْم *ṭaʿm* (taste), which I take as a misreading of بَلْغَم *balgham* (phlegm), more relevant in the given context.

Combine in a pot, 5 parts of the reduced juice and 1 part honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Let the mixture cook on a slow fire until it condenses. Strain it and store it in glass jars (*qawārīr*). Use it as needed.

(159r) Another walnut recipe, even more effective than the one above:

Take fresh green walnuts and grind them with the shell. Press out the juice [and discard the dregs].

Combine in a clean pot, 5 parts of the walnut juice; 3 parts of honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth; and 3 parts sweet *ṭilā* (cooked grape wine). Add as well, 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) black pepper, $\frac{1}{2}$ *ūqiyya* (15 grams) cubeb, and 1 *ūqiyya* (1 ounce) saffron. Boil down the mixture until it thickens then strain it and use it to cure a sore throat, God willing.

[Rubb] recipe for citron (*utruj*) that checks heat:

Remove the white pith (*ṣḥaḥm*) and seeds (*ḥabb*) of citron pulp then pound it and press out its juice. Boil down the juice to fourth of its original amount then strain it and store it in glass jars (*qawārīr*). Use it [as needed], God willing.

Making concentrate of citron juice (*rubb al-utruj*), recommended for all stomach disorders:

Pound citron pulp, press out its juice, and strain it. Combine 4 parts of the juice with 1 part *sukkar ṭabarzad* (white cane sugar) or honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Boil mixture down to half its original amount.

Add to the pot, saffron and nutmeg, 1 *mithqāl* of each (4½ grams), bruised (*marḍūḍ*) and tied in a bundle of thin cloth. This amount is enough for 20 *raṭls* (40 cups) of [citron] juice.

Continue boiling the juice until it is condensed to thick syrup. Take the pot away from the fire. After it cools down, strain it and use it whenever needed, God willing.

A recipe for concentrated quince juice (*rubb al-safarjal*), good for diarrhea, vomiting, and excessive heat:

Peel and core sweet quince. Pound it, press out its juice then boil it on a slow fire until it is reduced to a quarter of its original amount. Take it away from the fire, strain it, and set it aside until all boiling

subsides (*hattā yaskun*). Return it to the fire and give it another boil. (159v) Store it in glass jars (*qawārīr*) and use it.

A recipe for condensed juice of myrtle berries (*rubb al-ās*), recommended for *hayḍa* and diarrhea (*istiṭlāq*):⁴

Pound ripe and soft myrtle berries, press out and strain their juice. Boil it in a clean pot until it is reduced to fourth of its original amount. Take the pot away from the fire then strain the concentrate and use it as needed, God willing.

Making condensed juice of sour unripe grapes (*rubb al-ḥiṣrim*):

Combine in a clean pot, 6 *qisṭs* (18 cups) juice of unripe grapes and 1 *qisṭ* (1½ pounds) honey, which has been [boiled and] skimmed of its froth. Cook the mixture until it thickens then strain it and store it in glass jars (*qawārīr*).

If you do not like honey and would rather not use it, substitute it with *sukkar ṭabarzad* (white cane sugar). A dose of this syrup (*al-sharba*) weighs 10 *dirhams* (1 ounce).

A recipe of plain condensed pomegranate juice (*rubb al-rummān al-sādhaj*):

Choose ripe sweet-and-sour pomegranate (*rummān muzz*) with red seeds. Extract and strain the juice and put it in a clean soapstone pot (*qidr birām*). Boil it on slow fire until it is reduced to a third of its original amount then strain it and store it in glass jars (*qawārīr*).

⁴ In medieval medicine *hayḍa* designated a digestive disorder which caused badly digested food to be purged both ways (Ibn Sīnā 761). Nowadays *hayḍa* is cholera.

فِي طَبِيعِ مَا تَغْسِلُ بِهِ الْيَدَ مِنَ اللَّسَنَاءِ وَالسَّعَرِ

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF *USHNĀN*
(ALKALI POWDER) AND *SU'D* (CYPERUS)
USED FOR WASHING THE HANDS

Coarse Levantine alkali powder (*ushnān ghalīẓ Shāmī*):²

It has a balanced blend of properties. It removes dirt and undesirable greasy odors (*zafar*). It rids the hands of oils and greases that adhere to it and has the power to fade freckles (*namash*).

***Ushnān 'aṣāfirī*:**³

It is particularly good for protecting the mouth and keeping it in good health. It can strengthen the roots [of teeth] and polish the teeth and whiten them. Using it regularly can check cavities. Altogether, it tends to lean more towards moderation in properties.

***Idhkhīr Makkī* (esperto grass stems from Mecca):**⁴

It is hot and benefits those whose gums have the tendency to swell or those who bleed easily when they clean their teeth with *siwāk*.⁵ It has the power to go deep into the crevices of the mouth and wash away any unpleasant greasy odors in it.

***Su'd* (cyperus):**⁶

It is a good cure for cold winds (*riyāḥ bārīda*). It can stop bleeding [in the gums], also effective as a breath freshener. Using it regularly will strengthen the roots of teeth. It cleanses the stomach and dissipates humidity.

¹ This chapter is found in Helsinki MS only (editors' comment, 324, n.1). Its number is printed as 27 instead of 127.

² See Glossary, Section 13, s.v. *ushnān*.

³ Literally, 'alkali of birds' called so because this variety looks like sparrow's droppings, as al-Bīrūnī suggests in *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana* 46. Ibn al-Bayṭār describes it as white and calls it *khur' al-'aṣāfir* (خُرء العَصَافِير) sparrows' droppings (35).

⁴ Also known as *khilāl māmunī*. See Glossary, Section 13. See also the following chapter.

⁵ Traditional toothbrush or chewing stick, also called *miswāk*. See Glossary, Section 13.

⁶ For description of the plant, see Glossary, Section 13.

في طبع الخلال وعمله من الصفصاف ومن عباد
الخللوف

HUMORAL PROPERTIES OF TOOTHPICKS (*KHILĀL*)
AND MAKING THEM FROM WILLOW WOOD (*ṢAFṢĀF*)
AND OSIER TWIGS (*‘IDĀN AL-KHILĀF*)¹

Humoral properties of willow wood (*ṣafṣāf*):

It is cold and dry and causes little harm to the teeth. Using it has many benefits. It is the best kind ever to use for picking the teeth to get rid of unpleasant greasy odors (*zuhūmāt*). It is safe and beneficial to the teeth.

Toothpicks *khilāl ma’mūnī* (from esparto grass stems):²

(160r) It is a desert plant with long and slender stems. It is hot and dry [in properties].

The seeds of the wild variety of this plant have the power to purge intestinal worms (*dūd*) when taken [internally] as *saḥḥ* (compound medicinal powder). It is called *ma’mūnī* because it does little harm to the teeth. Toothpicks made from it are usually used by commoners (*‘awām*).³

Any cold and dry wood may be used for making toothpicks for such wood has more benefits than hot and dry varieties.

The best way to use these toothpicks is to soak the sticks in water for a night or two so that they become flexible and do not break. Otherwise, they will leave splinters between the teeth, which then have to be pulled out with tweezers.

¹ A passage in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id* (226–27) is almost identical with this chapter. See Introduction, Section V. n. 71.

² They are stems of *idhkhīr* (esparto grass). This variety is called *ma’mūnī* because it is safe to use as the text explains. The desert variety with its hot properties is being described here. The kind that grows in bogs is cold in properties and hence more beneficial to the teeth. See the previous chapter, *idhkhīr Makkī*.

³ Apparently, they were cheaper than choice varieties with cold and dry properties.

Osier twigs (*īdān al-khilāf*):⁴

These twigs are cold and moderate with regard to humidity and dryness. Only middle class people (*awsāt al-nās*) would use these, especially to replace the made-toothpicks (*khilāl mā'mūl*) when they are not available.

Manners observed (*adab*) when using toothpicks:

Using toothpicks is good manners. One needs to clean the teeth and remove the tiny pieces of meat (*daqīq al-laḥm*) between them. If meat stays in the mouth it will rot, especially the solid particles.

I have recited these verses, which a poet composed on a man he befriended and whom he has never seen using toothpicks. He said:

I asked 'Umar for *khilāl*, and he said, "What is *khilāl*?"

I said, "It is a nice little stick that bestows beauty to the teeth.

It purges the mouth which its battlefield it makes, and reiterates its attacks."

He said, "As I see it, there is no such thing."

I also recited these lines on *khilāl* (toothpicks) which Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī composed:⁵

After a meal, toothpicks we use, which the servant got ready for us.

Bright, from sweet willow made, which a proud gentle hand has nicely trimmed.

(160v) More emaciated than the leanest of men, almost impossible to believe.

Like the shadowy body of a smitten lover, or from a disease has just recovered.

You see them in the hand of the playful one, to splendid-looking youths he dispenses.

Polished like lean reeds of silver, thinly splinted, and discreetly cut, Straight as arrows and uniformly shaped.

Wrenched from places high, from lots of branches and risks gleaned.

Moistened with the night dew like a crust of shimmering emerald.

Nourished with water sweet and pure which the generous morning sun bestowed,

With continuous drops of rain falling brushing them south and north,

⁴ Osier is a variety of willow that has long rod-like twigs normally used in basketry. The tree is called *khilāf* because the seeds flow with the current and grow at areas different from where they originally grew (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s. v. خلف).

⁵ The gourmet Abbasid prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 839).

During the summer bouts at dusk of day. Once to perfection they
 grew,
 The servant, early one morn, gathered of branches, suitably long,
 Perfectly straight and shaped. In the shade, he dried them,
 Then with a knife sharper than the edge of sword, he trimmed them
 to arrows.
 He shaped them like spears, though not as sharp, for spears for killing
 and stabbing are made.
 Long and slender, he tied them as bundles with threads,
 And sold them, reasonably priced. These the butler stored for use of
 men.

Abū al-Ḥusayn recited to me verses that he himself composed on the
 same topic:⁶

A toothpick I saw, the diner between his fingers holding, a deadly ar-
 row, a gentle hand had trimmed.
 His hand with the pick was like a slender gazelle on the steppe.
 (161r) The hand, the steppe in evenness resembled, the pick, the ga-
 zelle in swaying.
 ‘Tis used to pick what in the boon companion’s glass might fall, and
 from the sides of a jug remove whatever sticks and causes it to
 spoil.
 Its emaciated lean figure a feeble youth with love sick resembles.
 So light, you hardly ever feel it when handed to you.
 When a gazelle goes around dispensing them to guests, he kills and
 brings to life with his killer gaze.
 The murdered their revenge cannot possibly take. No better are the
 living, smitten perplexed and dazed.

⁶ *Kushājim* (d. c. 961). See Appendix.

فِي عَمَلِ الْأَلْسِنَاءِ وَالْمَحْلَبِ وَتَحْيِصِ الْبَنْسِ الْمَحْتَبِ

MAKING *USHNĀN* (ALKALI COMPOUNDS) AND
*MAHLAB*¹, AND TOASTING (*TAḤMĪṢ*) FRAGRANT *BUNK*²

A recipe for *ushnān* (alkali compound) made for al-Rashīd:³

Take cloves, *salīkha* (bark similar to cassia), *qāqulla* (black cardamom), and *falanja*,⁴ one part each.

Also take what equals one part altogether of mastic, *idhkhīr* (esparto grass),⁵ *suʿd* (cyperus), and *mayʿa yābisa*.⁶ You also need 3 parts of marjoram (*marzanyūsh*), 5 parts of white clay of Mecca (*ṭīn abyad Makkā*), and *ushnān Bāriqī*,⁷ double or triple the amount of clay. Prepare as well, rice that has been soaked, dried, ground, and sifted. Its amount is similar to that of *ushnān*.

Pound each ingredient separately then mix them all, God willing.

A recipe for a lesser *ushnān*:

Finely grind together equal amounts of alkali (*ushnān*) and white clay (*ṭīn abyad*). Mix with them, sixth of their amount pounded and sifted esparto grass [flowers] (*idhkhīr*), and a fourth of their amount ground and sifted cyperus (*suʿd*). Mix in, as well, twelfth of their amount grated sandalwood (*ṣandal mahkūk*).

¹ The aromatic kernel of the pit of a variety of small black cherry. See Glossary, Section 9.

All recipes in this chapter are hand washing compounds in which the principal ingredients are *ushnān*, *mahlab*, and *bunk*. Most of the ingredients mentioned here are entered in Section 13 of the Glossary. Therefore, reference notes will be made to ingredients included in other sections only.

² Shreds of coffee beans and husks.

³ The famous Abbasid Caliph of the *Arabian Nights* (d. 809).

⁴ Small variety of cubeb (*kabāba*) used mainly in perfume compounds.

⁵ Most probably, the crushed flowers of this plant are used in hand washing compounds in this chapter. They have a rose-like fragrance. The stems are usually used as toothpicks and for fumigating (Ibn al-Bayṭār 13).

⁶ Fragrant resin of storax tree (*lubna*).

⁷ Alkali brought from Bāriqa, a place near the city of Kūfa, in Iraq.

Pour on the ingredients liquid of camphor (*mā' al-kāfūr*),⁸ [enough to bind ingredients into paste,] knead them all into an integrated mass, and use, God willing.

Another recipe for a lesser *ushnān*:

(161v) Pick over white alkali (*ushnān*), pound it, sift it, and set it aside. Take grated white clay (*tīn abyad*), half the amount of alkali used, pound it, sift it, and mix it with the alkali.

Take ground and sifted *idhkhir* (esparto grass flowers), a quarter of the amount of the alkali-clay mix, and ground and sifted cyperus (*su'd*), as much as the alkali used.

Mix all the ingredients with some liquid of camphor (*mā' al-kāfūr*), rub them (*yufrak*) together [to make a crumbly mix,] and use it.

Making pure and white *maḥlab*:

Skin, grind, and sift *maḥlab* kernels. The way to skin them is to lightly pound them, which will [break the skins] and make removing them easier.

Knead the ground and sifted *maḥlab* with jasmine oil (*duhn zanbaq*) of Sābūr.⁹ Stick this dough to the inner side of a *barniyya* (wide-mouthed green-glazed jar). Fumigate the jar with moistened aloe wood (*'ūd nay'*) several times. Do this by inverting the jar on the *mijmara* (censer with coals and incense) and fumigating it until the dough surface looks set and dry. Tie the mouth of the jar and stow it away.

To use *maḥlab*, take the amount needed, put it in a bowl, and knead it with jasmine oil (*duhn al-zanbaq*) of Sābūr. Perfume it with balsam oil (*duhn balasān*), citron oil (*duhn utruj*), and liquid of camphor (*mā' kāfūr*), and use it.

A recipe of royal *maḥlab* for the elite (*maḥlab al-khāṣṣa al-sultānī*):

Take good quality *maḥlab* kernels, pick them over one by one, remove the skins completely,¹⁰ and pick them over to get rid of all the yellowed and rotten kernels. Grind and sift them with a fine sieve (*munkhul*

⁸ It is an oily liquid exuded from the trunk of the camphor tree or obtained by boiling and straining the barks of the camphor tree with whatever camphor is stuck to it. See Glossary, Section 13.

⁹ According to *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. زنبق, this is its name in Iraq. In other regions it is *duhn al-yāsamin*. Sābūr is a province in Persia.

¹⁰ See previous recipe for directions on how to skin them.

ṣafīq) and put the grind in a wide-mouthed jar made of glass (*barniyya zujā*). Knead it with Persian jasmine oil (*zanbaq Fārisī*) and fumigate it with good quality aloe wood and camphor [instructions in the above recipe]. Do the fumigating a hundred times within three days. During this period stir and mix the dough and stick it again to the side of the jar, twice a day.

When you are done fumigating, put the dough in a glass (*qadah*) and mix it with jasmine oil (*duhn al-zanbaq*) of Sābūr. Add a small amount of oil of Persian roses (*duhn ward Fārisī*), balsam oil (*duhn balasān*), citron oil (*duhn utruj*), good quality liquid of camphor (*mā' kāfūr*), and as much as you like of crushed camphor, God willing.

A recipe of black *maḥlab* for the masses (*maḥlab al-ʿamma al-aswad*):

(162r) Choose good quality *maḥlab* kernels. Grind and sift them then knead them with good quality jasmine oil (*zanbaq*). Stick the dough to the inner side of a wide-mouthed jar (*barniyya*) and fumigate it with *bunk* (coffee shreds), *quṣṭ murr* (bitter costus),¹¹ *su'd* (cyperus), *may'a yābisa* (dry resin of the storax tree), saffron, and sandalwood. Do the fumigating three times a day for three days.

Next, mix the dough with jasmine oil (*zanbaq*) in a glass and add *may'a sūyila* (honey-like resin of the storax tree). Pound one nutmeg, mace, cloves, sandalwood, cubeb (*kabāba*), and black cardamom (*qāqulla*). Mix all these spices and stir them into the *maḥlab* dough.

[Finally,] pour on them liquid of camphor (*mā' kāfūr*) and lees of balsam oil (*ʿakar al-balasān*).

Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī composed these verses on *ushnān* and *maḥlab* (hand-washing compounds):¹²

Crystal *ushnān* vessel etched from outside and within.¹³

Beasts and birds you see in them, and redolent *ushnān* of ʿabīr.¹⁴

It smells of musk slathered on necks, and looks more like pebbles of camphor.

Like soft, luxuriant, and silken fabric to the touch.

The *maḥlab* cup (*qadah*) is preeminently placed,

Overflowing with *maḥlab* with liquid camphor kneaded,

¹¹ Indian variety of costus. It was not rated top quality.

¹² The gourmet Abbasid prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 839).

¹³ The vessel is called *ushnāndān*. It is a tray-like container with concave sections for holding hand-washing compounds. See also the following poem.

¹⁴ ʿAbīr is perfume composed of musk, sandalwood, and rose water (Steingass)

Oil of moringa beans and gillyflowers,¹⁵ fragrant as if wine.
 More aromatic than ambergris tucked in breasts, more redolent than princely perfumes.¹⁶
 It has a lid perfectly contoured, made of silver, embossed with gold.
 Like the colorful designs on the back of a gazelle's hand, so young and pure, adorned with dainty bracelets of silver and embroidery.
 And yet beware: the eyes are of a bewitching scoundrel, with horns of hair.
 In his right hand he holds a bar of light—a spoon of gold—splendidly bright,
 Studded with jewels precious. He spoons out *maḥlab* for people present,
 As if with incense, he goes around the assembly with it.

(162v) Here are verses by another poet on *majmaʿ al-ushnān*:¹⁷

A container an oil-maker assorted, adorned with pictures etched with gold.
 Like a vessel chest on which the paints like rivers run.
 With roads detailed with vivid colors of all hues, and like a cloak is shaped.
Khosrau is pictured on it,¹⁸ in a procession with knights adorned,
 As if of *jizʿ Yamānī* made,¹⁹ or flowers, which an orchard festoon.
 In it there are just what the guests will need of comely *ushnān* vessels,
 Concave, and tear-shaped, craftily engraved,²⁰ the likes of which are nowhere seen.
 Of all kinds of *ushnān* containing. Far more fragrant than women's perfumes.²¹
Maḥlab kneaded with oils²²—oil of rose and oil of *bān*.²³
 In fragrance nothing compares with it, put in a rounded glass,
 On which is painted a scene of eagles chasing gazelles.
 When for the brethren *maḥlab* is scooped, with pearls and corals it comes out crowned.
 The servant boys pass it around, as if to boon companions serving wine.

¹⁵ *Duhn al-bān* and *duhn al-khīn*, respectively.

¹⁶ *Ghāliyat al-amīr* excellent-quality men's perfume compound.

¹⁷ A tray-like container with concave sections to hold selections of *ushnān* (alkali compounds). Also called *ushnāndān*, as in the previous poem.

¹⁸ He is Anū *Shirwān*, the Persian king (d. 579).

¹⁹ Arabian black and white shells.

²⁰ مخروطة الروس والبادان محفورة

²¹ *Dharāyir al-niswān* is a blend of aromatic ingredients sprinkled on body and clothes used by women.

²² *Maḥlab* is the aromatic kernel of the pit of a variety of small cherry. See recipes in this chapter.

²³ Beans of moringa tree. See Glossary, Section 12.2.

A handsome gazelle, with scorpion tresses on temples, like scepters curved,

With two roses, each of which on a cheek, offers the anointing vessel.

The best ever used to wash and sweeten the hands is *ushnān*,

After which smooth *maḥlab* follows and with scented *bunk* or *su'd* the job is done.²⁴

A recipe of a fragrant toasted coffee compound (*bunk muḥammaṣ ṭayyib*) used for washing the hands and while bathing (*ḥammām*):²⁵

Take good quality yellow *bunk* and yellow sandalwood, 30 *dirhams* (3 ounces) [each?], and 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) cloves. Also take 15 *dirhams* (1½ ounces) *ward* (dried rose petals), 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) saffron, 6 *dirhams* (18 grams) thin and red *salīkha* (reddish brown bark similar to cassia), and 6 *dirhams* (18 grams) spikenard. Pound (*yudaqq*) all these ingredients together then grind them (*yuthān*), [sprinkle them with some] rose water, and toast them (*yuḥammaṣ*).

Fumigate the *bunk* mix thoroughly with moistened aloe wood (*ʿūd nay*), camphor, and saffron. Then spread it in a large shallow basin (*taṣht*).

Take black cardamom (*qāqulla*), nutmeg, and mace, 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) each. Take as well, 1 *dirham* (3 grams) camphor. Grind them and sift them on the spread *bunk* mix. Combine the ingredients and grind them again. Then [put them in a] *barniyya* (wide-mouthed green-glazed jar) and thoroughly fumigate them with aloe wood and camphor. It will come out excellently.

Another recipe for toasted coffee compound (*bunk muḥammaṣ*):

Take 1 *mann* (2 pounds) *bunk*, ¼ *mann* (½ pound) *faḷanja* (small variety of cubeb), 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) cloves, and a quarter of a nutmeg. Also take 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) spikenard, 10 *dirhams* (1 ounce) *hāl* (green cardamom), 46 *dirhams* (4¾ ounces) Ceylon cinnamon (*qarfā*), and ½ *ūqiyya* (15 grams) saffron.

Pound (*yudaqq*) all the ingredients, [sprinkle them with some] apple juice, and toast them. Grind (*yuthān*) them thoroughly and fumigate them with aloe wood and camphor, God willing.

²⁴ See the following recipes for *bunk* compounds. *Su'd* is cyperus.

²⁵ This recipe and the rest of the chapter are included in Helsinki MS only.

A recipe for a royal toasted coffee compound (*bunk muḥammaṣ sultānī*):

Take 1 *mann* (2 pounds) lightweight and yellow Iraqi *bunk*, ¼ *mann* (½ pound) *maqāṣīrī* yellow sandalwood,²⁶ and ¼ *mann* (½ pound) *fā-lanja* (small cubeb). Pound finely all these ingredients and sift them with a hair sieve (*munkhul shaʿr*). Add finely chopped 30 bunches of *thumām*,²⁷ rind of 30 Lebanese apples, and rind of 3 yellow citrons (*utruj*). Pour on them 1 *mann* (4 cups) rose water and throw on them 10 *dirhams* (1 ounce) crushed saffron. Mix and rub the ingredients very well to let the saffron integrate into the rest of the ingredients. Spread the mixture on *naṭʿ* (sheet of leather).²⁸ [Set it aside] until mixture is almost dry. When you are ready to grind it, light charcoal fire and dry it on it. Then, finely grind it and sift it with a fine hair-sieve (*munkhul shaʿr ṣafīq*). Pour on it 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) good quality jasmine oil of Sābūr (*zanbaq Sābūrī*) and rub it into the mixture so that it integrates with it. Return the mixture to the fine sieve and press it through the mesh to make sure you get rid of all lumps. [Set it aside]

Now, take 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) cloves, 10 *dirhams* (1 ounce) nutmeg, and 10 *dirhams* (1 ounce) *hāl* (green cardamom). You need to finely grind these spices so that the [final] *bunk* compound will be smooth. Add 5 *dirhams* (½ ounce) ground saffron, 3 *mithqāls* (13½ grams) balsam oil (*balasān*), and 2 *mithqāls* (9 grams) citron oil (*duhn al-utruj*). Mix these aromatics (*afwāh*) thoroughly then pour on them 50 *dirhams* (1¼ cups) *māʾ ward Jūrī*.²⁹ Knead them together on a *ṣallāya* (large slab of stone).³⁰

Add the [set aside] *bunk* mix to them. Then toast them together [and stir] until all the ingredients blend well. Press the mix through a sieve and let it all go through it [to get rid of lumps]. Put it in a *barniyya zujāj* (large wide-mouthed jar made of glass) and fumigate it with aloe wood, camphor, and saffron. Do this 10 times a day for three consecutive days. During this period, you need to stir the *bunk*

²⁶ Top quality yellow sandalwood brought from Ceylon.

²⁷ Sweet grassy wild plant similar in shape to millet spikes.

²⁸ نطع usually used as tablecloth.

²⁹ Distilled water of red roses of Jūr, a city in Persia famous for its roses. See Glossary, Section 9, s.v. *māʾ ward*.

³⁰ I amend here صلاية *ṣalāba* (irrelevant in the given context) to صلاية *ṣallāya* (broad slab of stone used mostly for crushing spices and aromatics, and mixing them).

mix frequently so that it picks up as much as possible of the aroma of the fumes. [After that, you can] use it.

A recipe for medium-quality toasted coffee compound (*bunk muḥammaṣ wasaṭ*):

Take 1 *mann* (2 pounds) yellow Iraqi *bunk*, pound it, and sift in a hair sieve (*munkhul shaʿr*) [and set it aside].

Pound and sift 1/3 *mann* (10 ounces) *faḷanja* (small cubeb), 1/8 *mann* (4 ounces) *fāghira*,³¹ 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) spikenard, and 5 *dirhams* (15 grams) sandalwood. Put these spices in a *ṭasht* (wide and shallow basin) and add to them ¼ *ratl* (½ cup) [water of] bright red safflower (*ʿusfur*). [Mix them well and] put the basin in the sun to let the spices dry out after which you grind them. Then, put this mix in a *satl* (bucket) and pour water, enough to make it look like [foamy] whipped lote-tree leaves (*sidr maḍrūb*).³²

Pour this liquid mix on the [set aside ground] *bunk*. Toast them together [stirring] so that the safflower integrates evenly into the mix. Spread it in the sun to let it dry out then crush it and sift it in a fine-mesh sieve (*munkhul shaʿr ḍayyiq*). Pour on it 20 *dirhams* (2 ounces) Persian jasmine oil (*zanbaq Fārisī*) and mix them well. Press the mix through a sieve to get rid of lumps. [Set it aside]

Now, finely crush cloves and nutmeg, 10 *dirhams* (1 ounce) each. Add balsam oil (*duhn al-balasān*) and citron oil (*duhn al-artuḡ*), 1 *miḥqāl* (4½ grams) each. Also add 5 *dirhams* (1 tablespoon) liquid of camphor (*māʾ kāfūr*). Mix them all on a *ṣallāya* (wide slab of stone). Pour on them 50 *dirhams* (1¼ cups) good quality liquid of camphor. Add this mix to the [set aside] *bunk* mix. Stir and mix them until they integrate. Press the mix through a sieve [to get rid of lumps]. Next, put it in a *barniyya zujāj* (large wide-mouthed jar made of glass) and fumigate it with *al-zifr al-dhakar*.³³ Fumigate it again with aloe wood and camphor. After that, it is ready to use.

Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib recited to me these verses on *bunk*:³⁴

³¹ Fagara, also known as Chinese cubeb.

³² For *sidr*, see Glossary, Section 8.

³³ *Azfār dhukrān* (pl. literally, ‘male nails’), also called *azfār ṭhaʿlabiyya* (literally, ‘like fox nails’). These are medium-quality nail-like aromatic shell shards. See Glossary, Section 13, s.v. *azfār al-ṭib*.

³⁴ Kushājim (d. c. 961).

Bunk obliterates greasy smells of food on hands, and whatever of sweets and fats.

Whether traveling or at home, neglect not to wash your hands with it when the nimble *farrāsh* passes around with it.³⁵

Nothing surpasses *bunk* to wash the hands after having a fragrant scrumptious meal.

It infuses them with scent of musk, and renders needless aromatic wines and flowers.

Like musk in hue, as soft as *khaẓẓ* to the touch,³⁶ as smooth as silk on hands and face.

Ushnān I wouldn't give it a damn if *bunk* is within reach,³⁷ and cyperus (*su'd*), wish it were in Saqar!³⁸

CHAPTER 130

فِي اللّٰوَبِ فِي غَسْلِ الْيَدِ قَبْلَ الطَّعَامِ وَمِنْ بَعْدِهِ

DECORUMS (*ADAB*) OF WASHING THE HANDS BEFORE AND AFTER THE MEAL

For the accomplished friend (*mu'āshir*) or the perceptive boon companion (*nadīm*) cleanliness of hands and nails is of utmost importance. He ought to keep a regular regimen of trimming the nails, cleaning between the fingers, and washing his hands and wrists before praying and eating. He should look agreeable; skin radiating with fragrance; face, moustache, and nose, clean; and forehead, immaculate. He must clean his teeth and use *su'd* (cyperus) in the morning, comb his beard and keep his clothes clean, especially the turban because it meets the eyes of the onlookers more than any other piece of clothes. He should perfume himself with incense (*bakhūr*), musk, *ghāliya*,³⁹ and all kinds of *dharāyir* sprinkled on hair and clothes.⁴⁰ Incense is used

³⁵ He is the attendant who goes around swiftly and serves the guests like a *farāsha* (moth, butterfly). In the Arab world today, the word designates office and school attendants who do errands.

³⁶ Luxuriant soft cloth woven from a mix of wool and silk threads (*ibr̄sam*).

³⁷ *Ushnān* is an alkali hand washing compound.

³⁸ One of the names of Hell.

³⁹ A blend of men's perfume. See Glossary, Section 13.

⁴⁰ Perfumed powder compounds sprinkled on body and clothes. See Glossary, Section 13.

to fumigate the clothes, musk and camphor are for the hair, and *ḍharāyir* are for the body. All the aforementioned prescripts need to be heeded by the boon companion of kings and leaders and by whoever attends assemblies of noblemen and dignitaries.

He should sit at his appointed seat with utmost civility and self-control, neither reclining nor stretching the leg, or idling with his clothes or beard. He should stand up if the king does so and sit down after him. He should approach the king when asked to do so, answer back when a question is asked, and come on time when invited.

While eating, he should not leave the table before his superiors, neither should he start eating before them. He should not lick his fingers, dip his fingers' tips [in stews], chew fast, laugh a great deal, or have a bite of a piece of meat then return it to the communal dish. He should not snatch what is in front of others, make his morsels big, break the bread into small pieces, or untighten his belt. He should not help himself to a lot of vinegar, or shake the herbs [to get rid of water clinging to them], or dip bread pieces in fat. [Soupy] grain dishes and stews should be eaten sparingly lest they should drip on his clothes, which might be taken as a sign of gluttony. When eating chicken, he may not disjoint it with his hands lest the fat under the skin (**163r**) or lurking between the joints should spatter on fellow eaters in front of him or beside him. A knife is recommended in this case to cut the chicken at the joints. It is uncomely to load the hand with dessert, fill the mouth with hot food, swallow it hurriedly, drink a lot of water, belch audibly, gnaw at the bones, or suck the bone marrow. When fruits are offered before the meal, he should not bite the fruit [but rather use a knife]. If he catches sight of a coveted cut of meat, a visible egg, a tempting *sanbūṣaj* (filled pastry), or whatever looks irresistible or the appetite lusts after, it is not courteous on his part to hasten to any of this.

It came down to us that al-Aṣmaʿī⁴¹ told about al-Raṣhīd⁴² that Abū al-Waḍḍāḥ al-Fazārī⁴³ once related to him that he suggested to Sulaymān bin ʿAbd al-Malik⁴⁴ appointing abū Ghānim al-Qurashī⁴⁵

⁴¹ A famous scholar (d. 828?) whom Hārūn al-Raṣhīd appointed as a tutor for his son al-Amīn.

⁴² The famous Abbasid Caliph (d. 809).

⁴³ A famous scholar (d. 804) who was highly esteemed by Hārūn al-Raṣhīd.

⁴⁴ Umayyad Caliph (d. 717).

⁴⁵ I have not been able to identify the person but the anecdote shows that he was a member of the Umayyad family of Quraysh.

as *wālī* (ruler) in one of the provinces to improve his standing. After all he was his relative and, as such, he was worthy of assistance. To this Sulaymān responded, “My dear Abū al-Waḍḍāḥ, he does things that no accomplished person would ever do.” I asked, “What are these things, may God direct you?” Sulaymān said, “He has his cupping (*ḥijāma*) done at his friends’ houses, he uses a parasol (*mizalla*) in shaded places, and whisks to *bayḍat al-baqīla* and eats it.”⁴⁶ Al-Aṣmaʿī said that al-Raṣḥīd said, from now on he would never lay a finger on such an egg.⁴⁷

It is commendable for the boon companion to be handsomely attired, wear the finest clothes that are clean at the folds and edges. He ought to pay attention to what he wears. The first layer of clothes should not be without the top layer. What is not apparent of his clothes should be spotlessly clean such as the cap (*qalansuwa*), pants (*sarāwīl*), drawstring (*takka*), socks (*jawrab*), his sleeve’s handkerchief, and all other similar pieces. Once he becomes fully accomplished and attains all these attributes, he will be a welcome companion and a joy to socialize with, unlike what was said of Abū-Yuʿlā al-Qurashī, the scribe.⁴⁸

God’s bounty is always welcome, but not when on certain people it falls.

Riches do not the face of Abū Yuʿlā become, nor does the light of Islam.

(163v) For filthy he is, in clothes, turban, horse, sandals, back of neck, and servant boy.

Prithee, his pens do not touch lest, like al-Ḥusayn’s blood, his pens your torture be.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ An egg put in the middle of a platter of fresh herbs as garnish.

⁴⁷ The three actions described here violate some codes of decorum: a man is supposed to have his cupping performed in his own house, it is foolish to use a parasol when there is no sun, and the garnishing egg is not for diners to eat.

⁴⁸ I have not been able to identify the person but the name indicates he descended from the tribe of Quraysh and that he was a secretary. The verses describe him as a wealthy person but notoriously filthy.

⁴⁹ The allusion here is to Imam al-Ḥusayn, grandson of the prophet Muḥammad. He went to Kufa to press his claim to the caliphate. However, he was killed in battle on the plains of Karbala on the tenth day of Muḥarram, the first month of the lunar year (d. 680).

الآداب في الموائد على المائدة

DECORUMS OF COMMUNAL EATING AT THE TABLE

When the washing basin (*tast*) is offered to the accomplished companion (*adīb*), he ought to wash his hands meticulously, swiftly make sure of the cleanliness of his nails, and refrain from touching anything before the food is offered. It is related that a man washed his hands while he was in the company of al-Ma'mūn and the servant was a little late [in serving the food].⁵⁰ While waiting, the man touched his head. Al-Ma'mūn asked him to wash his hands again, which he did. Soon enough he touched his beard and al-Ma'mūn once again asked him to rewash his hands, which he did again. Al-Ma'mūn told the man that nothing comes after washing the hands but the bread. I know of many similar stories but let this one suffice for brevity's sake.

When the table is spread, the diner should start the meal with salt and end it with it.⁵¹ He is to start eating after his superior and follow the instructions we state in the [following] chapter, which deals with manners of eating with kings in addition to what we have mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, God willing and no strength save in Him, the Sublime and Almighty.

[When the meal is over] the courteous companion (*adīb*) should start with *maḥlab* followed by toothpicks (*khilāl*) to remove all remaining particles of meat.⁵² If these particles remain on or between the teeth, they will soon rot and start to smell. Then he washes his hands with *uṣḥnān* and rubs them with it thoroughly.⁵³ However, he should never touch his mouth with his hands [at this point]. I know of commoners who wash their hands with all the *uṣḥnān* they are given and when it starts to darken as the food particles and grease are washed away from the hands, they start rubbing their mouths and lips with it. This will definitely not cleanse and freshen the mouth and when they are handed a towel [to wipe dry the hands and mouth,] they

⁵⁰ Al-Ma'mūn is the Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 833).

⁵¹ Salt was usually served seasoned with spices and seeds, scented with aromatics, and sometimes colored. See Chapter 21 for recipes.

⁵² *Maḥlab* is a hand-washing compound (recipes in Chapter 129).

⁵³ Alkali compounds for washing the hands (recipes in Chapter 129).

will soil it and spoil it [for others] because of the greasy odors still clinging to their hands and mouth.

Therefore, the best way for the *adīb* to do it, is to start by rubbing and washing his hands with *ushnān* then rinse it out. (164r) Next, he takes some *ushnān* specially made for washing the mouth and rubs with it his mouth, teeth, beard, and wherever there is greasiness around the mouth, as well as around the nails, between the fingers, and under the rings. Taking off the the rings altogether is recommended. He then rinses his hands and mouth. Then he takes a fresh batch of *maḥlab* and *ushnān* and washes his mouth with them. Next, he uses *bunk* and *su'd* (cyperus),⁵⁴ then rinses his mouth and hands with water. Finally, he takes a small amount of rose water and washes his face and hands with it after which he combs his beard and goes back to his seat.

If the companion has had his meal with a king, he should not wash his hands with him. Rather, he goes to a corner where he cannot be seen and washes his hands, does his prayer ablutions, and fixes himself the way he is used to doing such as combing his beard and scenting himself. I have heard that the initial reason why al-Ifshīn fell out of favor with al-Mu'taṣim was that he ate with him once.⁵⁵ After the meal he asked for the *ṭast* (hand-washing basin) to be put for him at a place visible to the Caliph. At this al-Mu'taṣim said, "This long-bearded goat is having the *ṭast* where I can see him. Arrest him!" As al-Afshīn was taken out, al-Mu'taṣim said, "This is what befalls whoever misbehaves."

Once a guest did not wash his hands, as he should. His host, an outspoken man, said, "Purify your hands, may God support you, otherwise you will soil our towel." Another guest washed his hands but not thoroughly, so when he wiped them dry, the host said to his servant, "Boy, carry the towel to whomever it belongs when he departs, for he soiled it for us and we cannot use it anymore." The man felt ashamed and left the house and the host sent the towel after him. The guest later sent his host a new towel to replace it.

⁵⁴ *Bunk* is a hand-cleansing compound containing roasted and crushed coffee beans and husk (recipes Chapter 129).

⁵⁵ Turkish army leader who served al-Mu'taṣim, the Abbasid Caliph (d.842). He died in prison in 841.

It used to take ‘Ubaydullāh bin Salīm a long time to wash his hands.⁵⁶ His reason was that the rule for cleansing the hands was to spend as much time washing them as they spent eating the food.

Al-Ma’mūn once asked al-Yazīdī about the manners of al-‘Abbās,⁵⁷ for he appointed him as his companion and tutor. He told him al-‘Abbās was no good, for he had no aspirations. (164r). Al-Ma’mūn asked, “How did you know this?” Al-Yazīdī said, “I saw him as the slave boy handed him *ūshnān* to wash his hands. When he saw that the boy gave him a lot of it, he returned some to the *ūshnāndāh* (the container) instead of throwing it into the washing basin (*ṭast*). I realized then that he is a stingy person and as such he is not fit to be a king.”

It is the custom of the Persians to use toothpicks (*khilāl*) and wash their hands before the meal. The ancient Arabs did not know this tradition. Before the meal is served, it is the duty of the host to wash his hands before his guests to encourage the bashful ones among them. After the meal, he should be the last to do so to let his guests get rid of the grease on their hands as soon as possible. This is what should be done when dining with one’s equals and friends. When dining with kings and sultans; however, regulations mentioned earlier, on how to behave with utmost respect in their presence should be heeded.

It is not polite to help oneself to the host’s food when not invited or attend an assembly when not asked to. When invited to have food, one should neither be too bashful to eat nor too open and mindless of others. One should not start eating when the diners are about to finish the meal or tarry behind, eating after the others had their fill. One should not overstay the visit, be importunate when in need of a thing, or spit into the basin while washing the hands or blow the nose. A person who does these things is called *al-mukawwib* (the dissipater).

⁵⁶ Vizier of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu‘taḍid (d. 902).

⁵⁷ Al-Yazīdī was a famous linguist and educator, originally from Basra (died c. 817). He was the tutor of Caliph al-Ma’mūn (d. 833) and his son al-‘Abbās, who died in prison in 838.

فِي ذِكْرِ الْأَدَبِ فِي الْأَكْلِ الصَّعْلُوكِ مَعَ الرُّوسَا وَالْمُلُوكِ

MANNERS OBSERVED WHEN COMMONERS SHARE MEALS WITH THEIR SUPERIORS AND KINGS

Know that while eating at the table, it is polite to talk as little as possible or not talk at all. We have heard that kings of Persia and other countries did not talk at the table. They used to communicate by whispering softly and convey orders to servants by gesturing. They did this because talking while eating might cause particles of food to scatter from between the teeth and tongue, and upon my life, that shows good manners. (165r) People have aversion to food in which particles from the mouth of an eater have fallen. They shun the company of people who do these things and avoid socializing with them. It also leads to losing one's face and being reprimanded by one's superiors.

The accomplished companion of kings is urged not to eat to his fill but he certainly needs to have enough to sustain him. His morsels are to be small and particular attention is to be taken when handling greasy foods. He should not swallow food before chewing it thoroughly. Neither should he put in his mouth another morsel before swallowing the one already in his mouth. Rapidly stuffing the mouth with food and swallowing it quickly half chewed is a sign of avarice. Besides, he should avoid biting a piece of food only to dip it again into the sauce (*ṣibāgh*) or the [stew] dish.

Looking at others while eating should be avoided as this will embarrass them and make them stop eating. It will also be taken as a sign of stinginess. We have heard that a Bedouin (*A'rābī*) once had a meal with Mu'āwiya.¹ When the Bedouin raised a morsel to reach his mouth, Mu'āwiya said, "*Yā A'rābī*, take away the hair from your food." The *A'rābī* said, "Indeed, you have been paying so much attention to what I am eating that you can see a hair in my food. By God, I refuse to share a meal with you," and he threw down the morsel and left the table.

¹ The founder of the Umayyad dynasty (d. 680).

The consummate companion eats his food using two fingers only, gently and quietly. He begins with salt,² which, by the way, he has not picked up by shaking the salt bowl [to get the pieces he fancies]. He needs to eat sparingly of vinegar, herbs, and lettuce when they are offered [and no more after that]. He also must follow the lead of his superior, neither eating before him nor hastening to pick up the food he notices his superior has his eyes on.

Muḥammad bin al-Wazīr al-Ḥāfiẓ once had a meal with one of the dignitaries known for his stinginess.³ He kept a constant eye on what al-Ḥāfiẓ was eating but the latter managed to restrain himself and pretended he did not take notice and kept on nibbling on vinegar and vegetables offered to him.⁴ This is what he [later on] said about this host:

As if Abū al-ʿAbbās has never riches seen, brought up in luxury, or
ever of food had his fill.⁵

(165v) he only offers it when the eating is done.

When mealtime approaches, you see us perplexed. Shall we eat our
fill or just nibble?

I have fallen from grace with him for into his vinegar and vegetables
he saw me dig in.

He also said this about him:

You can always count on bread of Abū al-ʿAbbās, albeit for display
alone.

If seeking your company, you become his guest; behind his back you
eat his food.

Seek to hide what you eat from him for his whole body turns to
eyes.

Other table manners to be observed: The diner should not lick his fingers, pull out food particles stuck between the teeth, draw closer whatever is in front of others to his side, or blow into hot food for that will cause some spittle and steam to blow out with the air. Besides, if he were not so eager to eat that food to begin with, he would have left it to cool down. This conduct is imbecile and does

² Salt was usually served seasoned with spices and seeds, scented with aromatics, and sometimes colored. See Chapter 21 for recipes.

³ Al-Ḥāfiẓ was an Abbasid poet and *muḥaddith* (transmitter of the Prophet's tradition). Al-Warrāq uses some of his poems in this book. See Appendix.

⁴ Vinegar and vegetables were regarded as skimpy appetizers.

⁵ I have not translated the second line because it is repeated, with slight differences, in the fourth line. Besides, the first part of the third line is missing due to a lacuna.

not become people claiming to be high mannered and obliging. Moreover, the accomplished companion does not sip the stew in the main bowl or inspect it to see what is in it, or lift a morsel to his mouth until he is thoroughly done chewing and swallowing the one already in his mouth. He should not look at the communal dish, visually exploring it for the next eligible morsel. This is deemed despicable among well-mannered people and it is a shame in the eyes of dignitaries and leaders.

I have heard that a Bedouin (*Aʿrābī Badawī*) went to Muʿāwiya [for some business],⁶ and when the table was spread, Muʿāwiya invited him to join in. The *Aʿrābī* was hungry and ate like a famished lad. He ate from here, he ate from there, and he ate from between the hands of Muʿāwiya, who resented this and said, “*Yā Aʿrābī*, you are far from being charitable (far from home).”⁷ The Bedouin answered, “A stranger is always away from home, Commander of the Faithful,” and he resumed eating in the same manner, snatching whatever was between other eaters’ hands, cutting the meat with his teeth, (166r) and eating it while Muʿāwiya was seething with annoyance. So he asked, “*Yā Aʿrābī*, don’t you have a knife to cut the meat with?” The Bedouin said, “Commander of the Faithful, every man has his own knife between his jaws,” and he continued eating, never relaxing while the Caliph was watching him. At last, he lost his patience with him and said, “Woe unto you man! What’s your name?” The Bedouin said, “Luqmān,⁸ Commander of the Faithful,” at which Muʿāwiya said, “I here attest that you are as true to the name Luqmān as true can be.”

Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib once criticized a man with whom he shared a meal and behaved in a manner similar [to the Bedouin above]:

⁶ The founder of the Umayyad dynasty (d. 680).

⁷ The word *nujʿa* has two senses: the first is when the Bedouins go far away from home looking for food and pasture for their animals and the second is the metaphoric sense—to be hospitable and charitable. The Caliph and the Bedouin are playing on the two senses here. The first option I give in the text is what the speaker means.

⁸ It is a common proper noun after the wise Balaam, son of Beor (*Bāʿūrā*), said to be the son of Job’s sister or aunt, or a disciple of David, or a judge in Israel (Steingass). The second meaning is, “one who eats too much,” from *luqma* (morsel) and *laqm* (eating a lot and fast).

I know of an uncivilized fellow who other eaters disgusts.
 A morsel in palm, one in mouth, and another targeted with eyes.
 A fourth one, mind you, has already been into his rattling throat
 pushed down.
 'Tis my pleasure to see my guests indulge for I am not stingy but this
 man is gross.

Another poet described gluttony, hospitality, and eating in general:

The poor man gnawed and sucked at the bone and dreamt he saw
 meat, but ever since has not been able to sleep.
 [Another] the doctor warned not to eat much but would not listen
 and is full.
 Against the doctor's orders, with food upon food he stuffed himself,
 [and said],
 "What's life without food and drink even though it leads me to sin?"
 Hail the bowls prepared to honor the guests, with mounds of fat and
 meat.
 Pay homage not to the site of the [beloved's] ruins and rocks, more
 worthy are the relics of eating hard and meat.

It is good manners not to pay a friend a visit at mealtimes. If one does so, one would be looked down upon as an intruding, unwelcome, aberrant, and abject guest. Look what happened to Muḥammad bin 'Umar when he was eating with his friends and a sponger (*tufaylī*) intruded upon him.⁹ (166v) Out of modesty 'Umar invited him to join in, at which the *tufaylī* said, "Look who is being asked!" and he instantly swooped down to the table, reciting these verses:

Every day neighborhoods I roam, I smell the cooking then the flies.
 When I see provisions for a wedding, circumcision, or gathering
 friends,
 I would not hesitate to intrude, neither fearing reproach nor the door-
 man's box.
 Holding in slight esteem whomever I intrude, having no fear, nor
 scare.
 You will see me like an eagle snatch whatever they offer of kinds of
 food.
 More enjoyable is this than exerting myself, or debt, or baker's, or
 butcher's tyranny.

Some people approve and encourage conversations while eating. They say the talkative host loosens his recoiling guests, entertains

⁹ Ibn Dihqāna, boon companion. See Appendix.

them, and encourages them to eat more as he keeps on urging them. A poet said:

Lucky is the one treated to food and talk for table talk is part of hospitality.

Al-Ḥasan bin ‘Alī bin Abī-Ṭālib, may God’s blessings be on him and his ancestors and offspring, once said,¹⁰ “Sit at dinner tables as long as you can and converse to your hearts desire, for these are the bonus times of your lives.”

Di‘bil bin ‘Alī al- Khuzā‘ī said [on the same subject]:¹¹

I talk to my guest at the table and into satiety trick him.

Here is what another poet said:

How am I to trick into eating a bashful guest? My tricks may him put off.

My insistence his shyness may increase, my silence will my accusation of stinginess be.

We also heard that an impudent man was having dinner with a host whom he knew to be of a miserly nature. In the middle of the meal, the host said, (167r) “*Al-ḥamdu lillāh*,”¹² expecting his guest to stop eating. The guest read him. So he just bent his head saying, “*Bismillāh*,”¹³ and went on eating.

Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan was once eating with a man.¹⁴ While still in the middle of the meal, the man heard Ibn al-Ḥasan say, “*Al-ḥamdu lillāh*.” The man got off the table saying, “I swear to God never to come back to this place again. What is the meaning of thanking God at this point in the meal? It is as if you want to notify us that we are done eating,” and he took a pen and paper and wrote down these lines:

¹⁰ Grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad, (d. 670).

¹¹ A famous Abbasid poet (d. 860).

¹² ‘Thanks to God,’ an expression signaling the end of the meal.

¹³ ‘In the name of God,’ an expression signaling the beginning of the meal.

¹⁴ This should be Jaḥḥa, Aḥmad abū al-Ḥasan. Although his name does not occur in medieval sources exactly as given here, possibly it ended up written like this within the course of the repeated copying of the book.

Al-Ghazzī gives this anecdote as being told by Jaḥḥa al-Barmakī himself. Jaḥḥa’s explanation was that it just occurred to him to thank God for His bounties in the middle of the meal, which aggravated the man into writing these lines. See *Ādāb al-Mu‘ākala* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 5. It is to be noted though that Jaḥḥa was notorious for being stingy at the table. See al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi ‘l-Wafayāt* (817).

Thanking God is a good thing at all times but not at the beginning of a meal.

You will thus embarrass your guests as if bidding them to hasten with the meal.

You will bid your still hungry guests farewell, which is not the way the generous deal.

We also heard of two men who used to socialize together. When one of them was invited to the other person's house and happened to eat a whole bread, the host's servant boy would announce, "Sire, he has walked a mile (*mīl*)."¹⁵ If he happened to eat two whole breads, the servant boy would say, "Sire, he has walked a league (*farsakh*)."¹⁶ The hosting friend would then say, "Fie upon you boy! Bridle him." The boy would bring a glass of water for the man to drink with the food, announcing, "He is now walking with his bridle, Sire." The man understood what was going on and when it was his turn to invite this friend of his, he served the bread broken to pieces. The man asked him why he was offering the bread like this, he said, "So that we will not know the miles from the leagues."

It is said that the two good things in life are eating and sex. It is also said that nothing of the delights remain save food and a good conversation.

I once recited these lines (*anṣhadtu*):

Guests eating well, a sign the host engaging and encouraging has been.

Anything less,¹⁵ and guests the host of stinginess would blame.

Di'bil [al-*Khuzābī*] expressed this idea more eloquently:¹⁶

I, for generosity perish of hunger and my guest of surfeit dies.

It is the obligation of a leader or a king to be generous with his food, forever urging those who are slowing down, loosening the embarrassed, alerting the unaware, (167v) passing the food to the diners himself, and ordering the servers to do so. He must be patient, easy to please, slow to work into a temper, and above rancor. Moreover, the leader is to be obliging and venerable. He must meet his guests with a cheerful face and be patient, forgiving, and

¹⁵ The first words are missing in the edited text. Context requires the first part of the line reads to the effect "if the host is less persistent."

¹⁶ A famous Abbasid poet (d. 860).

generous. He needs to overlook unintended mistakes. He should not take a blunder too hard, either. He is expected to be altruistic and charitable, and reveal commendable demeanor. He needs to be friendly, free with his money, and honest with friends. He is to be cheerful and welcoming, with a comely bearing, modest and unassuming. He may not contend with guests or cheat them. Neither is it acceptable for him to be miserly, inattentive, or discourteous. When asked, he should give willingly, and even when not asked, he should take the initiative. He should not be austere, grim, or frowning, but magnanimous and chatty, and his serving boys pleasant to have around. [He is,] as Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī said about his uncle [sic] al-Ma'mūn:¹⁷

Forever forgiving of wrongdoings as if he has never criminals seen.
Not minding the hurt to fall on him if it does not deliberately a Muslim touch.

He should be the opposite of what was said of 'Amr bin 'Umar al-Kātib al-Mawṣilī:¹⁸

When I fold and eat the bread of 'Amr, as if with flaming charcoal I
burn his side.
To eat 'Amr's bread, I must be braver than the valiant father of the
lion cub.
His darling bread comes adorned with earrings and anklets set with
beads and pearls.¹⁹
Break his bread, and he weeps and mourns like al-Khansā' stricken
with grief at death of Ṣakhr.²⁰
Between his bread and us are the highest mountain forts and the dire
fight of *Yawm Badr*.²¹

[A good host] should also be the opposite of what was said of this fellow:

You, who left the house with your guest in it running away for fear.

¹⁷ Al-Ma'mūn is Ibrāhīm's nephew. In several medieval sources, these lines are quoted with regard to al-Ma'mūn's forgiving nature. They are introduced as *kamā qāl al-ṣhā'ir* 'as a poet said' (e.g. Ibn Ḥamdūn 178).

¹⁸ I have not been able to identify the person, but his name indicates he was a secretary from Mosul. The verses point out his stinginess.

¹⁹ An earring worn in the earlobe is *qurṭ*, and a ring worn in the upper part of the ear is *ṣhanf*.

²⁰ Al-Khansā' is famous for her elegiac poetry lamenting the deaths of her two brothers, Mu'āwiya and Ṣakhr, and her four sons (d. c. 645).

²¹ The first and most famous battle that the Muslims engaged against the non-believers in 624.

Your guest has brought his food with him. Come back and be a guest to your guest.

(168r) He is more like what was said of Abū Nūḥ.²²

Abū Nūḥ is forever in his nanny's lap sitting and on his side a line meticulously written,
Which time forever erases with sleeve or veil, "God will be your compensation," to the end of the verse.²³

Ibn Bassām said [satirizing his father Muḥammad bin Naṣr]:²⁴

His *ḵhabīṣ* pudding is thickened with a sugar lump; and his stew, cooked with a lark.
More generous than Ḥātam.²⁵ On a censer he cooks two pots at a time.
That is not what he ordinarily does, for during his uncharitable feasts,
To the eater of his bread he says, "Woe, how big is that wretched belly of yours!"

I have heard that when these lines were recited to the father while he was drinking wine in the evening, he laughed and said, "Shame on him for such exaggerations and fabrications." Then he ordered his dessert boxes to be brought from the kitchen pantry. They turned out to be twenty platters of desserts, ranging from *fālūdḥaj* and *ḵhabīṣ* to *zalābiya* and *lawzīnaj*. He said, "More uncharitable than the one who said 'his *ḵhabīṣ* is thickened with a sugar lump,' will be the one who still has leftovers in his pantry from the day's cooking by the end of the day."²⁶

Here is the best of what was said of generosity:

Willingly he sacrifices himself,
When the most generous are sparing with it.
Offering oneself is the ultimate giving.

²² A well-known secretary of al-Faṭḥ bin *Khāqān*, vizier and close friend of al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). See Appendix.

²³ *إلى آخر الآية* an expression used when only the first part of the Qur'ānic verse is quoted.

²⁴ Ibn Bassām is an Abbasid Baghdadi scholar and satirist (d. 914) who served Caliph al-Mu'taḍid (d. 902). Most of his satire was directed against his father and a number of viziers.

²⁵ Ḥātam al-Ṭā'i was legendary for his generosity. I make some amendments to the poem based on the version given in al-Mas'ūdī's *Muriḥ al-Dḥahab* (667).

²⁶ Al-Mas'ūdī's description of the father supports this (668).

It is commendable for departing guests to say, “May the faithful eat your food and the fasting in Ramaḍān have their meal at your table. May the angels pray for you and Allāh count you among his own,” following the example of the Prophet, may God bless him, for it has been related he used to say this.

من اللآجب عند الشرب

PROPRIETIES OBSERVED WHEN DRINKING

When the boon companion joins the assembly of the king, he should keep his place neither transgressing nor condescending. He should not lean frequently at the presence of the king, but sit straight and be amiable. When the king stands up, he stands up with him. He should avoid informality in his behavior. He may not sprawl, stretch, yawn, snort, spit, (168v) rub his hands, crack his fingers, toy with his ring, or play with his beard and turban. It is not his business to say the polite formalities such as *tafḍiya*,²⁷ *tahni'a* (congratulations), and *tashmūt* (blessing the sneezer), or hasten to greet people himself.

He should avoid playing with fruits, aromatic herbs (*rayāḥūn*), flowers, and *shamāmāt* (pellets of perfume),²⁸ It is not deemed proper to nibble a lot on *naql* (mazza) after drinking. He who does this is disparagingly called *al-ṭaḥḥān* (the grinder). When he eats fruits, he should not be seen spitting out the pulp after he sucks the juice. He should not bite into a piece of fruit but use a knife to cut as much as he needs. Frequent sniffing of aromatic herbs and flowers (*rayḥān*), searching through them, snipping off their tips, shaking them off when picking them up, all these should be shunned. Nor is it appropriate for him to rub them or chew them and spit them out.

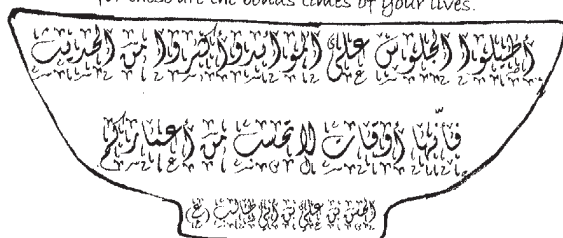
When the boon companion drinks, he should take it in sips and when he quaffs (*yakra'*), he needs to do it in doses. He should not drink to the point he loses control of himself. In fact, he should be extremely cautious with his movements even though he knows he is still in control [just in case]. He should not lift his glass before the king does or pour wine into it before the king gets his share. He may drink after or with the king.

²⁷ Saying one is ready to sacrifice oneself for the addressee.

²⁸ See Glossary, Section 13.

It does not befit the boon companion to suggest a singer, or be openly enraptured by a song, make rhythmical gestures with the tune, or be jocular. If the cupbearer hands him a glass he should just take it, no more, no less, which means no haggling or wrangling. When he feels he is getting rather tipsy, he should leave at once while still in control of himself. He should not touch the hand of the page offering him the drink, or keep following him with his eyes during the drinking session. He should not beckon to him [with hands, eyes, or eyebrows], touch him, or dally with him. We heard that Abū Dulaf al-ʿIjlī was once drinking with al-Maʾmūn.²⁹ When the page handed him the wine glass (*raṭl*), he touched his hand for he was intoxicated....³⁰

Sit
at dinner tables
as long as you can
and converse to your hearts' desire,
for these are the bonus times of your lives.



²⁹ Abū Dulaf was an Abbasid prince and man of letters (d. 840). Al-Maʾmūn was an Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Raṣṣīd (d. 833).

³⁰ The story is left unfinished in the Oxford and Helsinki MSS (editors' comment, 342, n. 40). The abbreviated chapter in the Istanbul MS does not include this passage.

فِي النَّوْمِ وَمَنْفَعَتُهُ لِلْجَسَامِ وَتَدْبِيرِهِ بَعْدَ الطَّعَامِ

BENEFITS OF SLEEP AND REGIMEN FOR SLEEPING AFTER A MEAL

Lying down after a meal is immensely beneficial because the body has a chance to rest and food to digest fast. It strengthens the top gate of the stomach (*fam al-ma'ida*), prevents the formation of bad humors, and protects the stomach from whatever is harmful to it.

Taking a nap regularly improves the person's temper and makes the face look radiant with health. Indeed, the most renowned physicians and scholars unanimously recommend it for its great benefits. However, this regimen requires that the person needs to sleep on his back and use a low pillow. Besides, oversleeping should be avoided because it does harm to the body.

It is advisable that the eater does not overindulge. He should leave an empty space in his stomach so that it takes care of what is in it and hastens the process of digesting it. Exceeding the limits by overeating and oversleeping will cause the digestive system to generate two humoral fluids that are harmful to the body.³¹

It is said of al-Manṣūr that regardless of where he was,³² whether at home or on the road, he always had a nap after eating. It is an acknowledged fact that this habit has immediate benefits for the body. It is particularly good for the brain and the heart and is immensely beneficial to knees and joints. It is good for those prone to black bile and burning of the humors. It also relieves pain suffered in the stomach, liver, and the upper gate of the stomach (*fu'ād*). It allays vigorous and acute yellow bile, helps build up fat, and allows food to settle in the lower part of the stomach.³³ Additionally, it

³¹ *Khaliṭā al-ruṭūba* (خلط الرطوبة) which are *balgham* phlegm (moist and cold in properties) and *mirra sawdā'* black bile (dry and cold in properties). See Introduction, Section IX for details on the medieval humoral theory.

³² The second Abbasid Caliph, founder of Baghdad (d. 775).

³³ The lower part of the stomach was believed to be the strongest, where good digestion took place.

rejuvenates the heart, pacifies the soul, improves digestion, fertilizes sperm, and sustains the body.

The book is finished,
praise be to Allāh alone.
May He bless His prophet and our master Muḥammad,
and his virtuous and immaculate descendants,
and his wives, the mothers of the believers,
and grant them salvation.

APPENDIX

PEOPLE AND PLACES

al-‘Abbāsī (العباسي) (d. 839) Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm bin [al-Mahdī bin] al-Manṣūr, half brother of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd.¹ See Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī below.

‘Abbās ibn al-Raṣhīd (عباس ابن الرشيد) Abbasid prince (d. 838),² grandson of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, and son of Caliph al-Ma’mūn. His full name is al-‘Abbās bin ‘Abdullāh al-Ma’mūn bin Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (al-Zarkalī 449).

‘Abdūn (عبدون) He was also known as ‘Abdūn al-Naṣrānī ‘the Christian.’ His brother was Ṣā‘id bin Muḥallad (d. 889), vizier of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu‘tamid (d. 892). After the death of his brother, ‘Abdūn lived in a monastery, called *Dayr ‘Abdūn*, named after him.³ His name also occurs as Ibn ‘Abdūn, and a cookbook entitled *Mā Ya’kuluhu al-Marḍā wa ‘l-Ruḥbān wa ‘l-Naṣārā* (foods that the sick, monks, and Christians eat) was attributed to him.⁴

‘Abdullāh bin Ṭāhir, Abū al-‘Abbās (عبد الله بن طاهر، أبو العباس) (d. 844) He was described as the most famous of the Abbasid governors. His mentor was said to be Caliph al-Ma’mūn (Ibn al-Nadīm 69; al-Zarkalī 543). Al-Jāḥiẓ calls him *ṭabbākh* (cook) and quotes a gastronomic poem he composed (*Al-Rasā’il* 84).

‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umar (عبد الله بن عمر) also called **Ibn ‘Umar**. He was nicknamed **al-Bāzyār** for he was the keeper of falcons, *bāzī*. He wrote several books on hunting with falcons such as *Kitāb al-Buzāt li*

¹ According to al-Bābānī, *Hadīyyat al-‘Arīfīn* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 1.

² I follow here the name given in Istanbul MS (fol. 271r) rather than ‘bin’ in the edited text since ‘bin’ in Arabic usage denotes a direct father-son connection while ‘ibn’ indicates a more distant relationship.

Hārūn al-Raṣhīd had a son whose full name was Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad bin Hārūn al-Raṣhīd. However, he is unlikely to be the person meant because he renounced the life of luxury offered by his father and lived in isolation. His nickname was *al-Sabṭī* because he used to work on Saturdays and live on what he earned for the rest of the week. He died in 800 (Ibn Khillikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān* 50).

³ al-Shābushī 65; al-Maṣ‘ūdī 666.

⁴ See Zayyāt, “Fann al-Ṭabkh,” 17. Some of his recipes are included in *Kūṭab Wasf al-Af‘ima al-Mu’tāda*, the fourteenth-century augmented version of al-Baḥdādī’s cookbook, 443–50.

ʿl-ʿArab (Arab falcon keepers). He was the confidant and companion of al-Mutawakkil (d. 861) and al-Muntaṣir (d. 862) after him. Al-Ṭabarī says that a few days before al-Mutawakkil and his vizier, al-Faṭḥ bin Khāqān were killed together, they were planning on visiting al-Bāzyār to enjoy his food.⁵ Al-Warrāq uses several recipes from his cookbook.

ʿAbdullāh al-Sharābī (عبد الله الشرابي) I have not been able to identify the name. Al-Warrāq gives a recipe for *fuqqāʿ* ‘non-alcoholic beer,’ which he made for the Abbasid Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 902). See Chapter 113. Judging from his nickname, al-Sharābī was most probably the palace butler.

Butlers at the time made wines and supervised drinking sessions held in the Caliphs’ palaces. Al-Ṭabarī, for instance, mentions that Baghā al-Ṣaghīr, a butler in the service of al-Mutawakkil (d. 861), indicated to the boon companions once to retire to their rooms because the Caliph ordered him to do so if he noticed he had consumed around 7 *raṭls* (7 pints). The Caliph in fact had already consumed 14 *raṭls* (2288).

Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Adīb (أبو العباس الاديب) (d. 906) ʿAbdullāh bin Muḥammad bin al-Naṣhīʾ abū al-ʿAbbās al-Anbārī known as Ibn Shirshūr al-Adīb.⁶ Ibn Khillikān praises his poetry saying it is comparable to that of al-Rūmī and al-Buḥturī. He lived in Baghdad for a long time and experimented with poetic rhymes. One of his poems was 4000 lines long and used a single rhyme. His favorite subject was hunting. Kushājim (entry below) quoted many of his poems in his book on hunting *Al-Maṣāyid wa ʿl-Maʿārid*. He died in Egypt (347–48). Al-Warrāq establishes a personal relationship with him because he says *anṣhadanī* ‘he recited to me’ on the two occasions he cites his poetry.

Abū ʿAbdullāh al-Aḥwal (أبو عبد الله الاحول) I have not been able to identify him, but internal evidence suggests he was a famous contemporary vinegar maker.

Abū ʿAṭā Sahl bin Salīm/Sulaymān al-Kātib (أبو عطا سهل بن سليم الكاتب) I have not been able to identify this name. However, he might well be Aḥmad/Muḥammad bin Sahl al-Kātib (d. 936), one of the secretaries of Ṣāʿid (vizier of al-Muʿtamid d.889).⁷ See ʿAbdūn above. Al-Warrāq gives a recipe for *kaʿk* (dry cookies, Chapter 13), which used to be baked especially for him.

Abū Dulaf al-ʿIjlī (أبو دلف العجلي) al-Qāsim bin ʿĪsa (d. 840) A prominent

⁵ *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa ʿl-Mulūk* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 2287.

⁶ Interestingly, *shirshūr* is a migrating bird, a little larger than a pigeon—a kind of wild duck—which inhabits the Egyptian shores, especially Dimyāt, in winter. See Ibn al-ʿImād *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 472.

⁷ See, for instance, al-Tannūkhī 324.

Abbasid military leader under al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim. He was a poet, man of letters, and patron of the arts. He wrote a book on hunting *Al-Buzāṭ wa 'l-Ṣayd* (al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi 'l-Wafayāt* 3207). The Istanbul manuscript gives several of his recipes.

Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far bin al-Mu'taḍid (أبو الفضل جعفر بن المعتضد) Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadir (المقتدر). See entry below.

Abū Ghānim al-Qurashī (أبو غانم القرشي) I have not been able to identify the person, but the anecdote al-Warrāq gives in Chapter 130 indicates he was a member of the Umayyad family, a close relative of Caliph Sulaymān bin 'Abd al-Malik. See also Ghānim bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qurashī below.

Abū Ḥamza (أبو حمزة) He is possibly Abū Ḥamza al-Sukkarī (d. 792), an admirable Abbasid personage, described as trustworthy, hospitable, and kind. He was called al-Sukkarī due to the sweetness of his temper.⁸

Abū al-Ḥasan (أبو الحسن) In the Helsinki and Istanbul manuscripts, the name is associated with a recipe for a variety of wine (Chapter 121).⁹ He may have been Jaḥḥa al-Barmakī (جحظة البرمكي) or Alī bin Yaḥya bin Abī Manṣūr al-Munajjim (المنجم). Both names usually carry the agnomen Abū al-Ḥasan. See Jaḥḥa, and al-Munajjim below.

Abū al-Ḥurr (أبو الحر) I have not been able to identify the person. Internal evidence suggests he was a famous wine-maker during the Abbasid period. His wine recipe is in Chapter 121. However, the name Abū al-Ḥurr occurs in the Oxford manuscript only. In the other two manuscripts, it is given as Abū al-Ḥasan (see entry above, for possibilities).

Abū Hurayra (أبو هريرة) (d. 678) Companion of Prophet Muhammad, a traditionalist and an ascetic.

Abū Ishāq al-Ṣūlī (أبو إسحق الصولي) see al-Ṣūlī below.

Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr (أبو جعفر المنصور) (d. 775) Second Abbasid Caliph, who built Baghdad in 762. He called it 'city of peace,' and made it his capital.

Abū Mu'allā al-Ḥalawānī (أبو معلّى الحلواني) I have not been able to identify the person. However, his nickname and his dessert recipes in al-Warrāq's cookbook indicate that he was a famous contemporary confectioner.

In a fragment in *Wasf al-Aṭ'ima al-Mu'tāda*, the fourteenth-century augmented version of al-Baghdādī's cookbook, a remark with regard to a medicinal syrup is attributed to one Abū al-Mu'allā (443). He might well be the same person mentioned in al-Warrāq.

⁸ al-Dhahabī *Tārīkh al-Islām* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 1275.

⁹ In Oxford MS, the name is written as Abū al-Ḥurr. See entry below.

Abū Naṣīr al-Khabbāz (أبو نصير الخبّاز) I have not been able to identify the person. However, his nickname and his recipe indicate that he was a famous professional baker during the Abbasid period.

Abū Nūḥ ʿĪsā bin Ibrāhīm al-Kātib (أبو نوح عيسى بن إبراهيم الكاتب) He was the well-known secretary of al-Faṭḥ bin Khaqān, vizier and close friend of al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). He also worked for al-Muʿtazz (d. 869). When al-Muhtadī (d. 870) came to power, he got rid of al-Muʿtazz' men but spared Abū Nūḥ because he said his mother used to send him presents of excellent *kāmakh* (fermented condiment), as delicious as nougat (*nāʿīf maʿqūd*), and olives as big as eggs (Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī 230).

Abū al-Qāsim bin al-Madhḥūḥ (أبو القاسم بن المذبح) I have not been able to identify the person. Al-Warrāq cites an interesting poem he composed (Chapter 75).

Abuqrāṭ (أبقراط) Hippocrates (d. 377 BC) Greek physician. Although highly esteemed by the medieval Arab physicians, his medical works were derived “almost entirely from the translated works of Galen and other later Hellenistic writers.”¹⁰

Abū Samīn (أبو سمين), **Abū Ishāq bin Samīn** (أبو إسحق بن سمين), **Abū Samīn ʿAbdullāh bin Samīn** (أبو سمين عبد الله بن سمين) In all its varieties, the name occurs 12 times in al-Warrāq's cookbook, fluctuating between Abū Samīn (father of the fat one) and Ibn Samīn (son of the fat one), with two different first names.

Based on internal evidence, al-Warrāq's citations reveal a line of three generations of cooks, Samīn being the founder of this dynasty, who most probably served al-Ma'mūn (d. 833). Then, there were the two brothers, ʿAbdullāh bin Samīn, whose agnomen was Abū Samīn, and Abū Ishāq bin Samīn, whose name occurs in association with the Abbasid Caliph al-Wāthiq (d. 847). Therefore, we may conclude that they were al-Wāthiq's personal chefs. Of the two, ʿAbdullāh Abū Samīn got the lion's share in al-Warrāq's citations. His cookbook provided al-Warrāq with recipes. He is quoted as a reliable source on the culinary history of a dish (Chapter 59). It is to be assumed that Samīn, the grandson of the founder Samīn, took up the same profession.

Abū al-Ṭayyib (أبو الطيب) Chamberlain *ḥājib* of Mu'nis al-Muẓaffar (d. 933, entry below). On a hot summer day, Abū al-Ṭayyib sent his boss a gift of plump pullets grilled on a rotating spit *kardabāj* (Chapter 90).

Abū ʿUmar al-Shayyāl (أبو عمر الشيال) I have not been able to identify

¹⁰ Michael Dols, trans., *Medieval Islamic Medicine: Ibn Ridwān's Treatise "On the Prevention of Bodily Ills in Egypt."* Arabic text, ed. Adil Galal (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 9.

the person. Al-Warrāq (Chapter 75) cites a poem he recited, composed by a Bedouin *A'rābī*.

Abū Waddāḥ al-Fazārī (أبو وضّاح الفزاري) (d. 804) Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad bin al-Hārith, Abū Ishāq. He was a famous scholar who grew up in Kūfa. He also lived in Damascus, and later in Baghdad where he was highly esteemed by the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (al-Zarkalī 18–19).

Abū Yazīd al-Madīnī (أبو يزيد المدني) A well-known *muḥaddith* (transmitter of the prophet's traditions), repeatedly cited as a reliable source by al-Ṭabarī (908, 1067) and Abū Nu'aym al-Aṣbahānī (201).

Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥakīm al-Madīnī (أحمد بن محمد بن حكيّم المدني) A trustworthy *muḥaddith* (transmitter of the Prophet's traditions). Apparently, al-Warrāq knew him personally for he says *anṣhadanī* 'he recited to me' when he cites one of his poems in Chapter 1.

Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Ṣanawbarī (أحمد بن محمد الصنوبري) (d. 946) One of the court poets of Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī in Damascus. Most of his poetry was dedicated to the description of nature.

ʿAjīb al-Mutawakkilī (عجيب المتوكلي) He is possibly Ibrāhīm al-Mutawakkilī al-Aṣbahānī, one of the favored boon companions *naḍīm* of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861) (Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabā'* 43).

ʿAllūn (علّون) He is possibly a famous Christian singer. His recipe is given in Chapter 46, which deals with Christian dishes for Lent. Besides, al-Maḡarrī mentions that 'Allūn was one of the first Abbasid singers to migrate to al-Andalus during the rule of al-Ḥakam bin Hishām (d. 822).¹¹

al-Amīn, Muḥammad bin Hārūn (الامين محمد بن هارون) (d. 813) Abbasid Caliph, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His father's will was that his brother al-Ma'mūn should succeed him but when he came to power, he appointed his son, who was still a child then, as his successor. Al-Ma'mūn started a war that ended with his killing.

ʿAmr bin ʿUmar al-Kātib al-Mawṣilī (عمرو بن عمر الكاتب الموصلّي) I have not been able to identify the person, but a poem al-Warrāq cites satirizes his gineosity (Chapter 131).

Anbāt (أنباط) see Nabaṭī below.

al-Aṣmaʿī (الاصمعي) Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 831) the famous linguist of Basra, whom Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed as a tutor for his son al-Amīn.

Ardashīr Bābak (أردشير بابك) (d. 241) Persian king, son of Sasān.

¹¹ (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 559. Mentioning the name 'Allūn by itself may indicate that it was recognizable to his contemporaries.

Medieval records mention him as the inventor of the *nard* game ‘backgammon,’ and the founder of several cities around Mosul and al-Jazīra area in northern Iraq. He also built the beautiful city of Jūr.¹² Bābak was famous for his crown which was shaped like the disc of the sun with its radiating rays (al-Qalqashandī 354). A variety of *sanbūsay* pastries in Chapter 36 is called *Bābakī* because the pastries are shaped like Bābak’s crown.

Badhān al-Ṣughdī (باذان الصغدی) Son of Sāmān. He was the first of the Persian kings to become a Muslim. The Prophet appointed him a governor *amūr* in Yemen (al-ʿIṣāmī 231).

Bahrām Jūr (بهرام جور) (d. 438) Persian king of the Sassanian dynasty, nicknamed *Gor* (wild ass, Arabized to *Jūr*) because he was a devout hunter of wild ass (al-Khuwārizmī 19). He was son of the Persian king Yazdajird of Sābūr whose sons used to die young. He sent Bahrām to al-Nuʿmān bin al-Ṣhaqīqa, his official in al-Ḥīra, a city in Iraq famous for its wholesome air. There, the magnificent al-Khawarnaq palace was built for both of them. The story goes that its architect Sinnimār told the king that he knew of a secret small place in the walls. If it were to be pulled down, the whole palace would come down with it. The king ordered that he should be thrown from the roof of the palace down to his death so that his secret would be buried with him (al-Aṣbahānī 158).

Bidʿa (بدعة) Slave girl and excellent cook of Abbasid prince Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī (d. 839).¹³ His half brother Hārūn al-Rashīd gave her to him as a gift when he came back from Damascus. She was *ṣafrāʾ muwallada*, that is, although born on Arab land, she was originally from Byzantium. She was an excellent cook, renowned for her cold dishes *bawārid*, beef stews soured with vinegar *sikbājāt*, and desserts *ḥalwā*. Our sole source for this information is an anecdote al-Warrāq includes in Chapter 49.

In other sources, there are brief references to her after she became the favorite slave girl of ʿArīb al-Maʾmūniyya, the famous Abbasid singer (d. 890). Bidʿa’s two accomplishments were singing and cooking. ʿArīb used to tempt her guests to stay for dinner by saying that Bidʿa herself had prepared *lawzīnaj* ‘almond confection’ with fresh almonds (al-Aṣbahānī 2355). Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 896) composed verses praising her singing (Ibn Abī ʿAwn 26).

Bishr al-Khādīm (بشر الخادم) He could have been the excellent cook of the poet Kuṣḥājīm (d. c. 961) who wrote poetry on his cooking (Maḥjūb and Khaṭīb 1: 43).¹⁴

¹² al-Qazwīnī *Āthār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-ʿIbād* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 71, 151.

¹³ Her name means ‘the woman who excels in everything.’

¹⁴ Another Bishr al-Khādīm is mentioned by al-Ṣafādī. Ṣāliḥ, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, has some verses on him, describing how handsome he is (2236).

Būrān bint al-Ḥasan bin Sahl (بوران بنت الحسن بن سهل) (d. 884) Wife of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn (d. 833). Her wedding ceremony was legendary for its lavishness. Her real name was Khdiġa. She was known for having attained high knowledge in astrology by means of which she managed once to save al-Mu'taṣim's life.¹⁵ However, her fame rests mostly on her eggplant dishes, called *Būrāniyyāt*.

al-Buzūrī (البزوري) (d. 909) Al-Sam'ānī says that the name derives from *buzūr* 'seeds' and designates merchants who trade with them. He says the most popular among the merchants was Abū 'Abdullāh Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Marzūq bin 'Aṭīyya al-Buzūrī known as Ibn Abī 'Awf of Baghdad. He lived luxuriously and was close to the ruling family (*al-Ansāb* 197). Al-Mas'ūdī mentions him as a famous and trustworthy transmitter of *ḥadīth*, the traditions of the prophet Muḥammad (670).

Di'bīl bin 'Alī al-Khuzā'ī (دعبل بن علي الخزازي) (d. 860) Abbasid poet famous for his satirical poetry. He was originally from Kūfa, and lived in Baghdad.

al-Dihqān, Ibn Tammām (ابن تَمَّام الدهقان) Abū al-Hasan Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin al-Faḍl (d. 961) He was from the city of Kūfa (Ibn al-Nadīm 66; al-Bābānī 468). Al-Warrāq includes his recipe for cooking truffles in Chapter 46, which deals with dishes Christians cook for Lent.

Disqūrīdis (ديسقوريدس) Dioscorides, Greek physician, lived during the first century. He served in Nero's armies as a botanist. His book on botany *De Materia Medica* (on medical matters) was translated into Arabic several times during the ninth century in Baghdad, and had a great impact on medieval Islamic botany.

al-Faṭḥ bin Khaqān (الفتح بن خاقان) (d. 861) Abbasid vizier, adopted brother, friend and councilor for Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). He and the Caliph were killed together when the Caliph's son, al-Muntaṣir, arranged for his father's assassination during a drinking session. Ibn Khāqān was an accomplished poet. He was a great lover of books and had an extensive library. It was said that when al-Mutawakkil used to leave the assembly for some business, he used to take a book out of his sleeve pocket or socks and read it until the Caliph came back. Of his books, *Al-Bustān* (the orchard), *Al-Ṣayd wa 'l-Jawārīḥ* (on hunting and birds of prey). From the Istanbul manuscript, we learn that he wrote a cookbook, too (fol. 213r).

Ghānim bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qurashī (غانم بن عبد الرحمن القرشي) I have not been able to identify the person, but his name suggests he was a descendant of the famous Arab tribe Quraysh. His name and sausage

¹⁵ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faraj al-Mahmūm fī Tārīkh 'Ulamā' al-Nujūm* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 56.

recipe are given in the Istanbul manuscript (fol. 55r). He may be Abū Ghānim al-Qurashī (see above).

al-Hādī, Mūsa bin al-Mahdī (الهادي موسى بن المهدي) (d. 786) Abbasid Caliph who ruled for almost a year. He tried to make his brother Hārūn al-Rashīd abdicate so that his son may succeed him. He ended up being killed, so rumors had it, at the instigation of his own mother, al-Khayzurān to whom Hārūn al-Rashīd was the darling son. She “ordered one of her slave girls, with intimate access to the caliph, to place a pillow over his face and sit on it until he suffocated.”¹⁶

al-Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad bin al-Wazīr (الحافظ محمد بن الوزير) In al-Mas‘ūdī’s famous passage on food poems, his name was mentioned as “Muḥammad bin al-Wazīr known as al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dimashqī” (695). He was also nicknamed al-Ghassānī in *Al-Bayzara*, where his poetry was cited (Bāzyār al-‘Azīz al-Fāṭimī 4).

He was a *muḥaddith* (well versed in the Prophet’s tradition) and a poet, who dealt mostly with social themes. His son was al-Imām al-Ḥafīẓ abū Aḥmad Ḥusayn. We are told that when the son died in 1009, the father—our poet—was 101 years old.¹⁷ Based on this, we can safely say that he lived during the entire tenth century, and that he was al-Warrāq’s contemporary. Indeed, al-Warrāq does establish a personal note with him. When he quotes his poetry, he says *anshadanī* ‘he recited to me.’

Ḥāmid (حامد) He is Ḥāmid bin al-‘Abbās, abū Muḥammad (بن حامد العباس) (d. 923) vizier of al-Muqtadir (d. 932), described as generous and praise-worthy (al-Zarkalī 243). Three of his recipes are included in al-Warrāq’s cookbook (Chapters 85, 93, 95).

Ḥarrān (حَرَّان) Ancient city in north Mesopotamia, said to have been built by Abraham’s brother, Harān, later Arabized to Ḥarrān. It is also said to be the first city to be built after the flood. It was mentioned in the Assyrian monuments as Ḥarrana (road), center of worship for Sin, the Moon god. From the third millennium BC to medieval times Ḥarrān was mentioned as an important trade and intellectual center in north Mesopotamia, prosperous and well populated.¹⁸

Hārūn al-Rashīd (هارون الرشيد) (d. 809) Abbasid Caliph whose twenty-four years rule was the golden age of the dynasty. He was only forty-seven years old when he died in Ṭūs, away from his city Baghdad. At the time he

¹⁶ Hugh Kennedy, *When Baghdad Ruled the Muslim World: The Rise and Fall of Islam’s Greatest Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2004) 62.

¹⁷ See Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq* (3159).

¹⁸ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān* (567); al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqaṣīm fī Maʿrifat Al-Aqālīm* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 100.

died, he was described as handsome, fair-skinned with curly grayish hair.¹⁹

al-Ḥasan bin ‘Alī bin abī Ṭālib (الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب) (d. 670) Grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Hāshim bin ‘Abd Manāf (هاشم بن عبد مناف) (d. c. 524) Prophet Muḥammad’s great grandfather. He was nicknamed al-Hāshim ‘the crumbler’ when, in a year of famine, he brought bread from al-Shām ‘Levant’ and made *tharīd* with it. (Ibn Ḥamdūn 904).

‘Ibāda (عبادة) He was one of the cooks of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). His father used to cook in the kitchens of al-Ma’mūn (d. 833). He learnt the profession from him and excelled in it. He was described as an effeminate with a delightful and mischievous sense of humor. He served al-Ma’mūn first. During this period, he did something, which antagonized al-Mu’taṣim (al-Ma’mūn’s brother) against him.

The story goes that al-Ma’mūn was in the mood for a cooking contest. He ordered that meat, vegetables, and the like, be brought in. Then, he himself as well as al-Mu’taṣim and boon companions started to cook a dish each. ‘Ibāda noticed that al-Mu’taṣim’s pot was emitting pleasant aromas that dominated all others, which made him feel jealous of him. So he went to him and gave him a bit of ‘professional advice.’ He said, “If you want to improve your pot, add a bowlful of *kāmakh* (fermented sauce).” Al-Mu’taṣim did so, and soon enough some foul smells came out of his pot, for which al-Ma’mūn rebuked him saying, “Don’t you know that adding a dead body into a living thing would spoil it?”

When al-Mu’taṣim became caliph in 833, he banished ‘Ibāda, saying that he was not worth killing. Al-Wāṭḥiq, who became Caliph in 842, appointed ‘Ibāda as the palace cook, and al-Mutawakkil, his successor, ended up banishing him to Mosul for some mischief he did, but he forgave him and brought him back to his service. We are told that when al-Mutawakkil once suggested he leaves his effeminate ways so that he starts looking for a wife for him, ‘Ibāda’s answer was, “Are you a caliph or a matchmaker?” (Al-Shābushṭī 44-5; Ibn Khillikān 118).

Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Aṭawī (ابن عبد الرحمن العطوي) (d. c. 865) Abbasid poet, famous during the time of al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). He was described as having a great appetite for wine (al-Zarkalī 960).

Ibn abī Nūḥ al-Kātib (ابن أبي نوح الكاتب) Son of Abū Nūḥ al-Kātib, the well-known secretary of al-Faṭḥ bin Khhāqān, during the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). It was said that when Abū Nūḥ accompanied al-Mutawakkil to Damascus, he was in charge of the guards and the kitchen. Abū Nūḥ died in 869 from being whipped by the order of

¹⁹ Ibn al-Aṭḥīr (Majd al-Dīn), *Al-Nihāya fī Gḥrīb al-Ḥadīth wa ‘l-Aṭhar* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 1115.

the Caliph al-Muhtadī (d. 870) (Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq* 869).

Ibn ‘Allūn/‘Ulwān al-Kātib (إبن علون/علوان الكاتب) and **Ibn ‘Alyūn** (إبن عليون) The names possibly refer to the same person, whom I have not been able to identify. The nickname suggests he was a secretary. He also seems to have been famous for some interesting *ṭharīd* side dishes, some are white cooked with milk, and others are made with vinegar and oil served cold with grilled pullets and chicken (Chapters 47, 83).

Ibn Bāna (إبن بانة) ‘Umar bin Muḥammad bin Sulaymān bin Rāshid (d. 891), named after his mother. He was a famous singer, musician, poet, and boon companion *naḍīm*. He was particularly favored by Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (861), but his name was also associated with other Caliphs such as al-Ma’mūn. He was described as vain and conceited (Ibn *Khilīkān* 481; al-Aṣbahānī 758).

Ibn Bassām (إبن بّسام) ‘Alī bin Muḥammad, Abū al-Ḥasan (d. 914). He was an Abbasid Baghdadi scholar and satirist, who served Caliph al-Mu’taḍid (d. 902). Most of his satire was directed against his father, Muḥammad bin Naṣr—see Chapter 131 for an anecdote—and against a number of viziers (al-Mas’ūdī 666, 668; al-Zarkalī 673).

Ibn (al-)Dihqāna (إبن دهقانة) Abū Ja’far Muḥammad bin ‘Umar al-Hāshimī (d. 891). He was governor *wālī* of Basra, and *naḍīm* of Caliphs like al-Mu’tamid (d. 892) and his brother prince al-Muwaffaq (d. 891). Many of the anecdotes he told about the Abbasid Caliphs al-Mutawakkil (d. 861) and al-Muntaṣir (d. 862) are cited in several medieval books (al-Ṭabarī 2301; al-Aṣbahānī 2184).

He was a gourmet and author of a cookbook, described as large and overweight. When a Caliph would leave the assembly and come back, the boon companions would stand up but he would fall asleep saying this was because he could not do so. He used to say, “I ate until I got afflicted with chronic diseases. Now I want to eat until I die” (Al-Shābushī 5).

Ibn al-Mahdī (إبن المهدي) see Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī below.

Ibn Māsawayh, Yuḥannā (يوحنا إبن ماسويه) (d. 857) Nestorian physician who translated ancient books of medicine at the request of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd. He was the personal physician of the Abbasid Caliphs—from al-Raṣhīd to al-Mutawakkil—who had their meals only in his presence (Ibn al-Naḍīm 174; al-Zarkalī 1378). He wrote over forty medical treatises and books on dietetics, of which Ibn Sīnā mentions *Daḥḥ Darar al-Aghdhīya* ‘avoiding the harm of nutriments,’ *Kitāb al-Aghdhīya* ‘book on dietetics,’ a book on drinks, a book on toothpicks and *siwāk*, and a cookbook *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (1297).

Ibn al-Muḥibbī (إبن المحبّي) I have not been able to identify the person, but his ‘caper drink’ recipe al-Warrāq gives in Chapter 122 indicates he was a famous druggist at the time.

Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (إبن المعتز) abū al-‘Abbās, ‘Abdullāh (d. 908) The unfortunate Abbasid prince who was made caliph for a little more than a day after which he was put to death. He was a poet and man of letters *adīb* (al-Zarkalī 559).

Ibn al-Rūmī, Abū al-Ḥasan bin al-‘Abbās (إبن أبو الحسن بن العباس) (d. 896) Famous Abbasid poet who grew up and died in Baghdad. He was described as a glutton whose death was caused by a *khushkanānj* cookie laced with poison. The vizier of al-Mu‘taḍid (d. 908) decided to get rid of him because he satirized him in his poetry (al-Mas‘ūdī 661).

Ibn Ṣadaqa, (إبن صدقة) He could be ‘Uthmān bin Ṣadaqa bin Waththāb, an Abbasid poet.²⁰

Ibn al-Shiṭranjī (إبن الشطرنجي) Son of Abū Bakr al- Ṣūlī al-Shiṭranjī (d. 946), who was secretary *kātib*, a man of letters, and a poet. He was *naḍīm* to Caliphs al-Muktafi (d. 908) and al-Muqtadir (d. 932). Later he became tutor and *naḍīm* to Caliph al-Rāḍī (d. 940). He was nicknamed al-Shiṭranjī because he excelled in playing chess *shiṭranj*. Al-Ṣūlī, Abū Ishāq (entry below) was his father’s uncle (Ibn Khillikān 610–11).

Ibn ‘Umar (إبن عمر) See ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umar, above.

Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, (إبراهيم بن المهدي) Abū Ishāq (d. 839) Abbasid prince, son of Caliph al-Mahdī, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He was described as dark-skinned and bulky (Ibn al-Nadīm 69), which earned him the nickname *al-Tinnūn* ‘the dragon’. He was an accomplished singer, poet, musician, and cook, who had no political ambitions. However, he was burdened with the responsibilities of a Caliph for less than two years after the death of his half brother Hārūn al-Rashīd and the civil war that ensued. It ended when al-Ma’mūn was in full command after which Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī was a fugitive for a while. Eventually he was captured and then pardoned by his niece al-Ma’mūn. He had some interesting stories to tell that befell him during his fugitive days, one of them was about the cupper *hajjām* in whose house he hid for a few days. He said the cupper bought him whatever he needed to cook his food, including new pots and utensils. His reason was that he thought he might not like to eat food prepared by the hands of a cupper. Ibrāhīm said he fixed himself the most delicious meal he had ever had.²¹

His cookbook *Kitāb al-Ṭabikh* was widely circulated in the eastern and western regions of the Islamic world. Many of his recipes and poems are cited in al-Warrā‘q’s cookbook.²²

²⁰ al-Marzibānī, *Mu‘jam al-Shu‘arā’* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 29.

²¹ Ibn Hījja al-Ḥamawī, *Ṭhamarāt al-Awraq* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 72.

²² For an account of Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī’s life and culinary achievement, see David Waines, “In a Caliph’s Kitchen,” 11–15.

al-Ifshīn (الافشين) (d. 841) a Turkish army leader who served al-Mu‘taṣim, and fought and defeated Bābak al-Khurramī. He died in prison.²³

‘Īsā bin Ja‘far bin al-Manṣūr al-‘Abbāsī (عيسى بن جعفر بن المنصور العباسي) (d. c. 800) Abbasid prince and a talented singer. He was the paternal cousin of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, and his brother-in-law. He had a big appetite and was so overweight that al-Raṣhīd arranged with a doctor for a way to make him lose weight. The doctor told ‘Īsā that he needed to write his will for he was afflicted with a serious disease and might die soon. ‘Īsā’s fat melted with grief, the story goes, and he lost so much weight that he was able to cinch his belt five notches tighter (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a 133). He seemed to have been more interested in eating rich delicious foods than making them himself. The recipes associated with his name in al-Warrāq’s book were made for him.

Iṣḥāq bin Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (إسحق بن إبراهيم الموصلی) (d. 850) Famous Abbasid singer during the time of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, also known as Ibn al-Nadīm, after his father Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. He featured in some of the *The Arabian Nights* stories. One of his famous apprentices was Ziryāb (Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī bin Nāfi‘) who fled to al-Andalus because Iṣḥāq was jealous of him when he saw that Hārūn al-Raṣhīd was enraptured by his singing (al-Maqqarī 555). Judging from al-Warrāq’s cookbook, he was famous for his *Nibāṭiyyāt* chicken dishes (Chapter 72).

Iṣḥāq bin al-Kindī (إسحق بن الكندي) Governor of Kūfa during the rule of the Abbasid Caliphs al-Maḥdī (d. 785) and his son Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (d. 809). He was a scholar, physician, philosopher, among other accomplishments. His son was Ya‘qūb bin Iṣḥāq al-Kindī (d. 873), see below. Al-Warrāq includes some recipes from his cookbook.

Ītākḥ (إيتاخ) Chamberlain *ḥajīb* of Abbasid Caliph al-Wāṭhiq (d. 847). He started his career as a slave boy and cook. Later, Caliph al-Mu‘taṣim bought him. Both al-Mu‘taṣim and al-Wāṭhiq gave him important positions and entrusted the task of imprisoning and executing their enemies to him (Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, the historian, 1223).

Jaḥḥa al-Barmakī al-Nadīm (جحظة البرمكي النديم) (d. 936) Abū al-Ḥasan, Aḥmad bin Ja‘far ibn Barmak, a renowned singer and lute player *ṭunbūrī*. He was a boon companion *nadīm* to many of the Abbasid Caliphs and princes such as al-Mu‘tamīd (d. 892) and Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (d. 908). He said al-Mu‘tazz gave him the name *Jaḥḥa* due to some protrusion in his eyes. Of his books, *Kitāb al-Ṭabākh*, which Ibn al-Nadīm describes as *laṭīf* ‘interesting,’ and *Kitāb Faḍā’il al-Sikbāj* ‘the benefits of *sikbāj* stew.’²⁴

He was a man of delightful humor who did not mind being the butt

²³ Ibn al-Aṭḥīr (the historian), *Al-Kāmil* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 1189–90.

²⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm 86; Yaḥyā al-Ḥamawī *Mu‘jam al-‘Udabā’* 85; al-Zarkālī 41.

of jokes himself.²⁵ When once asked about a dinner he attended, he said everything was cold except water (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Baṣā'ir wa'l-Dhakhā'ir* 159). Medieval sources describe him as 'morally' filthy and stingy at the table, but generous with his money. He was accused of not keeping his fast during the month of Ramaḍan. The story goes that while he was staying with friends during this month, he stole a piece of bread in the middle of the day and sneaked into the toilet, sat on the potty, and started eating. When discovered, he said he was crumbling some bread for the hungry roaches.²⁶

Jālīnaws (جَالِينُوس) (d. c. 201) Claudius Galen, the famous Greek physician. He is credited with developing and systemizing the idea of humors *akhḷāṭ* based on the writings of Hippocrates and other scholars such as Aristotle. Galen's medical works were translated into Arabic in Baghdad during the ninth century, and with these works and the Arab scholars' significant augmentations in the form of summaries and commentaries, Medieval Arab medicine was founded (Dols 8–10). Al-Warrāq refers to his book *Kūtāb al-Aghdhiya al-Mustafala* 'the book of familiar foods.'

Jūr (جور) A beautiful Persian city with fertile lands and plenty of rivers, palaces, and orchards. It was built by Ardashīr Bābak (entry above), famous for its *ward jūrī*, fragrant and pure red roses. The story about how it was conquered by the Muslims tells that when the city was besieged, one of the Muslim soldiers was performing his night prayers with his bag of bread and meat resting beside him. A dog dragged the bag and entered the city from its secret place, which led the Muslims to get into the city through that opening (al-Qazwīnī 71).

Kaskar (كسکر) An ancient city in southern Iraq,²⁷ also known as Kaṣḥkar, meaning 'land of barley.'²⁸ It was situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates, north of the city of Basra, at the borders of the marshes. Medieval sources describe it as a prosperous agricultural district where men dressed elegantly in white clothes and big turbans. It was mostly inhabited by Christians. The orchards surrounding its big church were favorite recreational spots. It was famous for its excellent rice, *shabbūt* fish, buffalos, cows, kids, ducks, *ṣaḥnāt*

²⁵ See, for instance, Chapter 131 (p. 512).

²⁶ al-Ṣafadī *Al-Wāfi bil Wafayāt* 817; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī *Mu'jam al-'Udabā'* 85, 89; Ibn Ḥamdūn 1215.

²⁷ It is said to date back to Assyrian times. "A Babylonian town ka-as-ka-ri appears to be mentioned in a fragment of an inscription probably of the time of Assur-banipal in the British Museum" (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1997, s.v. *kaskar*).

²⁸ Perhaps here lies our clue to the etymological origin of *kishk*, dried dough of cracked wheat or barley kneaded with yogurt. It is used in making *kishkiyyāt* dishes (Chapter 63). Besides, *mā' al-kishk* can simply refer to 'barley broth' (Chapter 108).

‘condiment of dried and salted small fish,’ *rabūṭhā* ‘condiment of shrimp,’ and fattened poultry. A chicken, for instance, would be fattened to be as heavy as a kid or a lamb.²⁹

al-Khansā (الخنساء) (d. c. 645) A great Arab poet, famous for her elegiac poetry lamenting the death of her two brothers, Mu‘āwiya and Ṣakhr, and her four sons.

Kisrā Anū Shirwān (كسرى انوشروان) (d. 579) Khosrau, the Persian king, sometimes referred to as *al-‘ādil* ‘the just.’ He was the most famous of the Sassanid kings. Many culinary anecdotes were woven around him. For instance, he used to monopolize the dishes he fancied and prohibited the commoners from cooking them. See, for instance, the story al-Warrāq gives for *sikbāja* stew (Chapter 49).

Kushājīm (كشاجم) (d. c. 961) His full name is Abū al-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Sindī bin Shāḥak al-Kātib.³⁰ He had two sons, Abū al-Faraj and Abū (al-)Naṣr, both worked as secretaries like him (al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatimat al-Dahr* 136). In some medieval sources he was referred to as Abū Naṣr (e.g. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* 2694). Shāḥak was his mother’s name.

The name Kushājīm was an acronym he gave himself, or was given to him, from the first letters of his accomplishments: *k-* *kātib* secretary, *sh-* *shā‘ir* poet, *a-* *adīb* man of letters, *j-* *jalīs* companion, and *m-* *mughannī*/ *munajjim* singer/astrologer. After these he pursued medicine, and *t-* *ṭabīb* doctor was added to his name, but this last one did not pick up. We are also told that his detractors would have liked to see two more initials added to his name: *t-* for *ṭabbākh* cook, and *kh-* for *khurā’* excrement (Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī 456).

He was a prominent figure in the literary scene in the ninth century and after. His ancestors came from al-Ramla in Palestine and settled in Iraq. He lived for a while in Aleppo and was court cook and poet for the Hamdanid ruler Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī (d. 967) and his father. His fame as a cook reached far and wide, for we are told that the rule of Sayf al-Dawla was called *al-ṭirāz al-mudḥaḥḥab* ‘golden royal robe’ because of the excellent people who surrounded him such as his cook Kushājīm (al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi ‘l-Wafayāt* 2921). Of his books are: *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (cookbook), *Adab al-Nadīm*—a guide for boon companions—and *Al-Maṣāyid wa ‘l-Maṭārid* on hunting (Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī 456; al-Zarkalī 1118). Apparently he wrote more than one cookbook. Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) in his section on bakers, cooks,

²⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī *Mu‘jam al-Buldān* 1481; al-Qazwīnī 182; al-Shābushī 66. See also al-Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 162; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushṭaq fi Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 122.

³⁰ In al-Warrāq’s book, Kushājīm’s name occurs in different combinations: Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn, Abū al-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib, Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥasan, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib, Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn Kushājīm.

and butchers, recommends that cooks should consult *Kushājim*'s cookbooks *كتب الطباخ لكشاجم* (*Sirr al-ʿĀlamayn* 8).

He was al-Warrāq's contemporary and there seemed to have been a personal contact between the two. Whenever al-Warrāq cites a poem of his, he precedes it with *anṣhadanī* (he recited to me). See also Introduction, Section I.

al-Mahdī (المهدي) Muḥammad bin al-Manṣūr (d. 785) Abbasid Caliph, father of al-Hādī, Hārūn al-Rashīd, and Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, the gourmet prince. As revealed in al-Masʿūdī's anecdotes about him, he was an easygoing unpretentious man with an undemanding appetite. Once on a hunting trip, he felt hungry, he went to a cottage, and demanded food. The people offered him barley bread and *rabīṭha* (condiment of crushed salted shrimps), herbs and leeks. Al-Mahdī said, "If you also have oil to offer, this meal will be perfect." We are told that the Caliph had his fill of this food. Al-Masʿūdī also says that rumor had it al-Mahdī died with a piece of *qaṭāyif* 'sweet crepe' laced with poison (485-86), or a poisoned beautiful pear that was meant to be taken by a rival concubine (Kennedy 58-59). Al-Warrāq includes two recipes taken from his copy *nuskha* (Chapters 92, 98).

al-Ma'mūn, ʿAbdullāh bin Hārūn al-Rashīd (المأمون) (d. 833) Abbasid Caliph under whose patronage of the arts and science *Bayt al-Hikma* 'house of wisdom' was founded. It became the center for the intellectual activities, including translating ancient texts. Cooking to al-Ma'mūn was a source of entertainment. He used to arrange cooking contests for family and friends. In one of the anecdotes, his judge was the first man his servant laid eyes on in the street.³¹

Al-Warrāq uses recipes from his cookbook. One of his dessert recipes *khabīṣa* (Chapter 94) found its way to the western Christian table. In the Latin cookbook *Liber de Coquina*, written towards the end of the thirteenth-century, it was called *mamonia*.³²

Masrūr al-Khādīm (مسرور الخادم) Hārūn al-Rashīd's confidential personal servant who tended to his needs and wishes. In medieval sources, references were made to Masrūr al-Kabīr (senior) and Masrūr al-Ṣaghīr (junior). Masrūr al-Kabīr would definitely be the one who did the major jobs for Hārūn al-Rashīd, such as severing the head of Jaʿfar al-Barmakī and bringing it to him in a box. Surprisingly, no personal information is available on Masrūr, except his agnomen. When he went to kill Jaʿfar following his master's commands, the latter addressed him as Abū Ḥāshim (al-Aṣbahānī 1360).

Masrūr al-Ṣaghīr most probably was responsible for less critical tasks such

³¹ al-Masʿūdī 542. See also anecdote above, s.v. 'Ibāda.

³² Rodinson, "Ma'mūniyya," 191.

as tending to his master's appetite, as we learn from one of al-Warrāq's recipes (Chapter 32).

Mu'āwiya bin abī Sufyān (معاوية بن أبي سفيان) (d. 680) Founder of the Umayyad dynasty. Al-Warrāq includes some anecdotes about him in Chapter 131.

al-Muhallab bin Abī Šufra (المهلب بن أبي صفرة) (d. 702) Umayyad governor (*wāli*) of various provinces since the time of Mu'āwiya, founder of the Umayyad dynasty. He was mostly known as Muhallab al-Basra or Muhallab al-ʿIrāq. Al-Ḡhazālī says oftentimes kings and leaders choose a dish as their own and call it after their names such as al-Ma'mūniyya, which was Caliph al-Ma'mūn's favorite dish, and al-Muhallabiyya after Muhallab al-ʿIrāq (*Sirr al-ʿĀlamayn* 6).

In the thirteenth-century cookbook *Anwāʿ al-Šaydala fī Alwān al-Aḫima*, the anonymous Andalusain author tells the story of this dish. One of the Persian cooks seeking the favor of al-Muhallab was put to the test. He came up with a sweet pudding, which al-Muhallab fancied. The accompanying recipe describes a dish of diced meat layered with diced sheep's tail fat and crumbled thin bread. The layered ingredients are drenched in custard-like mix of eggs, sugar, and milk then baked (163–64).

In al-Warrāq's cookbook, *al-Muhallabiyya* designates sweet puddings cooked with chicken breasts, rice, milk and sugar (Chapter 50).

Muḥammad bin Hārūn (محمد بن هارون) (d. 813) Abbasid Caliph al-Amīn. After the death of his father Hārūn al-Rashīd, and contrary to his will, he wanted his son Mūsā to succeed him instead of his brother, al-Ma'mūn. This led to civil war, which ended with al-Amī's death. Al-Warrāq uses recipes from his cookbook.

Muḥammad bin ʿUmar (محمد بن عمر) see Ibn Dihqāna, above.

al-Muktafi (المكتفي) (d. 908) Abbasid Caliph. From al-Masʿūdī's report on his daily menu, we learn that he was frugal. His menu included ten kinds of dishes, a kid roast on Fridays, and three platters of dessert. He used to tell the servants attending his meal to keep the broken pieces of bread and use them for *ṭharīd* (bread sopped in meat broth). Unbroken breads were kept for the following day, and the same thing was done with cold dishes and desserts (660).

al-Munajjim (المنجم) (d. 888) Abū al-Ḥasan, Alī bin Yaḥyā bin Abī Maṣṣūr (d. 888) He was boon companion of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tamid. He has *Kūtāb al-Ṭabīkh* a 'cookbook'.³³

Mu'nīs al-Muẓaffar (مؤنس المظفر) (d. 933) also known as al-Mu'taḍidī (المعتضدي) and Mu'nīs al-Khādīm (مؤنس الخادم). He started as a slave boy

³³ Yaḥyā al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ* 674; Ibn al-Nadīm 187.

(*mamlūk*) for al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 902) and rose to power. He was described as fair skinned, brave, and cunning. His last position was commander of the army of al-Muqtadir (al-Zarkālī 1224). He wrote a cookbook.

al-Muqtadir (المقتدر) (d. 932) Abbasid Caliph who came to power when he was thirteen years old.

al-Muqtadirī (المقتدري) also known as Shaffʿ al-Khādim (شفيع الخادم) (d. 943) He was vizier of Caliph al-Muqtadir (d. 932).

al-Muʿtaḍid (المعتضد) (d. 902) Abbasid Caliph, praised in medieval history as a valiant and effective ruler.³⁴

al-Muʿtaḍidī (المعتضدي) see Muʿnis al-Muẓaffar above.

al-Muʿtamid (المعتمد) (d. 892) He was a weak Caliph who preferred pleasure to power. His brother, prince al-Muwaffaq was the actual ruler. Al-Muʿtamid died poisoned with a last meal he had of cooked heads of sheep (al-Masʿūdī 632, 635–36). He has a cookbook.

al-Muʿtaṣim (المعتصم) (d. 842) Abbasid Caliph, Abū Ishāq Muḥammad bin Hārūn, brother of a-Maʿmūn. He built the city of Samarrā and made it his capital instead of Baghdad. He loved to cook and participated in al-Maʿmūn's cooking contests (see anecdote above, s.v. ʿIbāda). A cookbook is associated with his name.

al-Mutawakkil (المعتوكل) (d. 861) Abbasid Caliph under whose patronage learning flourished. He was assassinated by his Turkish leaders with the help of his eldest son, al-Muntaṣir (862). His death was the beginning of the end for the Abbasid Dynasty.

Nabaṭī (نبطي) pl. **Anbāṭ** (أنباط) The Nabateans were the indigenous inhabitants of Iraq, a mix of Chaldeans, Syrians, and Arameans, collectively called Nabaṭ al-ʿIrāq.³⁵ It was through them that the fiber of the Mesopotamian culture continued. Their native language was the eastern Aramaic dialect from which Syriac developed.

After the fall of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, the Mesopotamian region was ruled by Persian Achamenides, Greeks, Parthians, and Sassanians, up until 636 when the Muslim Arabs defeated the Persians and seized control of the region. The majority worked mostly as farmers in rural areas. The middle class played an important role in spreading the intellectual and scientific knowledge that spurred the Abbasid cultural boom. Ḥarran, Kūfa, and Wāsiṭ were centers for their intellectual activities. Medieval accounts of the Nabateans were shrouded with the notions of paganism

³⁴ Ibn al-Ṭaṭṭaḳī, *Al-Fakhṛī fī ʿl-Ādāb al-Sulṭāniyya* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 95.

³⁵ They were not related to the ancient Nabateans from the area around Petra, collectively called Nabaṭ al-Shām.

and witchcraft even though most of them had converted to Christianity a long time ago.³⁶

The word *nabaṭ* is believed to go back in origin to the Akkadian *nabātu* 'light up, shine, radiate' used in connection with the god Nabū, the divine scribe of the destinies.³⁷ In medieval sources, the Nabateans were described as non-Arabs indigenous to Iraq. They were neither shepherds nor soldiers, but worked mostly as farmers. The word was sometimes used synonymously with 'commoners' and 'low-class people.' *Kalima Nabatiyya* 'Nabatean word' meant "colloquial word" (e.g. *Tāj al-ʿArūs*).

According to al-Qazwīnī's account, Nabaṭ were people of Iraq, a region praised for its healthy air, good soil, and sweet water, like the middle jewel in a necklace. People were healthy, intelligent, and excelled in all handcrafts. Yet, they were notorious for being treacherous and hostile to strangers, especially Persians. He also has a fantastic and unflattering story to tell on their origin:

The name Nabaṭ, he says, goes back to the time of King Solomon, son of David. A man called Nabaṭ was imprisoned for his wickedness. He was so vicious that the inmates complained of him to Solomon, who ordered he should be given a job to keep him truly busy. It came to his knowledge that there was a prostitute among the prisoners, so Nabaṭ was assigned the task of washing black wool until it turned white and fanning the woman's private part until it sealed back to virginity. He did this for a long long time until he got tired of this. In order to make sure that she was sealed back, he had sex with her. The woman got pregnant, and that was how the Nabateans came into existence (171).

Rabīʿa bin Nizār (ربيع بن نزار) A pre-Islamic ancestor. The Arabs claim that he was the first to chase wild animals on horseback. It is told that a wild cow he chased hid behind a lote-tree (*sidra*) and he took pity upon it and quit chasing it (Chapter 48).

al-Rāzī (الرازي) Abū Bakr Muḥammad (d. 923) Famous physician, called 'Galen of the Arabs.' Of his books, which might have been useful for al-Warrāq, are *Kitāb Aḥīmat al-Marḍā* 'preparing foods for the sick,' and *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* 'cookbook.'

al-Rūm (الروم) Byzantines; **Bilād al-Rūm** (بلاد الروم) Byzantium; Baḥr al-Rūm (بحر الروم) Mediterranean Sea. The Byzantines were also called Banū al-Aṣfar (بنو أصفر) 'ancestors of the yellow one,' for they were believed to be descendants of Esau, the eldest son of the prophet

³⁶ Ibn al-Nadīm 187-96; Yāqūt al-Hamawī *Muʿjam al-Buldān* 998; Hämeen-Anttila 33-52. See also Muḥammad al-Zubaydī, *Al-Ḥayāt al-ʾIjtimāʿiyya wa 'l-Iqtisādīyya fī al-Kūfa fī 'l-Qam al-Awwal al-Hijrī* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿĀlamiyya, 1970) 109-10.

³⁷ In Arabic *nabaṭa* نبط has the meaning of 'water gushing out of a well,' and 'large patches of whiteness,' as in a horse or sheep, for instance.

Isaac ‘Ishāq’. A woman from the region was referred to as *ṣafīā*, and the man *aṣfar*.

al-Ruṣāfa (الرصافة) A district in Baghdad on the eastern bank of the river Tigris. The other side is al-Karkh.

Ṣālīḥ bin ‘Alī, Ibn al-Rashīd (صالح بن علي, ابن الرشيد) (d. 768) Abbasid prince and one of the grandchildren of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 809). Al-Aṣbahānī tells anecdotes about him, and says he was known as *Ẓaḥarāna* (549, 2356).³⁸

Salmān/Sulaymān al-Ḥalawī (سلمان/سليمان الحلاوي) I have not been able to identify the person, but based on his nickname and his elaborate dessert recipe in Chapter 94 he might have been a famous confectioner during the Abbasid period.

al-Ṣanawbarī (الصنوبري) Aḥmad bin al-Ḥasan (d. 946) a famous nature poet, who lived in the court of Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī. His grandfather used to run Bayt al-Ḥikma ‘House of wisdom’ of Abbasid Caliph al-Ma’mūn in Baghdad (Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī 37).

Sughd (سغد) A beautiful fertile district in Samarqand, famous for its fruit trees and rivers (Yaqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān* 956).

Sulaymān bin ‘Abd al-Malik (سليمان بن عبد الملك) (d. 717) Umayyad Caliph, known for his gluttonous indulgences. According to an anecdote, he once snacked on one kid, five chickens, and a huge bowl of *ḥarīra* ‘smooth soup.’ For his main meal, he had cooked for him eighty pots, from each of which he ate three mouthfuls. He then had a nap, and when the general table was spread, he sat and ate with the people (Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi 1005).

al-Ṣūlī, Abū Ishāq (أبو إسحق الصولي) (d. 857) Ibrāhīm bin al-‘Abbās bin Muḥammad bin Ṣūl, nephew of al-‘Abbās bin al-Aḥnaf, the famous *ghazal* ‘love’ poet during Hārūn al-Rashīd’s rule (d. 808). His family descended from Ṣūl, one of the kings of Jurjān, a province in Persia. He was a famous poet and man of letters. He was confidant and *kātib* ‘secretary’ of Caliphs al-Mu’taṣim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil. Of his books: *Kūtāb al-‘Iṭr* ‘book of perfumes’ and *Kūtāb al-Ṭabīkh* ‘cookbook’,³⁹

‘Ubaydullāh bin Salīm (عبيد الله بن سليم) Vizier of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu’taḍid (d. 902).⁴⁰

‘Umar bin Hubayra (عمر بن هبيرة) Abū al-Muthannā (d. 728). He was appointed governor of Iraq during the Umayyad rule (al-Sam‘ānī, *Al-Ansāb*

³⁸ Ṣālīḥ was also the name of al-Mu’tamid’s cook (Maḥjūb and al-Khaṭīb 1: 243).

³⁹ Ibn al-Nadīm 72; Ibn Khillikān 7–8; al-Bābānī 1.

⁴⁰ al-Tha‘alibī, *Al-Fjāz wa ‘l-Ījāz* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 17.

1090). Despite the fact that he was an illiterate Bedouin, he managed to rise to power (al-Zarkalī 716).

Um al-Faḍl (أم الفضل) Wife of Yaḥyā bin Khālīd al-Barmakī. Her two sons were al-Faḍl and Jaʿfar. The latter was Ḥārūn al-Rashīd's closest friend, that is until he turned against him and had him killed. Al-Warrāq mentions the cold dish she made for al-Mahdī, Ḥārūn al-Rashīd's father (d. 785).

Um Ḥakīm (أم حكيم) (d. 719) Daughter of Yaḥya bin al-Ḥakam, an Umayyad from the tribe of Quraysh. She was mother of the Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar bin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and wife of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz bin al-Walīd. Al-Warrāq includes her signature fried dish *qaliyyat Um Ḥakīm* (Chapter 84). In other books, she went down to posterity for her 3-pint wine glass, referred to as *ka's Um-Ḥakīm*. It was described as a big green glass with handles of gold (al-Aṣbahānī 1837–40).

al-Wāthiq (الوائق) Ḥārūn bin al-Muʿtaṣim (d. 847) Abbasid Caliph known for his big appetite and love for food.⁴¹ He loved eggplant and used to eat forty of them in one sitting (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi 1005). He had a cookbook. His personal chef was called Abū Samīn, and al-Warrāq includes many of his recipes. See Abū Samīn, above.

Yaḥyā bin Khālīd al-Barmakī (يحيى بن خالد البرمكي) (d. 805) His agnomens are Abū Jaʿfar and Abū al-Faḍl. He was mentor and vizier of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, who had him imprisoned after the downfall of the Barmacides in 803. When Ḥārūn al-Rashīd learnt of his death in prison he said, “The most intelligent and perfect of men has died” (al-Zarkalī 1328). Yaḥyā bin Khālīd has a cookbook and al-Warrāq includes many of his recipes.

His son Jaʿfar al-Barmakī (جعفر البرمكي) became Ḥārūn al-Rashīd's vizier after him. Jaʿfar was also al-Rashīd's brother-in-law. However, he fell out of favor and the whole family of the Barmacides was persecuted in 803.

Yaʿqūb bin Ishāq al-Kindī (يعقوب بن إسحق الكندي) Abū Yūsuf (d. 873) A prominent Abbasid figure, famous physician and philosopher, among other accomplishments. He was honored and cherished by the Abbasid caliphs, from al-Maʾmūn (d. 833) to al-Mutawakkil (d. 861).

He translated ancient books into Arabic, one of which was *al-Adwiyā al-Murakkaba* (*al-Agrabādihūn* ‘compound medicines’). In his medical works, he mostly followed the traditional Galenic humoral theories. Al-Warrāq mentions his book *Al-Ālāt wa ʿl-Adawāt* ‘implements and utensils.’

al-Yazīdī (اليزيدي) Yaḥyā bin al-Mubārak al-ʿAdawī (d. c. 817) A famous linguist and educator, originally from Basra. He was the tutor of Caliph al-Maʾmūn and his son al-ʿAbbās.

⁴¹ Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Baṣāʾir wa ʿl-Dhakhāʾir* 162.

Yūsuf bin Ibrāhīm (يوسف بن ابراهيم) nicknamed Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kātib, Abū Ya‘qūb, and Yūsuf bin al-Dāya (d. c. 878).

According to al-Šulī, he was Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī’s maternal cousin *ibn khāla* (8).⁴² Some say he was the son of Ibrāhīm’s wet nurse *dāya*, and hence the name Ibn al-Dāya. He was also identified as *mawlā* of Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī,⁴³ whom he served as a secretary *kātib*. After his death, he left Baghdad and settled in Egypt, where he led a life of prosperity as a famous writer (al-Zarkalī 1378).

His son Aḥmad bin Yūsuf bin Ibrāhīm, also referred to as Aḥmad bin Abī Ya‘qūb, was sometimes called Ibn al-Dāya, like his father.⁴⁴ He lived in Egypt, and wrote many books, among which were *Kitāb Akhbār Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī* and a cookbook *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*.⁴⁵ We may entertain the possibility that his cookbook dealt mostly with the dishes of his uncle, Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, who was famous in the Abbasid gastronomic arena.



⁴² Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī was half-brother of Harūn al-Rashīd. See entry above.

⁴³ Of the relevant meanings of *mawlā* are cousin, brother, and foster brother (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. ولي).

⁴⁴ Al-Zarkalī gives his full name as Aḥmad bin Yūsuf bin Ibrāhīm al-Baghdādī al-Miṣrī, Abū Ja‘far (121).

⁴⁵ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’* 214–15; al-Šafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi ‘l-Wafayāt* 1123; al-Bābānī 32, 736.

PLATES

PLATES

- 1 Al-Warrāq's *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, fols. 7v–8r of the Helsinki manuscript. The National Library of Finland, signum Coll. 504.14 (Arb rf).
- 2 Reverse of the Babylonian culinary tablet 4644, c. 1700 BC. Yale Babylonian Collection.
- 3 Medicinal ingredients and preparations, fol. 49r. From *Kitāb al-Diryāq* (Book of Antidotes), Pseudo-Galen. Showing from top-left and clockwise: *rubb al-sūs* رب السوس (condensed juice of licorice), *ṭīn makḥtūm* طين مختوم (stamped clay), *ghārīqūn* غاريقون (agaricum), *rāzyānaḥ* رازيانح (fennel), *salīkha* سليخة (tree barks of the cassia family), and *ḥarmal* حرمل (wild rue). Production: Iraq, 1199. Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe. 2964.
- 4 Pomegranate (*rummān*), recto. A detached manuscript folio from 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt (Wonders of Creation) by Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī bin Zakariyya, c. 1203–1283. Iraq or Eastern Turkey, early 15th century. Opaque watercolor, ink and gold on paper. 32.7 H x 22.4 cm W. Freer Gallery of Art. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Purchase, F 1954.77.
- 5 Hen (*dajāj*), recto. Manuscript folio from 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt (see above). Freer Gallery of Art. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Purchase, F 1954.101.
- 6 A fisherman catching a fish with a net. From the story of "The Stupid Fish" in *Fables by Bidpay Katīla wa Dimna*, fol. 60, 1220–1230. Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe. 3465.
- 7 Fish, recto. A detached manuscript folio from 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt (see 4). Freer Gallery of Art. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Purchase, F 1954.66.
- 8 A fish being grilled, fol. 271v. An illustration to a glossary of rare words and proper names occurring in Persian poetry, from *Miftāh al-Fuzala* by Muḥammad ibn Da'ūd Shādiyabādī. Illustrator: anonymous, India 15th century. British Library, record no. 18519, shelf no. Or. 3299.
- 9 A bird being grilled, fol. 218r. An illustration from *Miftāh al-Fuzala* (see above). British Library, record no. 18669, shelf no. Or. 3299.

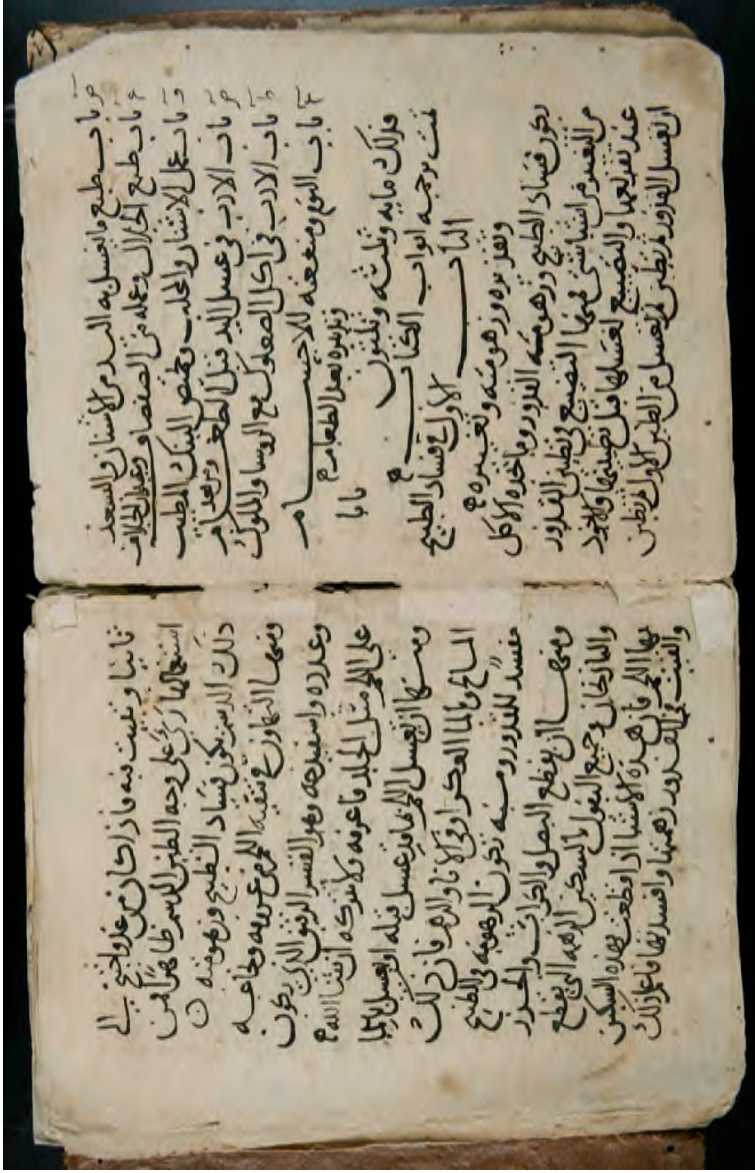
- 10 *Kardanāj* (chicken being grilled on a rotating spit). A detail from *Firdausi Encounters the Court Poets of Ghazna*, fol. 7v. Folio from the dispersed 'Houghton' *Shahnama* manuscript, c. 1522–1540, made in Tabriz, Iran, for Shah Tamasp (r. 1524–1576). This painting is attributed to Aqa Mirak, c. 1532. © Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva, Switzerland.
- 11 Agricultural labor, fol. 22r from *Kitāb al-Diryāq* (Book of Antidotes) Pseudo-Galen. Production: Iraq, 1199. Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe. 2964.
- 12 A woman grinding grains using a quern, fol. 119r. An illustration from *Miftāh al-Fuzala* (see 8). British Library, record no. 18877, shelf no. Or. 3299.
- 13 School cooks. A detail from a detached folio depicting a school scene, signed by Mir Sayyid Ali, Shah Tahmasp (1524–1576). Iran, Tabriz, Safavid dynasty, c. 1540. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, 37.2 x 23.9 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.221 detail.
- 14 Sheep (*da'n*), recto. Manuscript folio from *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* (see 4). Freer Gallery of Art. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Purchase, F 1954. 89.
- 15 Hunting game by bringing them up in a circle, fol. 72r. An illustration from *Miftāh al-Fuzala* (see 8). British Library, record no. 18786, shelf no. Or. 3299.
- 16 Cooks of the Sultan of Mandu Ghiyath al-Din Shahi preparing *qīma* (finely chopped meat). The right-hand panel of fol. 71v, opaque watercolor, Sultanate style. The *Nāmatnāma* manuscript on Indian cookery, written in Urdu. Author and illustrator, anonymous, c. 1495–1505. British Library, record no. c1643-02, shelf no. I.O. ISLAMIC 149.
- 17 Rice being cooked for Sultan Ghiyath, who is seated on a divan in a garden, near a small white-domed pavilion, which has the inscription *Al-Sultān al-'Ādil* (the just Sultan) over the door. The *Nāmatnāma* manuscript, fol. 25v (see *Plate 16*). British Library, record no. c1642-01, shelf no. I.O. ISLAMIC 149.
- 18 Stew being prepared for Sultan Ghiyath, who is shown seated in his white-domed pavilion courtyard, surrounded by male and

female attendants. The cook is holding a *mighrafa* (ladle) with two pots cooking on the stove. The *Nīmatnāma* manuscript, fol. 35v (see *Plate 16*). British Library, record no. c1642-04, shelf no. I.O. ISLAMIC 149.

- 19 Condensed pudding (*khabiṣ*) being prepared for Sultan Ghiyath, who is shown kneeling on a stool supervising a couple of cooks tending to their gold round-bottomed pots (*tanjūr*). One is stirring and the other is already ladling the pudding into a white and blue ceramic platter. An outdoor scene showing the night sky. The *Nīmatnāma* manuscript, fol. 115v (see *Plate 16*). British Library, record no. c1644-05, shelf no. I.O. ISLAMIC 149.
- 20 Ladle (*mighrafa*), 12th–13th century. Bronze, inlaid with silver and black organic material, 18.0 cm L x 5.7 cm W x 2.6 cm D, Iran or Afghanistan. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Purchase, F 1992.57.
- 21 Bowl, earthenware painted and incised under glaze, 6.8 cm H x 22.6 cm Dia, Nishapur, Iran, 10th century. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., Gift of Victor and Takako Hauge, S1997.127.
- 22 Platter (34.9 cm W), lead-glazed ceramic with relief decorations. ‘The work of Abū Naṣr of Basra in Egypt,’ 9th century. In the British Museum catalogue, it is described as a condiment platter to hold a selection of delicacies. However, judging from al-Warrāq’s cookbook, it is highly possible that the vessel was used as an *uṣḥnāndān*, a tray with concave sections to hold selections of hand washing compounds: *uṣḥnān* in the tear-shaped four recesses, *maḥḥlab* in the four round ones, and *bunk* in the center concave section (see Chapter 129, second poem). British Museum, gift of A. W. Franks, object reg. no. AC 1889, 0706.75.
- 23 A cook tending to her pots. A detail from *The Story of Haftvad and the Worm*. Folio 521v, from the dispersed ‘Houghton’ *Shahnama* manuscript, c. 1522–1540, made in Tabriz, Iran, for Shah Tamasp (r. 1524–1576). This painting is attributed to Dust Muhammad, c. 1540. © Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva, Switzerland.
- 24 An outdoor scene of a tavern, fol. 271r. An illustration from *Miftāḥ al-Fuḏala* (see 8). British Library, record no. 19388, shelf no. Or. 3299.

- 25 *Sanbūsa* (fried filled pastries) being prepared for Sultan Ghiyath, shown seated on a stool. An evening scene in the garden, where the cooks are filling and frying *sanbūsa* pastries, fol. 83v (see *Plate 16*). British Library, record no. c6530–07, shelf no. I.O. ISLAMIC 149.
- 26 An indoor scene of a tavern (fol. 33r) depicted from *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* (1054–1122). Copied and illustrated by al-Wāsiṭī in Baghdad in 1236. Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 5847.
- 27 A grand meal being served. Lower panel of a manuscript folio from *Falnama* (Book of Omens), verso: Joseph Enthroned; recto: text. Shah Tahmasp (1524–1576). Iran, Safavid dynasty, c. 1550. Opaque watercolor, ink and gold on paper (59.4 H x 44.4 cm W). Origin and historical region: Qazwin, Iran. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.255a–b detail.
- 28 Serving a meal. Lower panel of a manuscript folio from *Haft Awraq* (Seven Thrones) by Jami (d. 1492); recto: Majnun approaches the camp of Layli's caravan; verso: text. Iran, Safavid dynasty, 1556–1565. Opaque watercolor, ink and gold on paper (34.2 H x 23.2 cm W). Origin and historical region, probably Mashad, Khurasan, Iran. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian institution, Washington, D.C., Purchase, F1946.12.253 detail.
- 29 Female attendants serving a meal (fol. 139v), depicted from *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* (see 26). Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 5847.
- 30 A host tending to the needs of his guests (fol. 47v), depicted from *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, see 26. Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 5847.
- 31 A group of men having a picnic in a *bustān* 'orchard' (fol. 69v), depicted from *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, see 26. Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 5847.
- 32 A group of men having a picnic in a garden, from a detached manuscript folio. Right-hand half of a double-page composition, a: colophon; b: A picnic in a garden, by Qasim Ali Shirazi, c. 1570. Opaque watercolor, ink and gold on paper. 19.4 x 13.8 cm; overall: 35.1 x 20.9 cm). Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.194.1a–b detail.

- 33 A hand washing machine, which provides running water and a robot offering *uṣḥnān* (hand washing compounds), fol. 136r. Depicted from al-Jazarī's manuscript *Al-jāmi' bayn al-'ilm wa 'l-'amal al-nāfi' fi ṣinā'at al-Hiyal* (The Book of Mechanical Devices) 12th century. Topkapi Palace Museum, A.3472.
- 34 A cookshop in a busy marketplace, fol. 521v. A detail from *The story of Haftvad and the Worm* (see plate 23). © Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva, Switzerland.
- 35 A town bustling with life, fol. 521v. A folio from *The story of Haftvad and the Worm* (see 23). © Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva, Switzerland.



ثانياً وينتبت فيه فاذ احاط من غدا واجتج بال
 استعمالها روي على وجه الطين للسرطاهل من
 ذلك الدمين كون قساد الطنج وزهونه
 ونمها التماور في تنقية اللحم عن رونه ومخافه
 وعذره واسقيه به وهو القسر الزين الذي يظن
 على الحومل الجلد ما عزمه ولا يتركه انشأ الله
 ونسها ان تقسل اللحم في غسل قبله او غسل بالما
 السام والماء العطر او في الماء والبر فان لم
 مفسد للذود ورويه نحر الدهنه في الطنج
 ومنهم من ان يقطع البصل والخرائب والحدرد
 والماء الخان وجميع البقول السخس الزهه التي يقطع
 بها اللحم فان ههذه الاشياء ان اوظعت بهذه السكين
 والفتيت يحمى الف زود زهونها وافسدتها ما عدا ذلك

١٢ باب ما يطبخ ما يغسل به اليد من الاشنان والسعد
 ١٣ باب طبع الخبال وعمله من الصفصا ويحلى الجاذ
 ١٤ باب غسل الاشنان والجلد ومخص الديك الطيب
 ١٥ باب ما في الاراب في غسل اليد قبل الطنج وبعد
 ١٦ باب الادب في اكل الصعوك مع الوسا واللوك
 ١٧ باب النعم ومنعغه للاجست
 ١٨ باب ما به وثلثه وتليو
 ١٩ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو
 ٢٠ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو
 ٢١ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو
 ٢٢ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو
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 ٢٤ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو
 ٢٥ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو
 ٢٦ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو
 ٢٧ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو
 ٢٨ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو
 ٢٩ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو
 ٣٠ باب ما به ثلثه وتليو

Plate 1. Al-Warrāq's *Kūāb al-Ṭabīkh*, fols. 7v-8r of the Helsinki manuscript.



Plate 2. Reverse of the Babylonian culinary tablet 4644, c. 1700 BC.

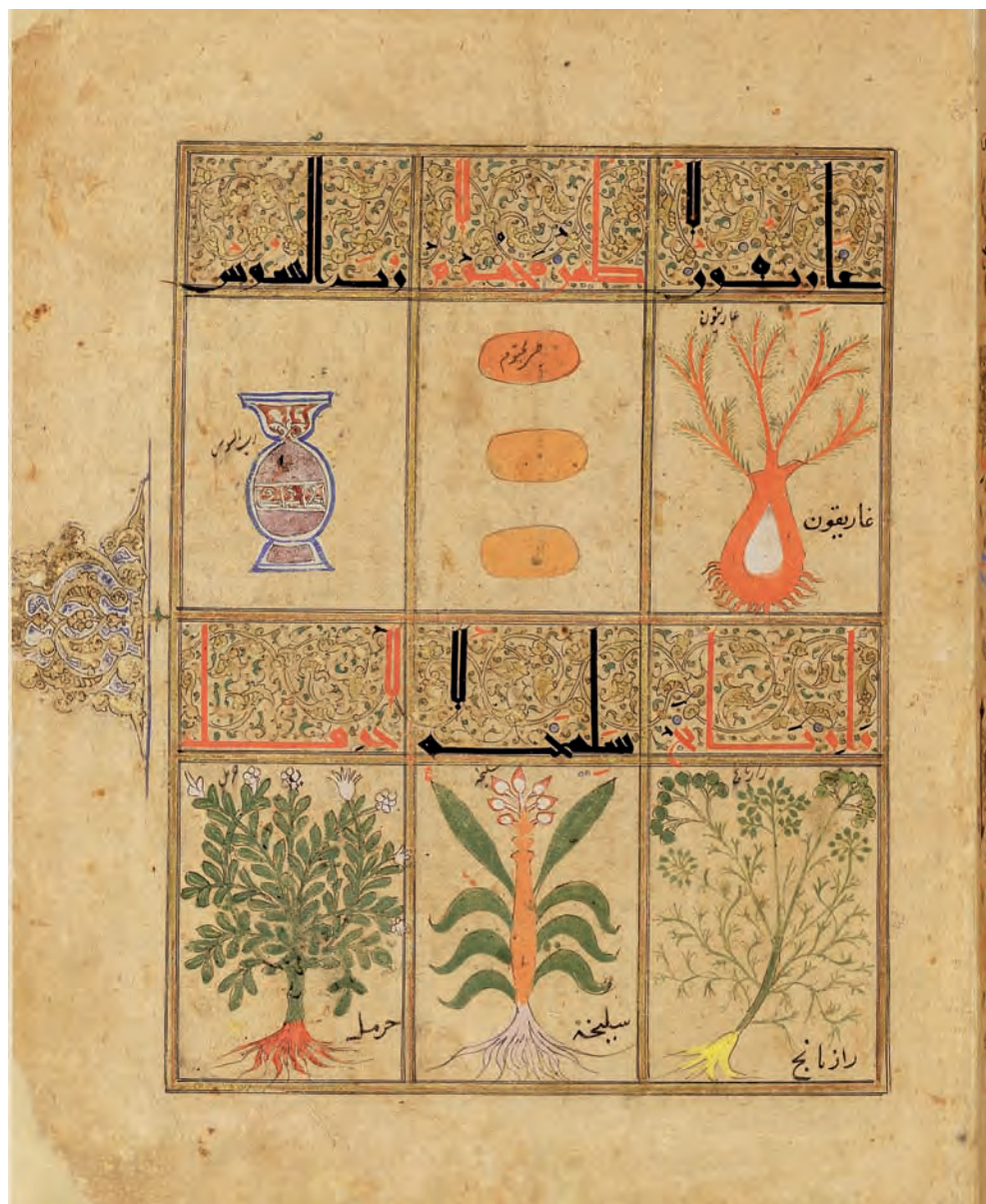


Plate 3. Medicinal ingredients and preparations.

دهنه يجلل الصداع والطينين **وَمُسَانٌ** شجر الزمان من الاشجار التي لا تكون الا بالبلاد
 الحارة قال صاحب الفلاحة اذا غرست الزمان فاعز من حولها الاسل كثر ثمرتها وبقوى فاذا
 قليت وقت الفرس في معزبه شيئا من اسل يكون ثمرةا حلوا فان فليت الخلد يكون حاصبا و
 قال ايضا اذا اردت ان لا يقع شيء من ثمرتها و
 يصلح الكل هذا الحجر الذي يسمى مقشينا الحري
 وضعه على عصب من اعصابها فانه لا يسقط
 شيء من ثمرتها البته وقال ايضا اذا دقت
 سماد من الارز في اسفلية ايضا يفعل
 هذا الفعل ولا يشترتاها وقال ايضا اذا
 اردت ان لا يكون في الزمان عجم عرسا فل
 قضبان ودية عند العرس وتراجها عن عجزها
 وضم بعضها ببعض واربطها بشي من الخشب و
 اعرضها فانه اذا ثبت لا يكون في ثمرتها
 شيء من الشحم وان اردت ان يجز ثمرتها فاخلط رما الحمام في الماء وصبه فاصل شجرها فانه يجز ثمرتها
 احمر لاشددا وقال ايضا اذا اردت ان يصير الزمان الجامع جلودا فكشف عن اصلها واطل الخضر
 الخنايزر وانضجها بالمال الناس ثم اعد الشراب اليها كما كانت قروا عن ثمرتها الموضوعة وقال
 ايضا ان اخذت رمانة من شحم وعذبت حباتها فيكون حبات تلك الشحم بذلك العدة فقال
 ايضا بعد شرفات قمع الزمان فان كانت زوجا يكون حباتها زوجا وان كانت فردا وكذلك
 حباتها يهرب منه اكثر الحشرات ولذلك ترى ان الطيور تاعن وترك في اوكارها لا يهرب وكثر
 شيء من الهوام قال الشيخ الرئيس حبات الزمان قضبان عجيبة لطيف الهوام وكذلك دخان خشب
 وقال محمد بن زكريا الرازي دخان خشب الزمان يطرد اكثر الهوام وهو الذي يقال له الجملان وقد يكون
 احمر وقد يكون ابيض جيد للثة الدائمة ويقوى الانسان المتحرك وما نفع لشف الدم وقال الرازي
 رضي الله عنهما ما تحت رمانة الالبطن من ماء للثة وقال علي رضي الله عنه اذا اكلم رمانة



زمان

Plate 4. Pomegranate (rummān).

الديك الأبيض والأحمر خفيف ويخبره الجحون بفعلة فعلاً يتأ. **مرارة الديك** إذا اكحل بها نفع من بياض العين
والمشاق وجلت البصر. **ذكر** حكيماً أن مرارة الديك تجعل في أنف خسة ويبدأ دم على الاكتحال بها فأنها يقلع
بأخر العين. **وذكر** بليسان مرارة الديك يخلط بمرقضان ويوكل على الرق فأنها تذكرا بالسيان وينهب
جناحه يشد على صاحب حتى الورد يذهب عنه. **والفارس** يشدها على وسطه لا يتعب من السوق. **دمه** يفع من بياض
العين اكتحالا. **دمه** الذي يجري في المهارشة يجعل في طعام ويطعم قوم يقع بينهم الخصومة. **يؤخذ** دم الديك
مع العسل ويحضر على النار فأنه يطلى بالقميص يقوى على الساة ويريد في اللثة. **يؤخذ** من لحم الديك بحففاً
ويستحق مع العنق والسماق بالسوية ويخزن جوداً على قدر المحصة ويسقى منها الميطون فأنه يبرأ في الحال.
في بطن الديك حصاة قد تكون اسماً نجوياً وقد يكون على لون المها فأن علت على الجحون برا وان عقلت على
انسان نادت شهوة **دجاج** اعجب شئ منها انها اذا تشبهت بالديكة في الصياح والمهارشة و
نبت لها شوكه كشوكه الديكة وربما باضت بلار كوي الديك من قبلها في التراب او من ينج الجحوب ولا



يخلص من هذا البيض فرخ ولا يطيح طعمه. **واذا** حصل
فظهرها بيض كثير من هذا السبب ثم يكمل الديك
ولومرة واحدة فان جميعها تصلح **واذا** اخضت الربيعة
وسمعت صوت الرعد بعد جميع ما تحتها من البيض
وعند هبوب ريح الجنوب فسادها اقوى. **والدجاجة**

اذا هربت لا يكون لبيضها فرخ فلا يحصل من بيضها الفرخ لان الفرخ تولد من البياض والفرخ غداق. **والدجاجة**
اذا سمت لا تبين كما ترى سمان النساء فانه لا يقبلن. **خوام** اجزائه تطبخ الدجاجة البيضاء بصلصة
وكف سيم مقشر حتى ينهل ويوكل لحمها ويخفى مرقها فانه يزيد في قوة البابة. **والمدامه** على اكل الدجاج
والفراريج يورث البواسير والنقرس. **شحمه** يتخذ طلاء يذهب الكلف الاحمر من الوجه وينفع من شقاء القدم
العارض من البرد. **مرارتها** تمنع من نزول الماء. **اكتحالا** قال ايلياس الحكيم فأنه الدجاج يشوى وتطعم
من يوله في الفارس فانه يذهب عنه ذلك. **يؤخذ** ثلث بيضات ويترك في الخل ثلثه ايام ثم يترك في الشمس وتجفف
ويطلى به الهوى يذهب. **والبيض** ينميرت له خاصية عجبة في كثير من مآدة المتى وشهوة البابة. **واذا** ركت
البيض في الشتاء في وسط التين ونز الصيف في الحلة تبقى رماً نالحويلا لا يفسد. **ودهن** بيضها يطلى به الفرس



Plate 6. A fisherman catching a fish with a net.

حينئذ تمشي له الاحد لا يأكل ولا يدخل الماء ولا يتحرك ولو ضربت او قتل لم يدخل البحر فاذا غابت الشمس اليه الاحد
 وثب كما يثب النصف ويدخل البحر فلا يطعمه النصف ذكر وان جلدن اذا وضع على النصفين سكر وجعه في الحال
 ومنها ما حكى ابو حامد الاندلسي قال رايته قطعت من سمكة مقدار ذراعين مقتولة الخياط من بطنه الحيون
 فاهن العنق وهو حيوان فاما ما عرفت له داسا ولا قفا ولا ادرى من اين يأكل ومنها سمكة تعرف
 بالبعيل قال ابو حامد الاندلسي رايته تجمع البحرين سمكة مثل جلاصا حية سمعت اوحش منها ولا اهل
 حتى كاد يشق القلب منها وتكررت فاضطرب الماء من تحريكها وكثر الجمع حتى خفتنا من الغرق فذكر البحرين
 انها سمكة تعرف بالبعيل وان السمكة البكرة تتبعها لاكلها في بحر الظلمات فتفر الصغرى من الكبرى
 تمر في جمع البحرين البحر الروم ويا ترى السمكة الكبرى تلتصقها لتمر في جمع البحرين فلا يمكنها اعطها هكذا ذكر
 اهل جمع البحرين



ومنهما حوت موسى ويوشع عليهما السلام قال ابو حامد رايته سمكة بعرب مدينة سبته وهي نسل الحوت الذي
 الذي اكل موسى ويوشع عليهما السلام نصفها
 فاجاب الله تعالى النصف الآخر واتخذ نسباً له في
 البحر عجباً لها الى الآن نسله في ذلك الموضع وهي
 سمكة طولها اكثر من ذراع وعرضها شبر





Plate 8. A fish being grilled.



Plate 9. A bird being grilled.



Plate 10. *Kardanāj* (chicken being grilled on a rotating spit).



Plate 11. Agricultural labor.



Plate 12. A woman grinding grains using a quern.



Plate 13. School cooks.

في طبعه. **وسمعتان** قطع الغنم اذا احت بالذئب على الطرف بجلة فاصنت كلها في الماء حتى تنقسطها فاذا امت
عادتا الى مكانها. **واحب** من هذا ما ترى ان الغنم يلد في ليلة واحدة غنم كثير. **فان الراعي** يبيع الائمةات
من المبداء في بيوتها اخرتها ويحلب بين الائمةات والاولاد فذهب كل واحدة منها الى امها والانسان لا يروى
الأم الا بعد اشتهار. **ويحلب** من الغنم نوع من الضان على صدها آية وعلى كتفها اليسان وعلى خنجرها اليسان



وعلى ذنبه آية. **اما**
خواص اجرائها. **ذكر** وان
قرن الكبش اذا فرت تحت شجره
تخلط لوانها. **واذا** اكمل
بمران الضان مع الحمل نفع من
نوبل الماء. **واذا** ات الياسن
الذي في العين اناله بحميه.

قالوا الموالمة على كل لحم الضان يوجب اعفاه ويلقي على كله التماس. **واحب** اب الصرع اذا كملوا لحم الضان
اشد باهم. **عظمه** يحرق خشب الطفاء ويخلط بدهن الشمع الخضر من دهن الوردة ويطلب موضع الوتر والقنح ينفع فعفا
بيتا. **خروق** صوفه ويخلط رماده بورق الاس ويحبل على الجراحات الفاسدة يحللها. **قال** بلياس في كتاب
الخواص اذا احتملت المرأة صوف النجعة قطع للجبل ومنع منه. **وقالوا** اذا غطيت طرف العسل شي من الصوف والاصفر
لم يفسد ما التمل **معي** حيوان يحمي اجرة ولذلك اذا ادا واذم انسان قالوا ليس من التماس معنى ان الغنم
والشتر والمعز يفضل على الضان بمران اللبن وشتر الخلد فان جلد المعز يختر وجلد الضان ينفذ وما نقص من آية
ويندب شه. **ولذلك** قالوا آية المعز في بطنه. **انظر** الى حكمة البارئ لما خلق جلد الضان دقيقا جعل لها
صوفاً كيف دافعاً للبرد والحر. **ولما** خلق جلد المعز خشنا خلق لها الشعر حتى يجسل الضان بجلط الصوف ورفة
الجلد ما يجسل للمعز ورفة الشعر وشتر الخلد وتنبون التيس يترى به المثل فان جميع به تن شتر وصيفا
وذكر وان الحمى اذا راي الشبل يمشي الى يسير امير فانما شتم رايته الشبل عشر عليه ووقع كما لميت
فاذا غاب الشبل عنه رجع الى محاله. **ومن** الغنم نوع يقال له الزيتلاء اذا مشى على الانسان له لعاب يقال
الانسان من لعابه الماشد يدا ويضرب الموت غالباً فالحمى منه ياكل شاكير ولا يضر بل ينفع ويمنه



Plate 15. Hunting game by bringing them up in a circle.



Plate 16. Cooks of Sultan Ghiyath preparing *qīma* (finely chopped meat).



Plate 17. Rice being cooked for Sultan Ghiyath.



Plate 18 Stew being prepared for Sultan Ghiyath.





Plate 20. Ladle.



Plate 21. Bowl.



Plate 22. Platter.



Plate 23. A cook tending to her pots.

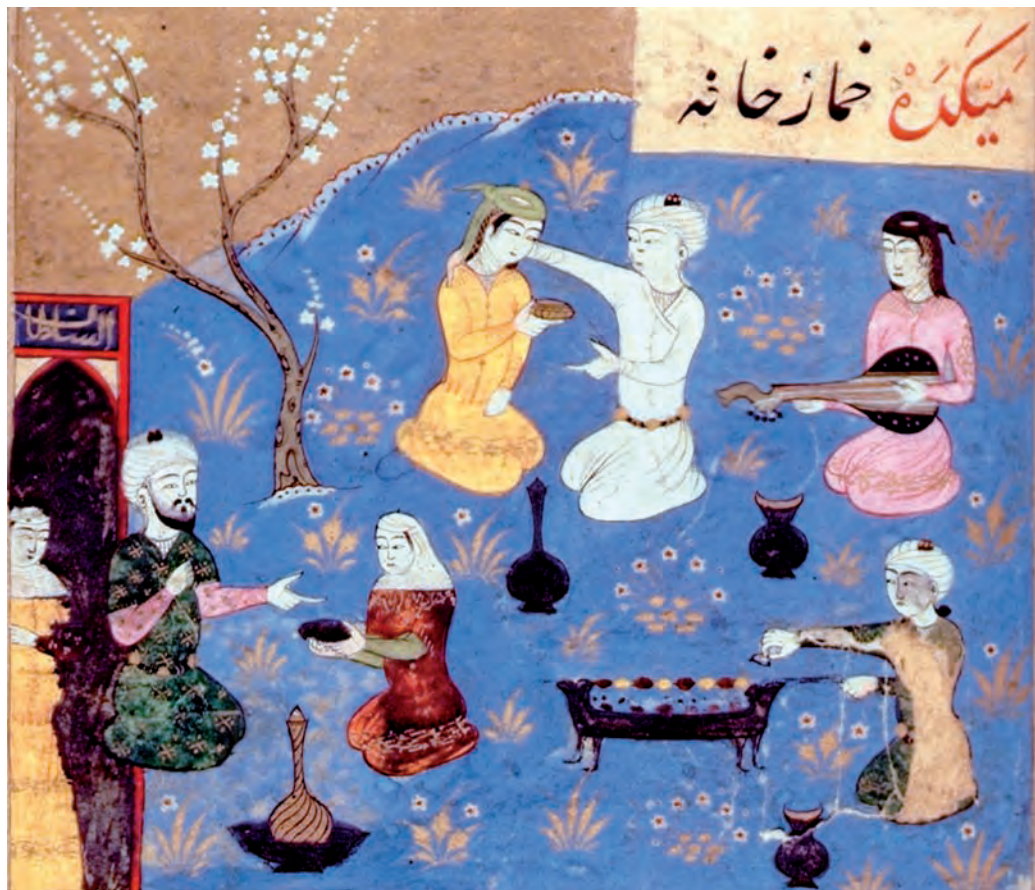


Plate 24. An outdoor scene of a tavern.



Plate 25. *Sambūsa* being prepared for Sultan Ghiyath.

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وَاخْوَالِ الْعِيَالِ الْمُعِيلُ إِذَا أَخْتَالَ لَمْ يُعْلَمْ
 قَالَ الرَّأْيِيُّ فَعَرَفْتُ جَنِيْدَانَهُ أَبُو زَيْدٍ ذُو الرِّبِّ الْعَيْبِ وَمِسْوَدُ وَجْهِ الشَّيْبِ

وَسَانِي عَظْمٍ مَرْدَاهُ وَفُجَّ تَوَرَّدَهُ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ لُبْسَانُ الْأُنْفَةِ وَأَذَلَالُ الْمَعْرِفَةِ الْمَيَانُ
 يَأْتِيكَ أَنْ تَقْلَعَ عَمْرُ الْخَنَافِضِ وَزَمْجَرُ وَتَكْرُوفُ مَكْرُثَةٍ قَالَتْ إِنَّهَا لَيْلَةُ مَرَجٍ
 لَا تَلَا حَ وَنَهْرُهُ شَرْبُ مَرَجٍ لَا تَلَا حَ فَعَدَّ عَمَّا بَدَأَ إِلَى أَنْ تَلَا فِي غَدَا فُقَارَقَتُهُ فَرَقَانِ

Plate 26. An indoor scene of a tavern.



Plate 27. A grand meal being served.



Plate 28. Serving a meal.

فِي الْأَصْطِكَا وَوَجَدَتْهُمْ وَجَدَ التَّمَلُّ بِالْإِطْلَاقِ وَلَمَّا أُنْزِلَ الْحَصْرُ وَالشَّرِيحُ لِحَصْرٍ
 ابْنَاءُ بَوَايِكَهَا لَا تَدُورُ وَالرُّفُصَاتُ نُورٌ وَقَدْ تَجَنَّبَ بِاطْعَةِ الْوَلَايِمِ وَجَمِيرٍ مِنْ
 الْعَايِبِ وَاللَّيْمِ فَرَفَضْنَا مَا قِيلَ فِي الْبِطْنَةِ وَرَأَيْنَا الْإِمْعَانَ فِيهَا مِنْ الْعِظَةِ جَزْأً



لَكُنَّا بِصَاحِ الْجُطْرَةِ وَاشْفَيْنَا عَلَى خَطَرِ النَّجْمِ نَعَاوُزًا مَسْشُورًا الْغَمْرُ ثُمَّ نَبُولًا مَقَاعِدَ
 السَّمَرِ وَآخِذَ كُلِّ مَنَابِتُورٍ بِلِسَانِهِ وَيُسْتَرُّ مَا فِي صَوَانِعِهِ مَا عَدَلَ شَيْخًا مُشْتَبِهًا فَوَدَّ لَهُ
 مَخْلُوقًا بِرَدِّهِ فَإِنَّهُ رُبُّ جَبْرَةٍ وَلَوْ مَعَنَا هَجْرَةٌ فَخَاضًا جَبْدًا لَمَلْبَسُ

Plate 29. Female attendants serving a meal.

فَمَا نَا إِلَى حَيْثُمَا وَخَلَصَ مِنْ مَائِمَةٍ سَالِنَاهُ لَمْ قَامَ وَلَا يَبِي مَعْنَى اسْتَرْفَعَ الْجَامُ فَقَالَ
 إِنَّ الرِّجَالَ نَمَامٌ وَأَلَيْتُمْ مَذْجُوعًا لَا يَصْنَعُ بِمُؤْمَرٍ مَقَامُ قُفْلَانَا وَمَا سَبَبُ مَيْسَرَتِكَ



الْبَصِيرِي وَالْيَسَّارَ الْجَرِي فَقَالَ إِنَّهُ كَانَ لِحُجْرَتِهِ لِسَانَةٌ مَقْرَبٌ وَقُلَّةٌ عَقْرَبٌ
 وَلَفْظُهُ شَدِيدٌ مَنَعٌ وَجِدَهُ ثُمَّ مَنَعَهُ نَدَى الْجَاوَرَةِ إِلَى حُجْرَتِهِ وَأَعْرَضَتْ عَنْ كَاشِرَتِهِ

Plate 30. A host tending to the needs of his guests.

لأَوَّلِ النَّزَامِ وَبَنَى الْإِلَهَ النَّزَامِ وَمَا وَصَفَ إِذَا رَدَّ بِالْبُؤْسِ نَقَصَ صَاحِبُهُ
فِي الْعَيُونِ وَقَوْمًا بِالْبُؤْسِ وَخَرَجَ مِنَ الْبُؤْسِ وَبَعْضُ الْبُؤْسِ فَمِنْهُ مِثْلُ عَشْرَةِ مِثْلِهِ



وَقَدْ عَدَّكُمْ وَزَيْدٌ لَكُمْ وَلَوْ زِدْتُمْ زَيْدًا وَأَزَعْتُمْ عَدْنَا قَالَ الْمُخْبِرُ
هَذِهِ الْحِكَايَةُ فَوَرَدَ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَحْجِيهِ اللَّهُ هَالِكٌ لَمَّا انْتَهَا لَمَّا جَارَتْ

Plate 31. A group of men having a picnic in an orchard.



Plate 32. A group of men having a picnic in a garden.



Plate 33. Hand washing machine.



Plate 34. A cookshop in a busy marketplace.



Plate 35. A town bustling with life.

GLOSSARY

ARABIC-ENGLISH

For convenient access, I have arranged the main sections of the Glossary in alphabetical order, and in listing Arabic entries, I have alphabetized their English transliterations. Information in the following sections is based on Arabic medieval sources, unless otherwise stated.¹

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¹ The principal medieval sources used are: Ibn Waḥshiyya (10th century) *Al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya*; Ishāq al-Isrāʾīlī (d. 932) *Kitāb al-Aghdhiya* (facsimile MS); Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 923) *Manāfiʾ al-Aghdhiya wa Dafʾ Maḍarriḥā*; al-Khuwārizmī (d. 997) *Maḥāṣil al-ʿUlūm*; Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) *Al-Qānūn*; al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048) *Kitāb al-Ṣaydāna* [to which references will include page numbers only], and *Al-Jamāhir fī Maʾrifat al-Jawāhir*; Ibn Jazla (d. 1100) *Minhāj al-Bayān* (MS); Ibn Zuhri (d. 1162) *Kitāb al-Aghdhiya*; Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 1248) *Al-Jāmiʿ li Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa ʿl-Aghdhiya*; al-Nuwayrī (d. 1333) *Nihāyat al-ʿIrāb fī Funūn al-ʿAdab*.

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1. *Beverages*

‘*asalī* (عسلي) mead, see *nabīdh* ‘*asal* below.

dādhī (دادي) *dādī* (دادي) *dhādhī* (ذادي) (**the drink**) strong date wine made potent and aromatic by adding *dādhī* (description of ingredient below), which also helps preserve it. Judging from brief references in medieval sources, the wine seemed widespread among those who consumed such drinks in Baghdad. The wine market itself was called *sūq al-dādhī* after the name of this drink.¹ A frequently quoted verse reveals its effect upon drinkers, “We drank *dādhī* until we felt /like we are kings of land and sea.”²

Due to its potency, its use was curbed by the authorities. In an anecdote, we learn that a governor felt it was his duty to tour around the herbalists’ shops in town and caution them against selling *dādhī*, the date wine additive (Abū Nu‘aym al-Aṣḥabānī 1153). In lexicons such as *Tāj al-‘Arūs* and *al-Muḥīṭ*, it was defined as ‘the licentious drink of scoundrels’ *sharāb al-fusāq* (شراب الفساق). Al-Rāshidī Caliph, ‘Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 644) called it *khamr al-Sind* (خمر السند) intoxicating wine of India that only infidels would drink.³ Tradition has it that the Prophet Muḥammad said *al-dādhī* are seeds brought from India. As for those who imbibed it, he said God would not accept their prayers for full forty years.⁴ Evidently, the region knew the drink long before the advent of Islam.

Of the drink’s physical description, we know that it is clear, so clear, indeed, that when you look at it, it reflects your image like a mirror. It has a reddish hue as if fire or a meteor is burning in it.⁵ The word *dādhī* itself is associated with light. The last three days of the lunar month are called *dādī*,⁶ because during these moonless nights *dādhī* rods (pine rods fuelled with *dādhī*, the turpentine sap inside them) were needed. The word was also used as an epithet for a playful person,⁷ which is a perfect match for the Dionysian nature of the drink.

¹ al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 149.

² شربنا من الدادي حتى كأننا ملوك لنا بر العراقيين والبحر ذود. *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v.

³ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 550.

⁴ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mayzān* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 54.

⁵ al-Jāhiz, *Al-Rasā’il* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 290.

⁶ al-Marzūqī, *Al-Azmina wa ‘l-Amkina* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 159.

⁷ al-Ṣāghānī, *Al-‘Ubāb al-Ẓākhīr* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 15.

Medieval physicians agree that *dādhī* wine is not good for the elderly, and say it causes headaches. However, it benefits those with hemorrhoids (Ibn al-Bayṭār 710) and helps make the date wine less bloating and easier to digest. In this respect it is comparable to galangal in cooked foods (مثل الخنجان في القدور).⁸

Its drinker feels hot, experiences flushed cheeks, and feels stupefied the morning after. Dizziness, delirium, and acute intestinal pain are other side effects (Ibn al-Bayṭār 265). Ibn Sīnā says overdosing is fatal (1121). See the following entry for *dādhī*, the ingredient. See Chapter 119 for recipes.

dādhī (دادي) *dādī* (دادي) *dhādhi* (ذاذي) (**the ingredient**).⁹ This ‘mystery’ plant is described as having astringent, tannic, bitter, and aromatic qualities, used to enhance date wine. Because ripe dates and date syrup are devoid of astringent properties, they need an additive like *dādhī* to preserve the wine and prevent it from getting sour. This additive is sometimes described as having narcotic properties that intensify the intoxicating effects of the wine upon its drinkers (entry above).

Medieval references to the effects of *dādhī* are brief, vague, and even contradictory. Of its humoral properties, some say it is cold and dry, and others, hot and dry. It is referred to as *shay* ‘something,’ a seed, a leaf, a cluster like a bunch of grapes, and a cone. Medieval sources also tell us that the best *dādhī* plants grow in Bilād al-Shaḥr—southern coasts of the Arabian Peninsula (al-Bīrūnī 188; *Tāj al-ʿArūs*). Ibn Jazla specifies the mountain variety, especially the reddish brown (*aḥmar*) ones that have been recently dried (*ḥadīth*), as being the best (fol. 89r). More details on this in the following four sections.

This inevitably leads to the conclusion that medieval sources do not seem to describe one and the same thing even when they address a specific entry, and that *dādhī* may well be a name for a number of wine additives, some of which are preservatives and enhancers with little narcotic substance that help make the wine less bloating. Others are strongly addictive narcotic substances that help preserve the wine. Of their unpleasant and even dire effects upon its imbibers: the drinker feels hot, experiences flushed cheeks, feels stupefied the morning after,

⁸ Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Risāla al-Baghḍādīyya* 312.

⁹ Medieval dictionaries mention that *dādhī* is a noun although it sounds like relational adjective *nisba*.

and experiences dizziness, delirium, and acute intestinal pain (Ibn al-Bayṭār 265). Ibn Sīnā says overdosing is fatal (1121).

Physical description of *dādhī*, and what it might be:¹⁰

1. Al-Warrāq's recipe (Chapter 119) calls for good quality reddish brown bunches or cones of *dādhī* (*aḥmar ṣhamārīkh*).¹¹ This seems to be in line with some of the medieval definitions such as *dādhī* being 'something' *shay* in the shape of a cluster *unqūd*, and as aromatic as musk.¹² Ibn al-Bayṭār on the authority of al-Majūsī—a contemporary of Ibn Sīnā—says good quality *dādhī* should be brown and recently harvested, with a pleasant aroma (265). Of its medical benefits and effects, Ibn Jazla says it is astringent, constipating, and induces sleep (*musdir*). It is a cure for hemorrhoids *bawāsīr*, and kills intestinal worms (fol. 89r).

This description points to the female hops plant on which the clusters of hop cones grow. In Arabic, it is *junjul* (جنجل) also called *hashīshat al-dīnār* (حشيشة الدينار).¹³ However, medieval sources mention *junjul* only with relation to food. Al-Warrāq, for instance, includes it as a vegetable in Chapter 43; Ibn al-Bayṭār describes it as a hot and moist vegetable (176), and in *Lisān al-ʿArab* it is boiled and eaten like asparagus. This information is identical with what the ancient Roman Pliny (d. 113 AD) said of hops. Pliny also mentioned that it was only the young shoots in spring that were eaten like this (Grieve 1: 411), which is in keeping with a sentence found in an Arabic medieval source, "we ate astringent *dādhī*."¹⁴

¹⁰ Martin Levey's identification of *dādhī* as seeds of Judas tree is not accurate because it does not match available descriptions of the plant in medieval sources. See "Medieval Arabic Toxicology: The Book on Poisons of Ibn Waḥshiyya and its Relation to Early Indian and Greek Texts," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* vol. 56, n. 7 (1966) 119.

¹¹ According to *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. شمرخ *shimrākh* is a bunch (such as of grapes or dates), and a cone-like shape.

¹² *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*; Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī *Al-Risāla al-Baghḍādiyya* 312.

¹³ By calling it *hashīshat al-dīnār*, the plant is clearly regarded as a close relative to *hashīsha* (حشيشة) marijuana, which Ibn al-Bayṭār classifies as Indian hemp (568), of *qinnab* (قنب) of the hemp family (*cannabis sativa*), except that hop is not as narcotic as hemp. Hop imparts aromatic oils into the wine, as well as an antiseptic resin, a bitter substance, and tannin. It is mildly sedative and induces sleep, but does not cause headaches. See M. Grieve, *The Modern Herbal* (New York: Dover Publications, 1981) 1: 411–15.

¹⁴ (اكلنا داذيا يقبض) *Tha'lab*, *Majālis Tha'lab* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 43.

2. *Dādhī* is also pinecones with their seeds, and pine resin. Ibn Jazla specifies the mountain variety of *dādhī* as being the best, especially the reddish brown (*aḥmar*) ones that have recently been dried *ḥadīth* (fol. 89r).

In Greek mythology, the pine was one of the offerings to Dionysus,¹⁵ god of wine and fertility. The dithyramb song sung in his honor might well have been etymologically derived from *dādhī*, pinecone and pine resin.

The pine resin is actually called ***dādhī al-qaṭirān*** (دادي القطران). The pine rods themselves used as candles or torches are also called *dādhī* (Ibn al-Bayṭār 447, 677; al-Bīrūnī 190). Apparently, the name has been around in the Mesopotamian region ever since antiquity. Ibn al-Nadīm describes the customs of the Chaldeans of the ancient city of Ḥarrān (ca. 2000 BC-1200 AD), the city of the moon god. He says, they, as moon worshippers, celebrate the birth of their moon god in the month of Kānūn II (January) by slaughtering animals, eating, drinking, and lighting *al-dādhī* for the gods and goddesses. *Al-dādhī*, he explains, are pine rods (193).

Indeed, associating pine resin with the moon god and immortality in acknowledgement of its power to preserve dead bodies and prevent them from decaying can be traced further back to the ancient Soma drink in Indian mythology. It was the drink of the gods, first made when the ocean of milk was churned to obtain this divine intoxicating milky liquor. In Sanskrit, *dādhī* may mean any thick viscous substance such as honey, resin, and smooth sour milk. This sacred drink was then personified as the god Soma, a warrior, who later acquired a high rank among the gods—he became the god of waters and fertility. Hence, Soma was a form of life sap of the earth or elixir of life.¹⁶ The god Soma became associated with the moon, since after he dropped this elixir of life down to earth (i.e. rain), it mounted to the moon and was drunk out of the moon by the gods who used it as a cup, which waned and waxed as it was emptied and refilled.¹⁷

Al-Bīrūnī says, in Hindi *dādhī* is *tātkan* تاتكن (188), which can be easily read as *dād-kan* (دادكن) ‘tree of life,’ if we may break it into *dād*

¹⁵ It is also significant that another offering to Dionysus was Indian hemp (*ginnab Hindī*). See point 3 below.

¹⁶ In Akkadian lore, the pine sap was likened to semen as a creative force. See Campbell Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Herbal* (London: The British Academy, 1949) 263.

¹⁷ Scott Littleton, *Mythology* (London: Duncan Baird Publishers, 2002) 339.

'life' and *kan* 'tree',¹⁸ which confirms the rational behind the origin of the word.

Historically, resinated wine that uses pine resin to enhance it and preserve it was an ancient practice in wine making, worldwide. The wine jars were smeared with pitch (*zift*) from the inside and crushed pinecones were added to the fermenting wine.¹⁹ From an anecdote, we learn that in medieval times wine was sometimes made by just adding *dādhī* 'pinesap' to water and let it ferment in the sun. It was called *mā' al-tirb* (i.e. turpentine water).²⁰

3. *Dādhī* is a plant with intoxicating leaves, as we understand from al-Bīrūnī's anecdote. He says, during the early times of the Abbasids, a caravan of travelers happened to rest for a while at a pond in the Sind region (western India) over which a *dādhī* plant cast its shadow, and shed its leaves into the pond. They drank from the water of the pond and got intoxicated. When they went back to Baghdad they started the trend of using *dādhī* in making wine (188).

The intoxicating plant with its leaves is undoubtedly *qinnab Hindī* (قنب هندی) marijuana, a variety of hemp (*cannabis sativa*), also called *hashīsha* (حشيشة) which is hot and dry in properties (Ibn al-Bayṭār 568). The female plant looks like hops, it grows similar cones but its upper leaves and cones contain the glands that produce the potent stuff THC in addition to the preserving and bittering agents. It was this substance that gave it the name *sharāb al-fusāq* (شراب الفساق) drink of scoundrels, and which al-Rāshidī Caliph 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb called *khamr al-Sind* (خمر السند) intoxicating wine of India that only infidels drink. Al-Maqrīzī says that *hashīsha* was first known in India, but then it spread to Bilād al-Shaḥr in Yemen where it was widely grown. From there it spread to Iraq and Persia.²¹

Now this substance accounts for the more serious effects of *dādhī* wine described by physicians. Ibn al-Bayṭār says the drinker feels hot, experiences flushed cheeks, and feels stupefied the morning after. Besides, quoting al-Kindī, he says the drink causes dizziness, delirium,

¹⁸ Meanings of words from Steingass.

¹⁹ In Modern Greek, it is called *retsina*.

²⁰ Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabshir* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 51. The Ethiopia golden honey wine still carries the name *dādhī*.

²¹ *Al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-I'tibār* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 792.

and acute sharp intestinal pain (265). Furthermore, Ibn Sīnā warns of overindulgence, which might prove fatal (1121).

4. *Dādhī* is also referred to as a seed called *ḥabb al-dādhī* which looks like barley but a little longer and thinner and bitter, used to keep date wine from getting sour (Ibn Sīnā 253). It is also said to make the wine more intoxicating (*Al-Muḥīṭ fī al-Lughā*, s.v. ديد).

4.1. This seed might be a variety of *dādhī*, called ***dādhī Rūmī*** (دادي رومي) i.e. of Byzantium, also known as ***hiyofārīqūn*** (هيو فار يقون) St. John's wort (hypericum).²² Ibn al-Bayṭār, describing the most popular variety of the plant, says the leaves look like those of rue, the flowers are yellow, and when rubbed they produce blood-like ooze. Significantly the seeds are compared to barley, but a little elongated, cylindrical, darkish in hue, and smell like pine resin *rātīnaj* (734). The seeds are also called ***jau-i-jādū*** 'the magic barley'.²³

The whole plant is described as hot and dry in properties. It has a pleasant taste and a terebinthic aroma. The flowers and their seeds have many medicinal uses such as stimulate menstruation, purge bile, cure jaundice and gout, relieve fevers and sciatica, heal wounds and burns, and open obstructions. It is also recommended as a laxative and diuretic. Having the seeds with alcoholic drinks helps alleviate pain caused by the poisonous sting of the spider called *taṭīlā* (رتيلاء) tarantula (Ibn Sīnā 258; Ibn al-Bayṭār 734). The last benefit explains why *dādhī* seeds added to date wine are sometimes called *ḥabb raṭīlī* (حب رتيلي) tarantula seed, as in al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Rasā'il* (290).

4.2. Other possible seeds may be those of ***ja'da*** (جعدة), identified as a kind of ***shih*** (شيج) wormwood, which might explain the headaches blamed at drinking *dādhī*. It is an aromatic plant, with numerous seed-filled flowers at the top of the branches. Ibn al-Bayṭār says the Andalusians call it ***misk al-jinn*** 'musk of the demons' (691). It is used as an additive in wines.²⁴ Medicinally it is recommended to expel

²² As identified in al-Bīrūnī, English trans., 160, n. 2.

²³ al-Bīrūnī, English trans., 160, n. 2

²⁴ It is one of the two components of a wine additive called *murratayn* 'the two bitters.' The other ingredient is *alā* (الاء) rosebay. See *murratayn* below and the last recipe in Chapter 114.

parasitic intestinal worms, relieve flatulence, and cure jaundice. It is also believed to enkindle the mind and help improve memory, but it is hurtful to the stomach and causes headaches.²⁵

The bitter, acrid, and tannic qualities of wormwood help compensate for what the dates lack to make good wine that does not sour fast. As for making it more potent as an alcoholic drinks, the stimulant absinthol in wormwood takes care of this. The devastating mental effects of *dādhī* wine such as delirium, hallucinations, and even death might be attributed to the chemical compound present in wormwood, thujone, known to be toxic to the brain and liver (Grieve 2: 858–60).

4.3. Another narcotic seed used as a wine additive is **binj** (بنج) henbane, which has cold and dry properties.²⁶ The Arabic name is *shaykarān* (شيكران) and *shawkarān* (شوكران). The only source which openly mentions adding it to wines to make it stronger is *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. بنج. Otherwise, the rest of the sources carry cautionary advice against the red and the more potent black varieties, as being dangerous, medicinally of no use, and might lead to insanity (See Section 12.2 below).

daqīq al-shaʿīr (دقيق الشعير) literally, ‘barley flour.’ It is ground malted barley used in making non-alcoholic beer *fuqqāʿ*. See recipe in Chapter 113.

durdī nabīdh (دردي نبیذ) wine dregs added to juices to encourage fermentation.

dūshāb (دوشاب) date syrup; also designates date wine made from date syrup (Ibn al-Bayṭār 298).

fattāra (فطارة) fermented dough added to wine must to give it its first crack at fermentation.

fuqqāʿ (فقاع) alcohol-free beer, a bubbly drink made from barley. It is usually served before the meal, unlike wine, which is served after the meal.²⁷ Al-Rāzī describes it as bloating and harmful to the stomach and digestion because of its cold properties. It is recommended to cool down heat in the stomach and treat acute thirst due to hangovers (91).

²⁵ Ibn Sīnā 218–19, 249, 365; Ibn Jazla fols. 58r–v; Ibn al-Bayṭār 165, 435.

²⁶ This explains the contradictory descriptions of *dādhī* as being hot and dry in properties (as in the previous entries) or cold and dry as in the case of henbane.

²⁷ al-Dīnawarī, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 374.

jamad (جمد) manufactured ice, snow is *thalj*.

jullāb (جلاب) syrup made with rose water and sugar or honey. Ibn Sīnā provides a recipe according to which 2 pounds of sugar are simmered with ½ cup water. Just before the pot is taken away from the fire, ¼ cup rose water is added (1229). The syrup is diluted with water, sometimes chilled with ice, and served as a refreshing drink. It may replace ordinary syrups in recipes. Medicinally, it is valued for its cooling effects. It is believed to benefit the stomach, chest, and lungs, but people with diarrhea should avoid it. Due to its cold properties, it is recommended for hangovers (al-Thaʿalibī *Yatīmat al-Dahr* 535).

jumhūrī (جمهوري) grape wine, called so because it is popular (derives from *jumhūr* ‘people’). The permissible variety is made from grape juice boiled down to half its original amount, also called *munaṣṣaf* (منصف). The intoxicating kind is left to ferment for three years (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. جمهور).

khamr (خمر) intoxicating wine. Serving it after the meal is believed to aid digestion because of its hot properties. To lessen its effects, drinking water after having it is recommended. Physicians agree that drinking wine more than once or twice a month is harmful to the body (al-Rāzī 70-72; Ibn al-Bayṭār 250). Observant Muslims are allowed to drink *khamr muʿālaj*, i.e. made by boiling the juice on fire and not letting it ferment in the heat of the sun. It is also permissible to use vinegar made from wine, called *khall khamr*.

Descriptions of *khamr*:

ḥadīth (حديث) freshly made; *muʿattaq* (معتق) aged; *ḥulw* (حلو) sweet; *ghalīẓ* (غليظ) dense in consistency; *latīf* (لطيف) thin in consistency; *raqīq* (رفيق) diluted and hence watery; *ʿaṣ* (عص) acrid, astringent; *ṣulb* (صلب) or *shadīd* (شديد) strong, highly alcoholic.

Varieties of *khamr*:

abyaḍ (أبيض) white. It is thin in consistency and the least nourishing of wines.

aḥmar (أحمر) red. It is moderate in its properties and generates good blood.

aswad (أسود) black. It is sweet and thick wine. While it nourishes, it also builds up blockages in the body.

aṣfar (أصفر) yellow. It is bitter, extremely strong, and has immensely hot properties. The best *naql* ‘mazza’ to have with it is chilled fruits (al-Rāzī 72).

khamr maṭbūkh (خمر مطبوخ) cooked wine, see entry below.

khamr mu'ālaj (خمر معالج) wine cooked and reduced on fire. Unlike wines fermented in the heat of the sun, it is permissible.

khamr muzz (خمر مزّ) *muzzā'* (مزّاء) somewhat sweet and bitter wine. It is also described as having a pleasant slight tongue-bite to it (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. مزز).

khamr zabībī (خمر زبیبی) raisin wine.

khamr zabīb shamsī (خمر زبیب شمسی) intoxicating raisin wine fermented in the sun. Its name reveals its potency because *shamsī* also means 'unruly.' One of the general names of wine is *al-shamūs* because it acts like an unwieldy horse. It is believed to purify the kidneys and cure joint pain with its hot properties (al-Rāzī 75).

khumār (خمار) hangover.

mā' hīlū (ماء حلو) literally, 'sweet water,' soft water free of saltiness.

mā' kadir (ماء كدر) murky water.

makhmūr (مخمور) a person with a hangover

mā' maḍrūb bi 'l-thalj (ماء مضروب بالتلج) water chilled with ice. Al-Rāzī mentions two types of ice, the natural snow *thalj* and the manufactured ice *jamad* (55).

mā' mubarrad bi 'l-hawā' (ماء مبرد بالهواء) water chilled naturally by cool air, usually during the night.

mā' muzammal (ماء زمّل) water chilled in *muzammala*, a glazed earthenware vessel (crock) used in Iraq for keeping water cold in the summer (*Tāj al-Arūs*, s.v. زمّل). It is insulated by wrapping it with coarse cloth (sackcloth, canvas) and filling the space between the cloth and the side of the jar with hay (see *muzammala*, Section 10.1 below).

maṭbūkh (مطبوخ) cooked wine, permissible because it is boiled on fire.

mudām (مدام) one of the names of the intoxicating drink *khamr*. It is called so because it is the only beverage which you can keep on drinking or because it is aged (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. دوم).

munaṣṣaf (منصف) also called *jumhūrī* (جمهوری) cooked wine, boiled down to half its original amount.

murratayn (مرتّین) literally 'the two bitters,' which are:

shih (شيج) wormwood, also known as *ja'da*, see *dādhī* the ingredient above, entry 4.2.

alā' (الاء) rosebay (*Lisān al-'Arabs.v. مرر*). *Alā'* is an evergreen bush similar to myrtle. Only the leaves of this plant are used. They have a bitter, acrid, and astringent taste, and contain a stimulant, a narcotic agent that yields to water or alcohol (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, s.v. الأ; Grieve 2: 675). See the last wine recipe in Chapter 114.

These plants with their narcotic properties and tannin content are added to wine to preserve it and increase its potency.

muthallath (مثالث) non-alcoholic grape wine, boiled down to a third of its original amount.

muzza (مزة) *muzzā'* (مُزّاء) one of the names of wine (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. مزر).²⁸

nabīdh (نبيذ) wine. Varieties of *nabīdh* prepared by boiling the juice down on actual fire are permissible. Varieties allowed to ferment in the heat of the sun are prohibited. According to al-Dīnawarī, the word *nabīdh* did not exist in pre-Islamic Arabic, and hence the claim of some that it is permissible because it is not mentioned in the Qur'ān.²⁹ He also adds that what the prophet and the believers used to drink was called *al-naqī'* (النقيع) which they consumed within three days (21).

nabīdh 'asal (نبيذ عسل) **'asālī** (عسلي) mead, honey wine, sometimes called *nabīdh mādhī* (نبيذ مادي) i.e. made from *mādhī* which is thin and light-colored honey. The word derives from the Sanskrit 'medhu' and 'mada.' Due to its hot properties, it is believed to purify the kidneys and relieve joint pain caused by dense and cold humors (Ibn al-Bayṭār 710).

nabīdh dādhī (نبيذ داذي) strong wine from dates or date syrup (*dūshāb*), fermented with *dādhī* as an additive to make it more intoxicating and prevent it from turning sour. It is believed to generate a great deal of sediments in the blood and does not aid digestion (al-Rāzī 75). See *dādhī* above.

nabīdh al-dibs (نبيذ الدبس) date-syrup wine.

²⁸ This sheds light on the meaning of today's mazza dishes (assortment of appetizers served with alcoholic drinks) in Middle Eastern and Mediterranean regions.

²⁹ *Al-Ashriba wa Dhikr Ikhtilāf al-Nās fihā* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>), 12.

nabīdh laṭīf (نبيذ لطيف) wine thin in consistency.

nabīdh raqīq (نبيذ رقيق) diluted wine, thin and watery in consistency.

nabīdh rayhānī (نبيذ ريحاني) sweet smelling wine served undiluted. Al-Rāzī says it causes headaches. To prevent this, he recommends eating sour and astringent fruits with it as *naql* ‘mazza,’ such as quince (73).

nabīdh al-sha‘īr (نبيذ الشعير) barley wine, also called *jī‘a* (جعة).

nabīdh tamrī (نبيذ تمر) date wine.

nabīdh zabībī mu‘ālaj (نبيذ زبيبى معالج) cooked raisin wine, reduced by boiling it on fire, and hence permissible.

qahwa (قهوة) a variety of dark wine. Al-Rāzī says it agrees with people with hot temperaments. It spoils the appetite for food and sex (74-75). The name has the original Semitic meaning ‘a dark substance.’ See also *bunk*, Section 13 below.

rāḥ (راح) one of the names of wine.

sakanjabīn (سكنجبين) syrup made with vinegar and honey or sugar. According to Ibn Sīnā’s recipe, fine sugar is put in a pot, and is leveled with a spoon. Strong vinegar is gently poured until bubbles are seen on the sugar surface. The pot is cooked on gentle fire until sugar dissolves and the scum removed. Then water is added until the mixture looks thin after which cooking is resumed until it thickens into syrup. He says it is very beneficial (1229). When needed, the syrup is usually diluted with water, and sometimes chilled with ice.

It is valued for its cooling effects. According to the medical opinion of al-Rāzī, it purges chest and lungs, and extinguishes heat of the yellow bile when chilled with ice. It also breaks up phlegm *yuqattī‘* in the stomach and thins it down *ylattif* to facilitate its purging out of the system. It cools down the liver and unblocks obstructions in it. However, it is not good for the stomach because it lowers its natural heat (89).

sawīq (سويق) refreshing and nourishing drink usually made from ground toasted grains, nuts, sugar, and water. Men are urged not to let their wives drink *sawīq*, and if they do, they need to keep an eye on them because *sawīq* makes women gain weight and become beautiful and lusty (Dīnawarī, ‘*Uyūn al-Akḥbār* 349).

shamsī (شمسي) ***mushammas*** (مشمس) sun-fermented wine, prohibited because it is intoxicating. See *khamr zabīb shamsī* above.

sharāb (شراب) pl. *ashriba* (أشربة) beverage in general. It designates wine and non-alcoholic drinks. Al-Warrāq gives recipes of seasoned milk and yogurt drinks. He also gives recipes for fresh fruit juices, and *rubb* (fruit juices boiled down to syrups), used diluted as needed. Herbs and spices are added to some of them for regenerative and medicinal purposes. Al-Rāzī says sweet drinks made from syrups are very popular (92).³⁰

sharāb ‘aṭir (شراب عطر) fermented or unfermented sweet aromatic drink.

sharāb mu‘assal (شراب معسل) fermented or unfermented drink sweetened with honey.

sharāb muskir (شراب مسكر) intoxicating wine.

sharāb ṣirf (شراب صرف) undiluted wine.

sharāb al-sukkar (شراب السكر) fermented or unfermented drink sweetened with sugar.

ṭabīkh (طبخ) ***maṭbūkh*** (مطبوخ) a variety of permissible cooked wine.

thalj (ثلج) snow, manufactured ice is *jamad*.

ṭilā’ (طلاء) *ṭilā’* (طلى) also called *maybakhtaj* (مبيختج) wine of grape juice cooked down to third of its original amount. Prepared this way, it is a kind of *rubb* ‘concentrated juice,’ used diluted with water. As such, it is permissible. However, we read in *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. *طلى* that some people call *khamr* ‘intoxicating wine’ *ṭilā’* to make it sound like an honest drink and hence permissible. “But wine is wine,” the lexicon asserts.

The name of this drink derives from the practice of smearing the camels (*ṭilā’*) with *qaṭirān* ‘liquid pitch’ (see Section 12.2). The word also means ‘delicious wine.’

zabībī (زبيبي) raisin wine.

³⁰ Today, such drinks are called *sherbet* or *sharbāt*.

2. *Breads (leavened and unleavened), Grains,¹ Pasta, and Pastries*
(sweet and savory)

‘*ajīn* (عجين) dough; *mallaka al-‘ajīn* v. (مَلَّكَ العجين) knead the dough thoroughly and let it ferment perfectly well.

aqrās fatīt (أقراص فتيت) dry and crumbly sweet crackers, also called *aqrās jāffa* (dry cookies). See *fatīt* below.

aqrās al-furn (أقراص الفرن) brick-oven bread, also referred to as *raghīf furnī*, and *khubz al-furn*. See *khubz al-furn* below.

aqrās al-suḥūr (أقراص السحور) pastries eaten at the pre-dawn meal during the month of Ramaḍān. As described in verses, they look like buttery crescents, sprinkled with hulled sesame, which makes them look like a white Turk’s face ridden with pockmarks (al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr* 538).

aruzz (أرز) rice, the commoners call it *ruzz* رز (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. أرز). Another name for rice is *tumman* (تَمَن) widely used in Iraq today. The word occurs in al-Warrāq’s book in a poem by Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī, half brother of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (Chapter 74). It is also mentioned in a note in al-Bīrūnī’s *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana* as an Arabic name for *aruzz* (28).

Rice flour (*daqīq al-aruzz*) is used in making bread. Some of al-Warrāq’s recipes use it to make porridge-like dishes, sweet and savory puddings, and desserts. It is also added as a thickening agent to soups and stews.

Husked white rice (*ruzz abyad maqshūr*) is the variety generally used. Unhusked rice is called *ruzz aḥmar* (رز أحمر) literally, ‘red rice’ (Ibn al-Bayṭār 16; al-Isrā‘īlī 2: 78). One of al-Warrāq’s beer recipes (*fuqqā*) calls for *aruzz jāfarī* (أرز جعفري) perhaps called so because it is a yellowish variety of rice.² It may be a variety of river rice, since *jāfar* also means ‘river’ (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. جعفر). In the second sense, it could be similar to the aromatic rice, nowadays called *timman ‘anbar*, growing in the marshes of southern Iraq.

For making the delicate dessert *fālūdḥaj*, al-Warrāq’s recipe suggests

¹ *Ḥubūb*. In Arabic, the word includes grains and legumes such as beans, mung beans, etc. See legumes in Section 14.2 below.

² Based on Steingass’s interpretation of *jāfarī* as ‘finest kind of gold.’

fine varieties of rice, “the whitest and the best,” such as *ruzz Zabīdī* (رز زبيدي) named after Zabīd, a city in Yemen, and *ruzz Shāmī* (رز شامي) Levantine rice (Chapter 93). In Chapter 91, rice called *aruzz Mutawakkilī* (أرز متوكلي) is used. According to Ibn al-Bayṭār, the best rice varieties are the Egyptian, Persian, and Indian (16).

Rice is held in low esteem because it is less nutritious than other grains. However, physicians swear by its gentle power to control diarrhea, especially its broth. Sugar added to it is believed to facilitate its digestion and increase its nutritional value. Cooking it with milk and sugar is recommended for increasing semen and helping people gain weight. The properties of rice can be adjusted *yusallah* to suit the eater’s condition: cooking it with sumac helps control bowel movements, whereas cooking it with yogurt *rā’ib* helps extinguish heat and alleviate thirst (al-Rāzī 32).

barāzīdhaj (برازينج) *barāzīj* (برازج) fine white leavened bread, relatively thicker than *ruqāq* (thin sheets of bread). They may or may not be sweet and are usually leavened with borax *būraq*. According to verses al-Warrāq gives, they are round and so white they look like crystal trays (Chapter 13).

basandūd (بسنود) round sandwich cookies.³ This seems to have been the traditional shape for the cookies because they are described the same way in verses composed by an anonymous poet.⁴ In medieval sources, they are often mentioned in conjunction with *khushkanānāj* because both of them use the same dough (entry below).

būraq (بورق) borax *būraq al-khubz* (بورق الخبز) also called *būrak* (بُورك).⁵ It is used as a leavening agent, and as any other leaven, it is believed to make the bread easier to digest. Ibn al-Bayṭār says bakers dissolve it in water and brush the bread with it before entering it into the oven to give it a nice gloss (228, 125). See Section 12.3, for more information on *būraq*.

³ Recipe in Ibn al-‘Adīm’s thirteenth-century *Al-Wuṣṣā ila ‘l-Ḥabīb* (2: 656).

⁴ al-Azdī, *Ḡharā’ib al-Tanbīhāt* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 33.

⁵ See, for instance, *Lisān al-‘Arab* and *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. برك. Interestingly Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḡhazālī (d. 1111), gives names of some pasta and pastry dishes that the Turks cook, among them is *būrak* made with meat (*Sīr al-‘Ālamayn* 8). To my knowledge, this is the earliest mention of this now familiar Middle-Eastern pastry, most probably called so because the leavening borax was used in making its dough.

burr (بر) wheat. See *hinta* below.

darmak (درمك) the equivalent of *samīdh* (fine bran-free flour) in the western Islamic region.⁶

daqīq (دقيق) *diqāq* (دقاق) general names for flour. Wheat flour (*daqīq al-hinta*) is deemed the most suitable grain for human consumption. Other kinds of flour are also used such as barley flour (*daqīq al-Ṣṣha'ir*) and rice flour (*daqīq al-Saruzz*).

daqīq huwwārā (دقيق حواری) fine bran-free wheat flour. See *huwwārā* below.

daqīq samīdh (دقيق سميد) fine bran-free flour high in starch content. See *samīdh* below.

dhura (ذرة), sorghum, the best grains are the white and heavy ones. Due to its cold and dry properties it is recommended for treating diarrhea (Ibn al-Bayṭār 303). It is ground and made into bread, consumed mostly by the poor. It is also used in Africa to make wine called *sukurruka*.

dukhn (دخن) millet. See *jāwars* below.

farīk (فريك) wheat harvested when it is still green then toasted in stone pans to get rid of moisture in the grains. To get rid of hull, it is rubbed between the fingers *yufrak*, and hence the name *farīk*. It is stored whole or cracked, as described in al-Tujībī's thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook *Fidālat al-Khiwān* (93). According to *Tāj al-Arūs*, s.v. **برغل** *farīk* is a Levantine word (*Shāmiyya*) for *burghul* 'bulgur' (6874).⁷

fatīt (فتيت) *aqrās fatīt* (اقراص فتيت) also called *aqrās jāffa* (اقراص جافة) dry and crumbly sweet crackers. In al-Warrāq's recipe in Chapter 13, a cutter is used to make them evenly shaped. They are pricked with feather tips, sprinkled with hulled sesame, and baked in the *tannūr*. According to al-Rāzī, they are nutritious but gaseous. To circumvent this, seeds of sesame, cumin, and ajowan are added to them along with a generous amount of *būraq* 'borax' (30). They also need to be

⁶ *Samīdh*, in the western Islamic region, describes coarse flour of hard wheat, which is high in gluten. It is similar to today's semolina. This is based on bread recipes in al-Tujībī's thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook *Fidālat al-Khiwān* (36–37).

⁷ *Burghul*, as we know it today, is made from grains that are fully-grown and dry.

allowed to ferment very well. They are at their best when dried in shaded places (Ibn Sīnā 387).

furniyya (فَرْنِيَّة) yeast cakes, also called *zalābiya ḡhayr muṣhabbaka* ‘unlatticed fritters,’ *zalābiya furniyya*, *zalaqanbaʿ*, and *ṣafanj* ‘sponge.’ The cakes are thick, round, porous, and domed in the middle. In this respect, they look like bread baked in the commercial brick oven *khubz al-furn*. This also explains why such cakes and pastries are called *furniyyāt* even though they are baked in the *tannūr*. To serve, the cake is pricked or sliced to wedges, moistened with milk and clarified butter, and sprinkled with sugar and a small amount of black pepper to aid digestion (Chapter 100).

furrānī (فُرَّانِي) brick oven bread. See *khubz al-furn* (خبز الفرن) below.

ḥalāqīm (حَلَاقِيم) literally, ‘windpipes,’ decorative filled small cookies shaped into tubes using reeds. They are called *qanānīt* (tubes) in the anonymous thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook *Anwāʾ al-Ṣaydala* (217). In Arabic, *qanāt* may mean a ‘cane stick’ and ‘canal.’ The word cane, in all its modern and medieval variants, goes back to the Akkadian *qanu* ‘cane’ (*American Heritage Dictionary*). These pastries might well be the prototype of the Italian cannoli. The cookies are also known as *aṣābīʿ Ṣaynab* (أَصَابِعُ زَيْنَب) often compared to decorative painted fingers.⁸

harīs (هَرِيس) crushed grains before cooking them. When cooked they become *harīsa* (هَرِيسَة).

ḥarf (حَرْف) (of bread) its crust.

ḥinṭa (حِنْطَة) wheat. The best grains are described as large, heavy, and not too dense *mulazzaza* (as with red wheat *ḥinṭa ḥamrāʾ*) or too brittle *sakhīfa* (as with white wheat *ḥinṭa bayḍāʾ*). As for black wheat *ḥinṭa sawdāʾ*, it is poor in nutrition (Ibn Jazla 78r–v). In properties, wheat is rated hot and moderately moist. Washing it before using it is believed to make it less gaseous (Ibn Sīnā 275).

Red wheat is the most nutritious of all kinds, the grains are described as heavy, sweet, and high in gluten ‘*alka*, and is said to be suitable for making *samīdh* (fine bran free flour, entry below). Bread made with it is nutritious but needs a good amount of salt and borax or yeast to facilitate its digestion. Physical activities after eating it will prevent it from forming blockages and stones in the body.

⁸ al-Ibshīhī, *Al-Mustaṭraf fī kullī Fannin Mustaḍraf* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 181.

White wheat (*ḥinṭa bayḍāʾ*) is low in gluten, and thereby suitable for making *daqīq al-khuṣṣh-kār* (whole-wheat flour high in bran). It is less nourishing than red wheat. However, it goes through the digestive system faster because it is less glutinous (al-Isrāʾīlī 2: 2–4; al-Rāzī 27). It is the wheat of choice for making *sawīq* drink (see Chapter 13). Yellow wheat (*ḥinṭa ṣafrāʾ*) is next best.

ḥinṭa ‘atīqa (حنطة عتيقة) old crop of wheat deemed poor in nutrition.

ḥinṭa bayḍāʾ (حنطة بيضاء) white wheat low in gluten, see *ḥinṭa* above.

ḥinṭa ḥadītha (حنطة حديثة) newly cropped wheat. Fresh bread made with it is fattening (in a positive sense) (Ibn Sīnā 387).

ḥinṭa ḥamrāʾ (حنطة حمراء) red wheat high in gluten, see *ḥinṭa* above.

ḥinṭa māzza (حنطة مازة) low gluten wheat that is hard to knead (*Taj al-Arus*, s.v. مزز).

ḥinṭa razīna (حنطة رزينة) heavy wheat grains, a desirable quality in the grain.

ḥinṭa ṣafrāʾ (حنطة صفراء) yellow wheat with medium gluten content, see *ḥinṭa* above.

ḥinṭa sakhīfa (حنطة سخيفة) lightweight and brittle wheat grains. This is an undesirable quality in the grain because it makes it a poor source of nutrition.

ḥuwwārā (حواري) fine bran-free wheat flour made from red wheat. In comparison with *samīḍh*, it is higher in gluten and lower in starch content, which makes it more suitable for making breads chewy in texture.

irnīn (إرنين) stuffed cookies. See *raghūnīn* below.

ītriya (إطرية) dried thin strings of noodles made with stiff unfermented dough.⁹ Ibn Sīnā compares it to *siyūr* ‘strings’ (233). Al-Warrāq’s references to it indicate it is a dried variety measured by handfuls (Chapter 72). Besides, al-Tujībī’s comment that he is giving a recipe for making *ītriya* “when it is not available,” clearly shows that it was

⁹ According to *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. طرا, this is the correct pronunciation of the word. It is a collective noun, which possibly derives from إطروري v. ‘puff.’

dry and more commonly purchased from the market. According to his recipe, stiff dough is made with flour, water, and salt; and flattened thinly on a board. [The cut strips] are twisted between the hands as thinly as possible and left in the sun to dry (*Fidālat al-Khiwān* 91).¹⁰ The fresh variety is called *rishta* (رشته).¹¹

The medical opinion of noodles is that they are hard-to-digest because they are made with unfermented dough. Nonetheless, they are quite nutritious once they finally digest (Ibn Sīnā 233). See also *lakhsha* (لخشة) and *tuṭmāj* (تطماج) below.

jarda (جردق) round, thick, and coarse bread, usually associated with the commoners, unlike the refined *ruqāq* ‘thin bread,’ which is synonymous with fine living (al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bukhālā*’ 292).

jarq (جرق) a kind of bread shaped into rings, mentioned in al-Tha‘ālībī’s *Fīqh al-Lughā* (69). The name is the Arabized form of *jarg* (circle, ring, meaning from Steingass),¹² probably one of the etymological ancestors of today’s Middle Eastern *churek* (round sweet bread).

jashīsha (جشيشة) and **jarīsh** (جريش) coarsely ground grains.

jāwars (جاورس) *jāwarsh* (جاورش) *dukhṇ* (دخن) millet, made into bread and incorporated into soups that are not fit for high cuisine. It is described as having little nutritional value, slow to digest, and constipating (Ibn Sīnā 251; Ibn al-Bayṭār 158).

jazmāzaj (جزمازج) dry and thin bread baked with tamarisk seeds. See *ruqāq kazmāzaj* below.

ka‘k (كعك) dry cookies shaped into rings, similar to *fatīt* (entry above).¹³ They may be made with or without sugar. We learn from *Tāj al-‘Arūs*

¹⁰ Al-Tujībī mentions other kinds of pasta used in the western region of the Islamic world such as *fiddawsh* (similar to risotto) described as small as wheat grains, wider in the middle with tapering pointed ends. The other kind is *muḥammaṣ*, i.e. rounded like *ḥimmaṣ* ‘chickpeas,’ made as small as a black pepper corns (90–91). For history of pasta, see Wright, 618–25.

¹¹ A Persian loan word, which means ‘strings.’

¹² The Afghan *jarga* (tribal assembly, men gathering in a circle and discussing things) derives from this word.

¹³ In medieval sources the name is said to be the Arabized form of the Persian *kāk* (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. كعك). However, we now know that the name can be traced back to the ancient Mesopotamian languages. Cake, for instance, was called ‘kuku.’ See Henri Limet, “The Cuisine of Ancient Sumer,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 50. 3 (1987): 133.

that *al-ka'k* (الكعكي) is the baker who specializes in making them; that there is a famous *ka'k* market in Egypt called *sūq al-ka'kiyyīn*; that the word is used specifically to designate the ring-shaped varieties; that the best was brought from al-Shām (Levant); and that people exchange them as gifts.

Ibn al-Bayṭār mentions a variety of *ka'k* called *baqsamāt* (بقسماط) twice baked hard cookies similar to today's biscotti. He also calls it *khubz Rūmī* (خبز رومي) Byzantine bread. He says commoners in the western region of the Islamic world call it *basmāt* (بسماط) (229). A recipe for making it, called *baqsamāt bi sukkar* (بقسماط بسكر) is available in Ibn al-'Adīm's thirteenth-century cookbook *al-Wuṣṣa ilā 'l-Ḥabīb* (2: 661). Both *ka'k* and *baqsamāt* are still made in the modern Arab world.

kalījā (كليجا) round cookies. To my knowledge, the earliest reference in Arabic medieval sources to *kalījā* (كليجا) cookies occurs in Ibn al-'Adīm's thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣa ila 'l-Ḥabīb*. In one of his recipes, the *kalījā* round shape is given as a substitute for the ring shape of *ka'k* (2: 658). In another recipe the cookie dough is flattened and cut out into rounds with *kalījā* mold قالب الكليجا (2: 625). The name also occurs in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kānz al-Fawā'id* where the cookie dough is cut out into discs with a round cutter (مقطع مدور) said to be similar to that of *kalījā* (105). In the fourteenth-century travel book of Ibn Baṭūṭa, he mentions that in *Khawārizm* he is offered *kalījā*, which are pastries kneaded with clarified butter خبز معجون بالسمن (178). See *khushkanānāj* and *raghūnīn* below.

kazmāzaj (كزمازج) dry and thin bread baked with tamarisk seeds. See *ruqāq kazmāzaj* below.

khamūr (خمير) *khumra* (خمرة) fresh yeast, usually a piece of fully fermented dough saved from a previous batch. Medieval bakers also used *būraq* 'borax' as a leavening agent. Adding generous amounts of yeast and borax is recommended in making bread because fully fermented bread is believed to be easier to digest (Ibn al-Bayṭār 228).

khubz (خبز) generic name for bread, which gives us a clue as to how all breads were first shaped—flat (the verb *khabaza* means 'to flatten'). A single round of bread is called *khubza* (خبزة), *raghīf khubz* (رغيف) or just *raghīf*, and *qurṣat khubz* (قرصة خبز) or just *qurṣa*.

Bread is an essential food item in the medieval meal. Before the main dishes, it is offered with *idām* ‘appetizers,’ during the meal as a scoop, and sopped in broth in the popular *thanīd* dishes. It is described as the best ornament on the table of a hospitable man (al-Tha‘ālībī, *Al-Tamthīl wa ’l-Muhādara* 61).

Here are some remarks on qualities of different kinds of bread:

1. Good bread is made of good quality refined flour, free of impurities such as husk and bran, with enough salt in it to help break down its density. Refined bread is more nutritious than other kinds, but it is slow to digest and constipating. Bread high in bran goes through the digestive system fast, it is laxative, and lacking in nutritive value. The more refined the flour is, the more yeast, salt, and time it needs to ferment (Ibn Sīnā 387).

2. Well-fermented bread results in good bread with airy and light texture, which facilitates its digestion. Here is al-Isrā‘īlī’s recommended method: knead the dough very well, let it rise, knead it well again, divide it into portions, and wait until they rise before baking them. He also prefers the dough to be thin in consistency so that it develops more bubbles when it bakes (2: 16). This explains why physicians prefer *khubz samīn* (خبز سمین) ‘fat’ well-risen, high, and porous bread to *khubz raqīq* (خبز رقيق) thin dense bread lacking in bubbles.

3. The best is *tannūr* bread and next is the brick-oven *furrāmī* bread. *Tannūr* is better for bread because it allows for even baking on medium heat. Thus, it will be well done on both sides and the inside, too. By comparison, brick-oven *furrāmī* bread develops a thick and hard crust, an undesirable feature in the bread, and the inside stays doughy (al-Isrā‘īlī 2: 32).

4. Bread should be allowed to cool down before eating it because hot bread is dense and doughy, and hence indigestible. On the other hand, stale dry bread is constipating.

5. The rest of the varieties of bread that have little or no yeast are bad such as *khubz al-malla* (bread baked in ashes, see below). Though nutritious, it generates viscous and dense humors that cause blockages. Therefore, it is only good for physically active people. *Khubz faṭīr* (unleavened bread) and *khubz al-qaṭā’if* (crepes, entry below) generate dense nutrition that is constipating. *Al-fatūt* (crumbly cookies, entry above) are slow to digest. The recommendation is to make them with almond oil *duhn al-lawz*. Bread made with milk is highly nourishing but slow to go through the digestive system and generates obstructions in the body.

Many kinds of bread were available during the medieval times. For some types we are lucky to have recipes, but others we can only guess as to what they were. Writing in the thirteenth-century from Andalusia, the anonymous writer of *Anwāʾ al-Ṣayadala* praises a bread-related custom of Caliphs of the eastern Islamic region. They order their bakers to make different kinds of bread, he says, and display them nicely on a large tray that bakers call *ṭabaq al-ʿarḍ* (طبق العرض) display tray. The Caliphs would choose and eat to their heart's desire. Of breads baked in the *tannūr* and *furn*, he mentions familiar kinds such as *ruqāq* and *ḵhubz al-māʾ*, and other unfamiliar ones such as *ḵhubz mushawwak* and *ḵhubz madlūʿ* (52).

ḵhubz al-abāzīr (خبز الابازير) dry and brittle cookies similar to crackers. The dough is mixed with seeds such as sesame. So fragile and delicate are they that a gentle singing boy is compared to them (al-Tawḥīdī *Al-Risāla al-Baghḍādiyya* 335).

ḵhubz al-aruzz (خبز الأرز) rice flour bread, believed to be harder to digest than wheat bread. Therefore, people eat it with savory rich dishes or with milk or garlic to diffuse gases it generates, and facilitate its purging out of the system (al-Rāzī 32).

ḵhubz Aṣbahānī (خبز أصبهاني) bread called after Aṣbahān, a region in Persia. It is mentioned in al-Dīnawarī's *ʿUyūn al-Aḵḥbār*, where it is referred to as *jardaḡ* (355). This suggests that the bread is round and thick. Besides, an anecdote speaks favorably of *jarādiq Aṣbahāniyya* (Ibn Ḥamdūn 1107).

ḵhubz faṭīr (خبز فطير) unleavened bread, regarded as dense, hard to digest, and constipating (Ibn Sīnā 387).

ḵhubz al-furn (خبز الفرن) also called *furrānī* (فرّاني) bread baked in commercial brick ovens. It is round, thick, and crusty bread that develops a dome while baking. This explains why it is nicknamed *qibbat al-Islām* 'dome of Islam' (Ibn Ḥamdūn 1108). It is inferior to *ḵhubz al-tannūr* because its pith remains doughy and under-baked.

ḵhubz al-ḥuwwārā (خبز الحواري) bread made with fine bran-free flour, described as nourishing bread but slow to digest because it has no bran in it (Ibn al-Bayṭār 229).

ḵhubz al-ḵhushkār (خبز الخشكار) whole-wheat bread made with *daqīq ḥinṭī* 'whole wheat flour' from which nothing is removed (al-Isrāʾīlī 2: 20–1) It is said to go through the digestive system fast due to its high bran content.

khubz labiq (خبز لبق) soft and malleable thin bread, which weighs about 2 ounces (Chapter 13).

khubz al-lawzīnaj (خبز اللوزينج) extremely thin sheets of starch-bread used in making *lawzīnaj* (almond confection, Section 5 below), sometimes referred to as *awrāq* ‘sheets of paper.’ It is made of dissolved wheat starch whipped with egg white, and baked on *ṭābaq* (large and flat pan). The poured batter spreads on the pan resulting in thin sheets of bread, which are kept covered to stay malleable (Chapters 13, 99).

khubz al-māʾ (خبز الماء) literally, ‘water bread,’ called so because a generous amount of water is used in making its soft dough; also called *khubz Nabatī* (خبز نباتي) Nabatean bread, indigenous to Iraq (Chapter 13). It is plain leavened *tannūr* bread light and porous with lots of bubbles, valued as good qualities in bread because they make it moderate in properties and digestible (al-Isrāʾīlī 2: 29). We learn from a remark in the Istanbul manuscript that it is thicker around the edges (fol. 105v).¹⁴

khubz al-maʾārīj (خبز المعاريج) a variety of *khushkanānaj* stuffed cookies (entry below), bent and shaped like crescents.

khubz maghmūm (خبز مغموم) literally, ‘covered bread.’ As the name suggests, it may be bread covered with a meat mix and then baked, as described in a recipe Ibn al-ʿAdīm gives in his thirteenth-century *Al-Wuṣṣa ilā ʾl-Ḥabīb*: Flattened bread dough is covered with chopped meat then baked in *furn* ‘brick oven.’ The bread is similar to what nowadays is called *laḥm bi ʾajīn* ‘meat with dough’ (2: 556).

khubz maghsūl (خبز مغسول) literally, ‘washed bread,’ used mostly as food for the sick because it is light and easy to digest. Ibn Sīnā describes how to make it: pith is removed from stale bread and soaked in hot water. Next, the water is drained and discarded, and replaced with hot water. The bread is kept in it until it puffs (387). Ibn al-Bayṭār thinks it has no nutritious value (227).

khubz madlūʾ (خبز مضلوع) literally, ‘ribbed bread.’ The rib-look is probably made by pressing lengthwise along the bread with the edge of the palm at several places before baking it, as is done today with certain types of bread.

¹⁴ The same bread is baked in Iraq today, also called water bread *khubuz may*.

ḵhubz malla (خبز ملة) also called *malīl* (مليل) and *mamlūl* (مملول) simple bread of humble origin. It is baked in *malla* (ملة) a pit in which bread is baked in hot ashes and stones. When done, the bread is taken out, struck with a stick to shake off remaining sand and ashes. Because of this, the bread is sometimes called *ḵhubz maḍrūb* (خبز مضروب) and *ḵhubz muḍrib* (خبز مضرب) literally, 'beaten bread' (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ضرب). It is mostly baked by Bedouins and travelers. In al-Nābulṣī's book on interpreting dreams this bread is a premonition of hard times to come, financially, because it is the bread to eat only when pressed by necessity.¹⁵

ḵhubz mardūf (خبز مردوف) probably bread made up of piled layers, as the name suggests.

ḵhubz ma'rūk (خبز معروك) bread made from dough that has been kneaded vigorously by pressing and rubbing it. The name derives from *ʿarraka* (press and rub, like massaging).¹⁶ This is probably more effectively done by the heels of the hands because the dough is supposed to be stiff and elastic and resists stretching. Working the dough in this way will result in chewy bread, a sought after quality. Al-Tawḥīdī, for instance, singing praises of Baghdadadi bread says that when kneaded it is as elastic as gum, and when eaten it squeaks between the molars. It is so chewy that it exhausts the jaws (*Al-Risāla al-Baghḍādiyya* 151–52). Although al-Warrāq's recipe in Chapter 13 does not specify the kind of flour used, it is quite likely that high-gluten flour is used such as *ḥuwwārā*.

It is deemed easier to digest than other types of bread because it is kneaded well and fully fermented. For this reason, it is the bread of choice when preparing food for the sick. It is added to their stews, for instance, to thicken and enrich the broth (Chapter 105). Due to work involved in making it and desirability of its quality, it is sold at a higher price than *ḵhubz al-mā*' (water bread, entry above).¹⁷

ḵhubz māssa (خبز ماسة) *ḵhubz māzza* (خبز مازة) somewhat thin bread made with flour of *ḥiṇṭa māzza* (حنطة مازة) which is fine low-gluten wheat flour, described as not easy to knead (*Tāj al-ʿAnūs*, s.v. مزر).

¹⁵ *Taʿfīr al-Anām fī Taʿfīr al-Aḥlām* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 101.

¹⁶ For regular kneading, the verb used is *ʿajana*.

¹⁷ Judging from a reference to it by Ibn Ṭūlūn, where he mentions the prices of both. See *Mufaḥḥakat al-Ḵhillān fī Hawādith al-Ẓamān* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 214.

khubz mukarraj (خبز مكرّج) rotted bread used for making fermented condiments such as *murrī* and *kawāmikh* (Chapter 40).

khubz murayyash (خبز مريش) literally, ‘feathered bread.’ It is pricked at many places with *minsagha* (منسغة a bundle of bird’s tail feathers) before baking it, which results in decorative designs, similar to some of today’s Central Asian breads.

khubz muṣa‘nab (خبز مصعنب) round domed bread baked in *furn* ‘brick oven.’

khubz mushattab (خبز مشطب) slashed bread, as the name suggests.

khubz mushawwak (خبز مشوك) bread pricked with *shawka* (thorns). *Lisān al-‘Arab* describes how to make *shawka*: a tablet of mud is made in which date palm thorns *sulā’* are stuck then left to dry. It is similar to the gadget used nowadays in making prickly patterns on some of Central Asian breads.

khubz al-qanānī (خبز القناني) bread shaped like a bottle (Chapter 13).

khubz al-qatā’if (خبز القطائف) thin crepes used in making *qatā’if* pastries (Section 5 below).

khubz rikābī (خبز ركابي) bread kneaded with *zayt rikābī*, fine quality olive oil (see Section 7 below).

khubz Rūmī (خبز رومي) literally, ‘Byzantine bread,’ a variety of twice baked cookies (biscotti). Ibn al-Bayṭār calls it *baqsamāt* (بقسمات) and describes it as a variety of dry cookies *ka‘k* (229), both familiar names in the Arab world today.

khubz ruqāq (خبز رقاق) flat and thin bread made in different sizes, suggestive of luxurious urban life (see *ruqāq* below).

khubz samīdh (خبز سميد) fine white bread made with *samīdh* flour, high in starch and low in gluten. It is nicknamed *abū al-badr* (father of the full moon) due to its whiteness (Ibn Ḥamdūn 1108). Physicians recommend it as a nourishing food. However, they say it is slow to digest because low in bran (Ibn al-Bayṭār 228).

khubz sha‘īr (خبز شعير) barley bread usually associated with low life and austerity. Ibn al-Bayṭār says it is bloating and cold and dry properties. Therefore, it needs to be tempered with hot foods such as honey, dates, and fat of sheep’s tail *alya* (228).

khubz tābaq (خبز طابق) unleavened thin sheets of bread baked on *tābaq* 'large flat pan.'

khubz tābbūnī (خبز طابوني) bread baked in *tābbūn*, which is a small sunken *tannūr*.

khubz ṭulma (خبز ظلمة) also called *khubz al-malla*, flat bread baked in *al-malla*, a pit with heated sand and stones. See *khubz al-malla* above.

khubz uqaybī (خبز عقيبي) probably the name derives from *al-ʿuqba*, what the diners eat of sweet foods after the meal. In this case, it might be a kind of sweet pastry.

khushkanānaj (خشكانانج) *khushkanānak* (خشكانانك) *khushkanān* (خشكانان) literally, 'dry bread.' They are the favorite dry cookies of the medieval Islamic world, shaped differently, some filled and some not. The most traditional ones are the *muʿarraj* (bent), i.e. formed into crescents *ahilla* (Chapter 101). The perfect *khushkanānaj* cookie is described as having a thick waist and thin curved tips. It is golden brown and marvelously sweet smelling. Its crust is so thin that it almost reveals the filling within (Ibn Ḥamdūn 1103). *Khushkanānaj* cookies are especially baked for religious feasts and exchanged as gifts among relatives and friends (al-Maqrīzī 757). Comparing the cookie to the crescent that heralds the end of Ramḍān is a common poetic metaphor.¹⁸ Some filled cookies are made round using a concave wooden mold carved with geometric figures (Chapter 103).¹⁹ An unfilled variety called *khushkanānaj gharīb* (Chapter 101) is similar to what nowadays is called *shakarlama* in Iraq and *ghurayyiba* in some Arab countries. When cut into strips, probably unfilled, they are called *khushkanānaj mushabbar* or *musayyer*.²⁰ These dry cookies along with *kaʿk* (entry above) are important components in the provisions of pilgrims.²¹

Today, they are called *klaycha* (كليجة), the most traditional pastries in Iraq. See also, *katījā* above and *raghūnīn* below.

khushkār (خشكار) *daqīq al-khushkār* (دقيق الخشكار) whole-wheat flour.

¹⁸ See, for instance, al-Ṣafadī *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa Aʿwān al-Naṣr* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 823.

¹⁹ More commonly known as *raghūnīn*. They may be filled with a mix of dates, sesame seeds and rose water, as in al-Baghdādī's thirteenth-century cookbook (Arberry 212).

²⁰ Mentioned in al-Masʿūdī 571; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī *Al-Baṣāʾir* 162

²¹ As we learn from verses cited in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī *Al-Imtāʾ wa ʾl-Muʾanasa* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 150.

kishk (كشك) fermented dough of bulgur, soured with yogurt, shaped into discs, and dried. These discs are sometimes referred to as *ru'ūs al-kishk* (*kishk* heads), pulverized when needed (Chapter 40).

lakhsha (لخشة) literally, 'the slippery,' a variety of fresh pasta made from unfermented stiff dough, rolled out into thin sheets, cut into triangles, and boiled in broth (Chapter 81).

lubb (لُبّ) **lubāb** (لَبَاب) the heart or kernel of seeds, nuts, and vegetables.

lubāb al-khubz (لَبَاب الخبز) bread pith.

lubāb al-khubz al-madqūq (لَبَاب الخبز المدقوق) pounded dried breadcrumbs.

lubāb al-qamḥ (لَبَاب القمح) starch extracted from wheat. See *nashā* below.

minsagha (منسغة) a bundle of bird's tail feathers used to make prickly patterns on the bread (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. نَسِغ).

mujabbana (مجبّنة) cheese pie, some are filled with cheese and fried and others baked in the oven (Istanbul MS, fols. 233v–36r); also called *mukhabbaza*.

mukhabbaza (مخبّزة) cheese pie (see above).

mushannaq (مشتّق) bread dough divided into portions to get it ready for shaping.

muwarraq (مورّق) layered bread similar to puff pastry. Bread dough is rolled out, slathered with fat, and folded. The procedure is repeated twice (Istanbul MS, fols. 236v–37r).

nashā (نشا) *nashāstaj* (نشاستج) *nashāstak* (نشاستك) starch, usually stored as dry and solid lumps and dissolved in liquid when needed. In the recipes, there is always a precautionary note to taste it lest it should be sour.

nashā qalb (نشا قلب) starch extracted from hearts of seeds and grains, but mostly from wheat grains, called *lubāb al-qamḥ* (لَبَاب القمح), which Ibn al-Bayṭār rates as the best of starches. He also describes how to extract it:

Coarsely ground good quality wheat grains are used. They are washed and soaked in water overnight after removing their husk. In the morning, the starchy residue in the bottom and sides of the container is dislodged to let it dissolve in the liquid. More water is poured into

the container, and the grains are stirred and strained in a fine sieve. The same procedure is repeated with the strained grains to get all the starch out of them. When the liquid settles, the clear water is poured off slowly leaving behind starch that has settled in the bottom of the container (713). The method is, more or less, similar to a recipe in the Istanbul manuscript (fols. 166r-v)

Starch extracted this way is used immediately as a liquid suspension. Ibn al-Bayṭār adds an important step to be followed when starch is made for storage: the extracted starch has to be spread on new tiles to dry in the sun lest it should get sour (713). When used in dried form, the recipes call for pounding it in a mortar, tasting it for sourness, and dissolving it in liquid.

nukhāla (نخالة) bran.

qishr al-ḥinṭa (قشر الحنطة) husk of wheat grains.

qishr al-khubz (قشر الخبز) bread crust.

raghūnīn (رغونين) round filled cookies, a variety of *khushhkanāna* and *kalījā* (cf. today's *klaycha*) made by using a concave wooden mold carved with geometric shapes (Chapter 103). These cookies are named *irnīn* (إرنين) in two thirteenth century cookbooks, al-Baḡhdādī's *Kitāb al-Tabīkh* (Arberry 212),²² and Ibn al-'Adīm's *Al-Wuṣṣa ilā 'l-Ḥabīb* (2: 651). To add to this confusion in names, the editor of al-Baḡhdādī's book, al-Chalabī, told Arberry that the name should be *bāḍīn* (باضين), but gives no explanation (212, n. 4). Neither *irnīn* nor *bāḍīn* appears in the medieval lexicons, but making *irnīn* is briefly described in few other sources besides the two cookbooks mentioned above.²³

It is not far fetched to conjecture that these cookies have their roots in the ancient Mesopotamian region. 'Irnini' in Sumerian is 'sweet-smelling lady.' It is also one of the names of the famous Mesopotamian goddess, Innana, also called Ishtar, daughter of the moon god and fertility. Moon-shaped cookies, called 'qullupu,' were made for her during religious festivals. Wheat flour and sesame oil were mixed into

²² Besides filling the cookies with the familiar nut mix, al-Baḡhdādī suggests dates kneaded with sesame seeds and rose water. It is a traditional cookie filling in Iraq throughout the ages due to the abundance of date-palms in the region.

²³ In sources still in manuscript form such as *Nihāyat al-Rutba fī Talab al-Ḥisba*, and *Rawḍat al-ʿItir* by al-Ṣharwānī (cited by Mahjūb and *Khaṭīb* 1:220).

dough and filled with raisins or dates and baked in the *tannūr*.²⁴ The name of the cookies, ‘qullupu,’ suggests their moon-like shape.²⁵ In medieval times the round cookies were called *kalījā* (entry above). The word and the pastry survived in many modern cultures. In India, *kulcha* is round bread; in Eastern Europe, *kulich* is the round and tall yeast cake made for Easter; in Italy, it is *colomba*. In Persian, *kolompeh* and *kloocheh*, and in Iraq it is *klaycha* made to celebrate the religious feasts.²⁶ See also *khushhkanānaj* and *kalījā* above.

rishtā (رشتا) fresh noodles made with unleavened dough, cut into thin strips, and cooked (see *itriya* above). A recipe for making the noodles is given in al-Baghdādī’s thirteenth-century cookbook, according to which they are cut into thin 4-finger long strips (Arberry 45).

ruqāq (رقاق) sing. *ruqāqa* (رقاقة) *muwarraqa* (مورقة) very thin sheets of bread, synonymous with luxurious fine living. In an anecdote on the experience of a Bedouin in the urban city of Aleppo, the Bedouin describes how within the course of a wedding meal he attended, he and the other diners were handed white pieces of cloth for which one can see neither woof nor warp. He wanted to make a shirt of the ‘fabric.’ As he was about to ask some of the guests to give him their share of it, he saw that they started tearing pieces from it quite easily. To his surprise it turned out to be a kind of bread, the likes of which he had never seen (al-Dīnawarī, ‘*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*’ 358).

Ruqāq labiq (رقاق لبق) is the soft and malleable variety and *ruqāq kazmāzaj* (entry below) is dry. *Ruqāq muraqqaq* (رقاق مرقق) are large sheets of thin bread. *Ruqāq* is sometimes referred to as *sabā’ik* (سبانك) i.e. ‘thin sheets of gold or silver’ (Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi 3). Besides eating the bread, it is used as part of the dish presentation. The blackened *narjisiyya* (egg dish) pan is carried to the table skirted with a large *ruqāqa* (Chapter 73). It is also used to cover the serving bowls instead of a piece of cloth *mindīl*. The small *ruqāq* is made the size of the palm (*kaff*) and even smaller. Sometimes, *ruqāq* is broken into smaller pieces and fried and served as chips.²⁷

²⁴ Martin Levey, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1959) 49.

²⁵ The Semitic root *kl* and *kly* mean ‘to complete, and *kull* means whole. (*American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Appendix: Semitic Roots)

²⁶ In Steingass’ Dictionary, *kulij* is a large cake, and *kulicha* is “a disc or the body of the sun or the moon,” and “a small buttery cake.”

²⁷ We know this from an anecdote in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Baṣā’ir wa l-Dhakhā’ir* 162. See also last recipe in al-Warrāq’s Chapter 89.

ruqāq kazmāzaj (رفاق كزمازج) dry and thin bread seasoned with *kazmāzaj*,²⁸ seeds of the tamarisk tree, also known as ‘*adhba* (عذبة) and *ḥabb al-athal* (حب الاثل). The bread is fed to thin slave girls and boys to help them gain weight. It is also popular because the seeds have the power to treat bad breath, and add glow and luster to the eater’s complexion.²⁹ Evidently, the bread is served folded (Ibn Ḥamdūn 1100).³⁰

ruzz (رز) rice. See *aruzz* above.

ṣamgh ‘*Arabī* (صمغ عربي) gum Arabic, used dissolved in water to glaze breads and cookies the moment they are taken out of the *tannūr*, as in Chapter 101. See Section 9 below for details on the ingredient.

samīdh (سميد) *samīd* (سميد) the finest variety of white wheat flour, called *darmak* in the western region of the Islamic world. Most of the medieval dictionaries consider *samīdh* a synonym for *huwwārā*. In fact, they are not exactly the same:

Samīdh is the purest and finest flour used, high in starch content *lubāb*, low in gluten, and free of bran *nukhāla*, and hence is mostly used for making delicate pastries such as cookies. *Huwwārā* is also bran-free but lower in starch and higher in gluten, which makes it eligible for baking fine breads (al-Isrāʾīlī 2: 20).

sanbūṣaj (سنبوسج) *sanbūsa* (سنبوسة) fried savory and sweet filled pastries made with thin sheets of bread *ruqāq* (Chapter 36). They are sometimes boiled in broth, as in the last recipe in Chapter 58. Cooked like this, they are reminiscent of the Italian stuffed raviolis and the Middle-Eastern pasta dish *shīshbarak* (شيشبرك). See also Section 6, s.v. *sanbūṣaj*.

sawīq (سويق) toasted and finely crushed grains mixed with sugar, and made into a refreshing drink by adding water or milk (Chapter 13). It is esteemed as a nourishing and refreshing food for travelers. It also makes a handy hurried or early meal (al-Jāhīz, *Al-Bukhālā*’ 180).

²⁸ Other variants on the name: *gazmāzak*, *karmāzaj*, *bazmāzaq*, *jarmāzaj*, *jazmāzaj*.

²⁹ al-Dīnawarī 154. See also Ibn al-Nafīs, *Al-Shāmil fī ʿl-Ṣināʿa al-Ṭibbiyya*, *Al-Adviya wa ʿl-Aghdhīya: Kitāb al-Hamza* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 1: 167. See Section 9 below, s.v. *jazmāzaq*; and Chapter 13.

³⁰ Judging from today’s practices, the thin bread must be folded the moment it comes out of the *tannūr*, and is left to dry in this form for easier storage and to protect it from breaking.

sha'ir (شعير) barley, deemed beneficial to people with hot temperaments because of its dry and cold properties (al-Rāzī 33). Al-Isrā'īlī says it is easier and faster to digest than wheat because it has less gluten and more bran (2: 62–61).

ṭabbūn (طبون) pl. *ṭawābīn* (طوابين) a small *tannūr*-like oven buried in the ground and spread with pebbles. Trash burnt around it and above it is used to heat it. The rounds of bread are spread on the hot pebbles to bake (al-Maqrīṣī 68).

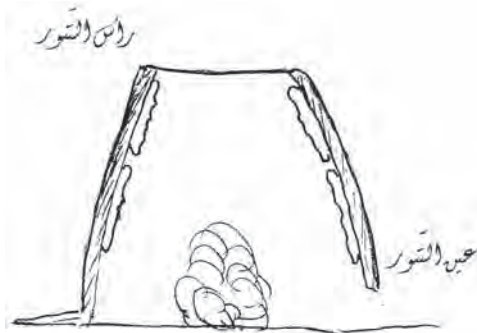
tannūr (تنور) domed clay oven. See Section 10.1 below for details.

ṭulma (طلمة) see *khubz al-ṭulma* above.

tumman (تمن) rice, more commonly known as *aruzz*, see above.

tuṭmāj (ططماج) *tuṭmāj* (ططماج) fresh pasta. A *tuṭmāj* recipe in the Istanbul manuscript calls for stiff unfermented dough to be flattened thin, cut into strips, and spread outside to dry out in the air for half a day. The strips are then cut into 2-finger long pieces, cooked in a small amount of water, and served with fried meat. The instructions are to eat the dish with a spoon *miṭ'aqa* or a fork *shawka* (fol. 168r). This variety seems to have been associated with the Turks.³¹ An anecdote about the Seljukian leader Tughhrul Bek tells that after he ate *lawzīnāj* (almond confection) in the Persian city of Nisābūr, which he has just conquered, he said, “This is delicious *tuṭmāj*, but it is a pity it has no garlic in it.” (al-Nuwayrī 3261).

uṣṭukma (أصطكمة) similar to *khubz al-malla* (entry above).



³¹ See, for instance, al-Ghazālī, *Sirr al-Ālamayn* 8.

3. *Condiments, Sauces, Dips, and Seasonings*

binn (بن) fermented condiment similar to *kāmakh* (entry below) but less salty (Ibn Jazla, fol. 47v). In consistency, it looks like ointment *marham*. Like *kāmakh*, it is made with rotted bread (*būḍaj*), but unlike *kāmakh*, it does not include milk (Chapter 40). It is served as an appetizing condiment in a small bowl, served with bread. Alternatively, it is slathered on bread the way is done today with peanut butter. Tahini *rāhshī* is sometimes given as a substitute, as in the last recipe of Chapter 89.

Al-Rāzī says *binn* heats up the body and induces thirst, especially when eaten with thyme and olive oil. However, having foods with vinegar after eating it will remedy this. It has the power to break up phlegm in the stomach and facilitate purging it. (156)

būḍaj (بودج) also called *qamn* (قمن) rotted bread,¹ the basic ingredient in making fermented condiments—*kawāmikh*, *murrī*, and *binn*. It is made from salty wheat or barley bread wrapped in fig leaves and left buried in ash or hay for 40 days. Then, it is dried and used as needed (Chapter 40).

idām (إدام) pl. *udm* (أدم) appetizers such as condiments, dips, and sauces, eaten with bread before the main meal. The most basic of these are olive oil and vinegar. It is said, “the best *idām* is hunger” (al-Dīnawarī ‘*Uyūn al-Akhbār* 353).

kabar (كبر) capers, also called *faqqār* (فقار) and *aṣīf* (أصف).² To serve caper buds that have been preserved in brine or just salt, they are usually rinsed and consumed with bread as an appetizing condiment (إدام). To allay its hot and dry properties, medieval physicians recommend adding to it some vinegar and honey, or vinegar and olive oil. Capers are also consumed raw.

An appetizing green condiment called *kāmakh al-kabar* (كأمخ الكبير) is prepared using the preserved capers.³ Al-Rāzī says such condiments are harmful to the stomach for they induce thirst and inflame the body

¹ The word occurs as *būḍhaq* (بودقي) in al-Tujībī’s thirteenth-century cookbook *Fīḍālat al-Khiwān*, and as *fūḍhaj* (فودج) in al-Baghdādī’s thirteenth-century *Kūāb al-Ṭabīkh*.

² al-Isrā’īlī 3: 153. However, Ibn Jazla says *aṣīf* is caper root (fol. 28v).

³ The more capers used in making it the greener it looks. We learn this from a comment in one of the recipes in Istanbul MS (fol. 105v).

with their heat. Nevertheless, they help stimulate the appetite and purge the digestive system. Capers are prescribed to cleanse spleen and liver and open up any blockages in them. Having them salted makes them laxative (Ibn al-Bayṭār 575-76).

Terms used describing capers:

thamar al-kabar (ثمر الكبر) caper fruit.

fuqqāh al-kabar (فقاخ الكبر) caper buds.

zahr al-kabar (زهر الكبر) caper blossoms.

quḍbān al-kabar (قضببان الكبر) caper branches, including stems, fruits, and leaves, used in making medicinal drinks.

kabar mukhallal (كبر مخلل) capers pickled in vinegar.

kabar makhbūs bi 'l-milḥ (كبر مكبوس بالملح) capers preserved in salt or brine.

kāmakh (كامخ), *kawāmikh* (كوامخ) *kawāmikh* (كواميخ) sour and salty fermented condiment, made with *būdaj* (rotted bread, entry above), milk, and spices. The name derives from the Persian *kāma*.⁴ Most of these condiments have the consistency of *marham* (ointment). They are usually served with bread as an appetizer *udm*, or eaten between the dishes as a transitional food. They are believed to aid digestion and help push down food in the digestive system fast. However, they have the tendency to induce thirst (Ibn Jazla, fol. 179v). See recipes in Chapter 40.

kāmakh al-kabar (كامخ الكبر) condiment of capers. See *kabar* above.

kāmakh rījāl (كامخ ريجال) milk-based fermented condiment *idām*.⁵ It is left to ferment and mature in the sun for as long as five months, according to a recipe in al-Baghdādī's thirteenth-century cookbook (Arberry 207).

khall (خل) vinegar, regarded as liquid spice. It is made from different fruits such as dates, grapes, raisins, figs, and apples. Tradition has it that the Prophet said the best *idām* 'condiment eaten with bread' is vinegar. In properties, it is described as cold and dry, and as such, it has the power to cool down the body and dry it up. It is believed to be good for people whose humors are dominated by yellow bile and blood. It

⁴ al-Bīrūnī 344. See also *murrī* below. One of the meanings Steingass gives for *kāma* is milk, which points to the fact that this ingredient is an essential component in *kāmakh*.

⁵ According to Steingass, *rījal* is anything made from sheep's milk.

is to be avoided by people with black bile and cold humors. Vinegar helps hot-tempered people lose weight, and thin down dense humors. Cold-tempered people need to have it with hot spices and vegetables such as caraway seeds, onion, and garlic (al-Rāzī 203). See Chapter 21 for recipes

khall ‘adhb (خل عذب) pleasant and smooth-tasting vinegar.

khall dādhi (خل داذي) vinegar made from *dādhi* ‘date wine.’ Due to its darkish hue, using it in stews is avoided to prevent discoloration (al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bukhlā* 63).

khall hāmīd (خل جامض) sour vinegar.

khall khamr (خل خمر) vinegar made from grape wine. According to the Islamic dietetic rules it is permissible because it loses the intoxicating qualities of wine. Tradition has it that the Prophet said, “The best vinegar is made from wine” (خير خل خمرکم); and that his cousin ‘Alī used wine vinegar as a dipping sauce *ṣībāgh* for his bread.⁶

khall murwallad (خل مولد) vinegar made from scratch, i.e. starting with fruits and not wine. The vinegar is mentioned in the Istanbul manuscript (fol. 208v) as an alternative to wine vinegar.

khall tayyib (خل طيب) pleasant-tasting vinegar.

khall thaqīf (خل ثقيف) very sour vinegar. Next in degree of sourness is *khall hādhiq* (خل حاذق) and the most sour of all is *khall bāsil* (خل باسل) (al-Tha‘ālibī, *Fiḥ al-Lughā* 59).

khall al-‘unṣul (خل العنصل) vinegar flavored with ‘*unṣul* ‘wild onion’ (Chapter 21). See Section 9 below, s.v. ‘*unṣul*’.

khall al-ishturghāz (خل الاشتر غاز) vinegar flavored with *ishturghāz*, which is similar to asafetida root (see Section 9, s.v. *ishturghāz*). The vinegar is believed to whet the appetite, and purge and strengthen the stomach (Ibn al-Bayṭār 34).

khardal (خردل) mustard. For making condiments, white mustard seeds (sometimes referred to as *sīfand* or *isfīnd*) and black mustard seeds are used. Mustard leaves are consumed cooked as a vegetable (see Section 14 below).

khardal ma‘mūl (خردل معمول) mustard sauce prepared by grinding the seeds with walnut and then whipping it with vinegar. The resulting

⁶ al-Sarakhsī *Al-Mabsūt* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 3499.

strained foam *raghwat al-khardal* is used as a condiment (Chapter 38). Al-Rāzī says adding olive oil to the prepared mustard makes it less sharp and better suited for hot-tempered people. Cold tempered people can have it with walnut. Mustard aids digestion by stimulating the appetite and breaking down the dense digesting foods *taqṭī* (160).

mā' hiṣrim (ماء حصرم) juice of sour unripe grapes used in cooking.

mā' kāmakh (ماء كامخ) literally, 'liquid of *kāmakh*' (entry above). It is liquid fermented sauce, more commonly known as *murrī* (مرري) as al-Warrāq explains in Chapter 3. The name is the Arabized form of the Persian *āb kāmā* 'liquid of *kāmakh*' (al-Bīrūnī 344).

It is sour and slightly bitterish in taste, used in cooking to help stimulate the appetite and aid digestion. Adding it to a dish eliminates the need for salt, or perhaps just a small amount is used.

maqra (مقرة) condiment similar to chutney, salty and sour. Chopped turnip, quince, apple, citron, are mixed with salt and liquid of sour dough dissolved in water (Chapter 40). The name of the relish derives from *maqara* (مقر) 'make sour.' This tenth-century condiment is reminiscent of the ancient Nabatean (Iraqi) preparation called *mā' al-shajjam al-hāmid* (sour turnip juice) found in Ibn Waḥshiyya, *Al-Filāḥa al-Nabatiyya* (Nabatean agriculture).⁷

milḥ (ملح) salt, hot and dry in properties. The more bitter it is, the hotter its properties become. It helps eliminate the unpleasant greasy odors of the cooking meat. It has the power to stimulate the appetite, facilitate digestion—especially rich foods, and purge excretions. It prevents blood from putrefying, check tooth decay, help induce vomit, and cure cold related stomachaches. Its dry properties help dry up foods and preserve them (Ibn Sīnā 316-17; al-Rāzī 203).

milḥ 'adhb (ملح عذب) pleasant-tasting salt, sometimes called *milḥ ḥilū* (ملح حلو) literally, 'sweet salt,' free of any bitterness.

milḥ al-'ajīn (ملح العجين) salt used in bread making because it has a mild flavor; also called *milḥ al-khubz* (ملح الخبز) bread salt, and *milḥ sabkhi* (ملح سبخي) i.e. gathered from *sabkha* 'salt marsh' (Ibn Sīnā 1194; Ibn al-Bayṭār 699).

⁷ 1: 545-46. See also Introduction, Section VIII.

milḥ andarānī (ملح أندراني) rock salt, also called *milḥ ma'danī* (ملح ذراني) mineral salt. The grammatical Arabic name is *dhur'ānī* (ذُرْأَنِي) derived from *dhur'a* (ذُرْأَة) excessive whiteness. It is also referred to as *ṭabarzad* (طَبْرَزَد) derived from *tabar*, Persian loan word for hatchet or axe, used to chisel the amount needed from the solid mass of salt.

It is fine quality salt distinguished by its pure white color and translucent crystals. A city called Kis near Samarqand is said to be a great exporter of this salt. Ibn Sīnā identifies it as *Kūshnī* and says it has a pronounced flavor (*qawī al-ṭa'm*). *Andarānī* salt is described as having the power to dispel winds, purge phlegm, and sharpen the intellectual faculties.⁸

milḥ baḥrī (ملح بحري) sea salt from evaporated sea water, said to dissolve in liquid much faster than mineral salt.

milḥ jarīsh (ملح جريش) coarse salt.

milḥ muṭayyab (ملح مطيب) *milḥ mu'aṭṭar* (ملح معطر) seasoned or enhanced and scented salt used as a condiment. To enhance the salt, toasted seeds and herbs are added to it such as sumac, pomegranate seeds, asafetida, sesame, nigella and cumin. See Chapter 21.

milḥ niftī (ملح نفطي) black salt that turns white when smoked. In this respect, it is different from the Indian variety, which stays black.

milḥ ṭabarzad (ملح طبرزد) white translucent solid blocks of rock salt, chiseled as needed. Also known as *milḥ andarānī* (entry above).

milḥ ṭayyib (ملح طيب) pleasant-tasting salt.

mukhallalāt (مخللات) pickles made with vinegar *khall*.

murri (مُرِّي) liquid fermented sauce, salty, sour, and bitterish. It is used the same way Asian soy sauce and fish sauce are used today. While cooking in the pot, *murri* produces unpleasant smells. We learn this from a warning in a recipe in the Istanbul manuscript: the pot should not be cooked in the presence of a company because it will emit offensive odors (fol. 105v).

Murri has hot and dry properties that have the power to break down dense foods in the stomach and purge them quite effectively (Ibn Sīnā 977). *Murri* is praised as being *jawhar al-ṭa'ām* 'the essence of food,'

⁸ *Tāj al-Arūs*, s.v. ذُرْأَة; al-Bīrūnī 351–52; Ibn al-Bayṭār 697, Ibn Sīnā 316. See also, al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār fī Ḥabār al-Aqlār* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 467.

which has the power to stimulate the appetite and digestion, and cure bad breath.

Murrī is also known as *mā' kāmakh* (ماء كامخ) or *mā kākh* (ماكاخ) (see *kāmakh* above). Al-Bīrūnī says it is called *mūriyyā* (موريا) in Syriac, and *āb kāmā* (آب كامه) in Persian (344).

Medieval Arabic lexicons suggest the name *murrī* is of Arabic or Nabatean origin, and thereby indigenous to the Mesopotamian region. It is suggested that it derives from *murr* 'bitter' (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. مرر). In the ancient Akkadian, *marru* means 'sour' or 'bitter,' used to describe fish (or fish sauce?).⁹

The ancient Mesopotamians did indeed use a fermented sauce, which they called *siqqu*. It was made from fish, shellfish, and locusts. A generous amount of salt was added to them. Then they were left in the sun for some time to partially putrefy (Bottéro, *The oldest Cuisine* 60). The resulting strained juice of this mix was the fermented *siqqu* sauce. It was used in cooking and eaten as a condiment. In this respect, it was similar to the ancient Roman salty fish sauce *garum*, also called *liquamen*.¹⁰ Probably *kāma* and *kāmakh* (entry above) are etymologically connected with the Roman *liquamen*.

In the Islamic region during the medieval times, the most commonly used varieties of *murrī* were the cereal-based ones, the strongest of which was the Nabatean (see *murrī Nabatī* below). The fish-based variety was less commonly used. The tenth-century physician al-Isrā'īlī mentions *mā nūn* (مانون) literally, 'fish juice,' explaining that *nūn* is fish in Syriac. He says *mā nūn* is the strained liquid of salted fish, and calls it *murrī*. In properties, he adds, fish-based *murrī* is colder and less powerful than the barley-based variety because fish is cold and moist (3: 250). Besides, Ibn Sīnā mentions *murrī* made from small fish, which people of the Levant call *ṣīr* (333). In *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. ذبح, a fish-based variety, called *murrī nūnān* (مري نينان), is incidentally mentioned. It is made with a mixture of salt, fish, and wine, left in the sun to ferment. Because wine changes its qualities in the process, it is said to be permissible *ḥalāl* for consumption by Muslims, the lexicon explains.

⁹ Bottéro, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World* 60. Possibly the ancient Roman name for brine, *muria*, is etymologically connected with the Akkadian *marru*.

¹⁰ Patrick Faas, *Around the Roman Table: Food and feasting in Ancient Rome* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994) 143.

murri abyad (مُرِّي أبيض) white (i.e. light-colored) liquid fermented sauce, used in certain dishes to prevent discoloration of the sauce.

murri 'atīq (مُرِّي عتيق) aged liquid fermented sauce.

murri Nabaṭī (مُرِّي نبطي) Iraqi cereal-based liquid fermented sauce, which al-Rāzī rates as the strongest of all kinds. A small dose of it has the power to kill intestinal worms (qtd. Ibn al-Bayṭār 683). It is the most widely used variety.

Al-Warrāq does not give a *murri* recipe. Here is one written at the end of the manuscript of the thirteenth-century *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* by al-Baghḍādī:

5 *raṭls* (5 pounds) of flour are made into dough with water, without adding any salt or yeast. The dough is baked and dried. Then it is pounded along with an equal amount of *būdaj* (rotted bread, entry above), and made into dough by adding water and what equals a third of their amount of salt. The dough is kneaded in a green-glazed tub and is put out in the sun for 40 days, during which period it is kneaded every morning and evening, replenishing its moisture by sprinkling it with water.

When the dough develops a darkish hue, it is put in a bowl, and an equal amount of water is added. The mix is left for two weeks, stirred once a day. When it starts to bubble with fermentation, it is left alone until all signs of fermentation stop. The mix is then strained [the strained liquid is the first batch, called *al-murri al-awwal*].

The remaining dregs are returned to the tub and an equal amount of water is added to them. It is left in the sun for two weeks, stirred twice a day. It is then strained [this will be the second batch of *murri*, called *al-murri al-thānī*]. The strained [second] *murri* is to be added to *al-murri al-awwal* and seasoned with cassia, saffron, and some aromatic spices.¹¹

In al-Tujībī's thirteenth-century *murri* recipes, the strained second *murri* is not added to the first batch. It is used as *murri thānī* 'the second *murri*' (262-64). It is a lighter and weaker grade of the liquid fermented sauce.

murri Rāzī (مُرِّي رازي) liquid fermented sauce made in al-Ray, a province in Persia. Al-Warrāq's reference to it as *murri Rāzī aswad* (مُرِّي رازي أسود) 'black,' gives a clue as to what it looks like (Chapter

¹¹ Al-Bārūdī's edition does not include the recipe. Arberry translates it in a footnote (36, n. 1). The Arabic original is in the Glossary of *Anwā' al-Ṣaydala*, the anonymous Andalusian thirteenth-century cookbook (321-22). My translation.

58). It is also described as *murri Rāzī thakhūn* (مُرِّي رَازِي ثَخِين) ‘thick’ (Istanbul MS, fol. 109r).

murri al sha‘ir (مُرِّي الشَّعِير) liquid fermented sauce made from barley.

murri šir qadīm (مُرِّي صِير قَدِيم) aged fish-based liquid fermented sauce made from small fish, called *šir*.

murri tarī (مُرِّي طَرِي) freshly made liquid fermented sauce.

murri thānī (مُرِّي ثَانِي) the second *murri*, made by fermenting again the dregs left after straining the first batch of *murri*. See *murri Nabaṭī* above. In properties, it is lighter and weaker than the first strained batch of *murri*.

murri al-ṭilā (مُرِّي الطَّلَى) liquid fermented sauce made with cooked wine. The medieval dictionary *Lisān al-‘Arab* mentions a fish-based variety of *murri*, made with salt, fish, and wine.¹²

murri al-zaytūn (مُرِّي الزَيْتُون) liquid fermented sauce made from olives, mentioned in Chapter 3.

qamn (قَمْن) basic ingredient in making the condiment *kāmakḥ*. See *būdaj* above.

rabīthā (رَبِيثَاء) condiment *idām* made with shrimp *rabīthā*’. Shrimp is kept in brine and then crushed with seasonings and herbs (Chapter 40). Al-Warrāq describes shrimp used in the recipe as similar in shape to *dhar* (ذَرّ) small ants, the size of *jarād* (جَرَاد) locusts. Ibn al-Bayṭār says the condiment is popular in Iraq and is believed to be aphrodisiac and beneficial to the stomach, especially when taken with thyme, nigella seeds, parsley, and rue (313).

šibāgh (صَبَاغ) pl. *ašbigha* (أَصْبَغَة) *šibāghāt* (صَبَاغَات) unfermented sauces and dips, mostly vinegar-based eaten with dishes of meat and vegetables. They are usually served in small bowls, called *uskurrujāt*, put beside the dishes they are to be eaten with, as a dipping sauce. Alternatively, they may be poured on the dishes to sauce them. The name of this condiment derives from *šabagha* (صَبَغ) ‘dip’ (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*).¹³ In the Istanbul manuscript it is called *mizāj* مَزَاج (fol. 174r).

¹² It is incidentally mentioned in an unrelated entry, s.v. ذَبَح. See *murri* above.

¹³ This might explain why John the Baptist is called Yūḥannā al-Šabbāgh.

Interestingly, in the extant medieval Egyptian and Syrian cookbooks,¹⁴ the name *ṣibāgh* is sometimes replaced with *ṣalṣ* (صلص) pl. *ṣulūṣāt* (صلوصات), a name with which we are more familiar.

ṣiḥnāt (صحناء) *ṣiḥnā'* (صحناء) pl. *siḥnāyāt* (صحنايات) and *ṣaḥnā* (صحناء) condiment made by salting small river fish *ṣīr* (صير) or *jarād* 'locusts.' They are eaten whole, or crushed and mixed with herbs and spices (Chapter 40). Al-Bīrūnī says that in Syriac it is called *ṣaḥmīthā* صحنيثا (246). It is believed to aid digestion when taken with heavy foods. The general recommendation is that people with hot temperaments should have it mixed with sour vinegar; and cold-tempered people, mixed with thyme and olive oil (Ibn al-Bayṭār 441).

ṣināb (صناب) a variety of *ṣibāgh* 'dipping sauce' made from ground mustard and raisins (Chapter 38). The color *ṣinābī* 'yellowish red' derives from the color of this sauce.

taḥīn simsim (طحين سمس) ground sesame, tahini. In addition to using it in cooking, it is sometimes smeared on bread like today's peanut butter and eaten as a condiment, as in the last recipe in Chapter 89.

zaytūn (زيتون) *zayātīn* (زياتين) olives. The recommendation is to eat them in the middle of the meal to prevent them from floating in the stomach (al-Dīnawarī, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār 374).

zaytūn aḥmar (زيتون أحمر) red olives, also called *yāqūtī* 'like rubies.' They are neither fully-grown nor unripe, and as such, are easier to digest and less harmful to the body than the green or black olives (al-Isrā'īlī 2: 279).

zaytūn akḥḍar (زيتون أخضر) green unripe olives, acrid in taste and relatively lower in fat content than fully ripe olives. They are used in making *zayt al-anfāq* (زيت الانفاق) olive oil of immature olives. See entry in Section 7 below.

zaytūn aswad (زيتون أسود) black olives, fully mature and mellow, used in making sweet and mellow olive oil.

zaytūn 'atīq (زيتون عتيق) old olives, harvested a long while ago.

¹⁴ Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Al-Wuṣla ilā 'l-Ḥabīb* has 11 recipes which specify that the resulting mix should have the consistency of *ṣalṣ*, which is rather thin (2: 697–701). Chapter 16 in *Kanz al-Fawā'id* is entitled *Ṣulūṣāt* (صلوصات) and has many recipes on this condiment (179–85).

zaytūn barrī (زيتون بري) wild olives.

zaytūn bustānī (زيتون بستانى) cultivated olives grown in orchards.

zaytūn fujj (زيتون فج) unripe green olives. See *zaytūn akhdar* above.

zaytūn ḥadīth (زيتون حديث) newly harvested olives.

zaytūn al-mā' (زيتون الماء) literally 'water olives.' According to tenth-century physician al-Isrā'īlī, two kinds of olives are called by this name:

1. 'Water olives' that are literally so because they are low in fat content and high in moisture such as the Egyptian white olives. These olives are not good for making oil. Instead, they are consumed preserved in brine *mā' wa milḥ*, cured in salt *milḥ*, and pickled in vinegar *khall*.

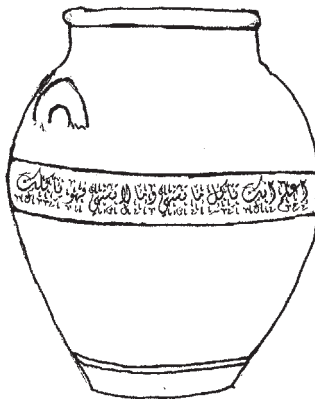
2. 'Water olives' a metaphorical designation because in reality they are *zaytūn al-zayt* (oil-olives from which oil is extracted). They are called so because *zayt al-mā'* (water olive oil) is extracted from them (entry in Section 7, below). He further explains, these olives might also be cured, kept in brine, or pickled in vinegar like the actual 'water olives.' They will be even easier to digest and lighter on the stomach because they are relatively higher in fat content (2: 275-77).

zaytūn mudrik (زيتون مدرک) or *zaytūn nadīj* (زيتون نضيج) fully ripe olives.

zaytūn mukhlal (زيتون مخلل) olives pickled in vinegar.

zaytūn mumallaḥ (زيتون مملح) olives cured in salt.

zaytūn munaqqa' bi 'l-mā' (زيتون منقع بالماء) olives preserved in brine.



4. Dairy Products

aqiṭ (أَقِط) *aqiṭ* (أَقِيط) somewhat sour yogurt cheese made by heating sour yogurt and leaving it aside until whey separates from the solids. To drain the liquid, a round woven mat of date palm fronds, called *sufra khūṣ* (سفرة خوص) is used to spread the cheese pieces on it (*Al-Qamūs al-Muḥīṭ*, s.v. أَقِط).¹ The resulting piece of cheese is called *aqiṭa* (أَقِطَة). It is described as cold and dry in properties, and hence constipating and hard to digest. This can be fixed by following it with *julanjabīn* (rose petal conserve or drink) (Ibn Jazla, fol. 31v).

bīrāf (بِيرَاف) a variety of clotted cream, similar to what nowadays is called *qishṭa* (قَشْطَة) and *qaymar* (قَيْمَر). The medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kānz al-Fawā'id* describes how to collect *bīrāf*. Freshly milked warm milk is poured into wide and shallow earthenware containers. They are covered and left outside overnight to allow the cream to accumulate on the surface. In the morning, the cream is gathered with a large long shell and put in a plate. The same procedure is repeated to accumulate more cream. The anonymous writer says people love to eat it by itself. It is the most delicious thing he has ever eaten. He also says it may be served with honey or *zalābiya* 'fried fritters,' which he tried and liked a lot (187–88).

dūgh (دَوْغ) thick sour *makhḍ* (buttermilk), made by draining it of its whey (Ibn Jazla, fols. 93v, 181r). See *makhḍ* below.

ḥalīb (حَلِيب) milk, also called *laban ḥalīb* (see below).

ḥalīb bāyit (حَلِيب بَايْت) literally, 'milk kept overnight.' It is a variety of yogurt made without rennet. Milk is put in an earthenware porous vessel and set aside overnight so that milk sours and its whey filters, leaving behind yogurt (Chapter 39).

ḥalūb (حَلُوب) lactiferous animal.

ḥālūm (حَالُوم) semi-soft Egyptian and Levantine cheese (Ibn al-Bayṭār 183), similar to yogurt cheese *aqiṭ* (see above).²

infāḥa (إِنْفَحَة) *minfāḥa* (مِنْفَحَة) fourth stomach (abomasum) of suckling

¹ al-Fayrūz Ābādī (<http://www.alwaraq.net>).

² Ibn Sīdah, *al-Mukḥaṣṣ* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 405.

sheep, goats, or calves.³ Its inner lining contains the yellowish enzyme, rennet *minfaḥa*, which has the property to curdle milk used in making yogurt and cheese. It is cut into strips, salted, and dried for future use. When needed, it is soaked in water and put in a piece of wool which is squeezed to press out its liquid into the milk (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. نَفَح).

jājaq (جَاقِق) pl. *jawājiq* (جَوَاجِيق) yogurt salad for which al-Warrāq provides the earliest recipe in the extant medieval cookbooks (Chapter 39). Three *jājaq* recipes are given in the anonymous fourteenth-/fifteenth-century Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id* (190-92). *Jājaq* is the ancestor of the modern *jajik* (جَاجِيك) 'yogurt-cucumber salad,' and all other variants, popular in modern Mediterranean and Middle-Eastern countries.

jubn (جُبْن) cheese (Chapter 39). The name derives from *tajabbana* (تَجَبَّن) curdle. It is cold and dry in properties, dense, and difficult to digest. It is also suspected of generating obstructions in the body. Having honey with it will give it some heat and improve it.

Cheese is not good if it is dense, chewy, crumbly, or soft in texture. Good cheese is moderately dry and porous; neither too fresh nor too aged. It should be moderately salted, and have a pleasant taste. Physicians are partial to cheeses made from yogurt for they are relatively easier to digest (al-Isrā'īl 4: 289-90).

jubn abyad (جُبْن أَبْيَض) white cheese which includes both soft and dry crumbly varieties.

jubn abyad jamūsī ḥilū (جُبْن أَبْيَض جَامُوسِي حَلُو) sweet white cow cheese.

jubn dān (جُبْن ضَان) sheep cheese.

jubn ḥirrīf (جُبْن حَرِيف) sharp cheese, described as extremely hot in properties, and hence accused of inducing thirst. The best way to have it is with cucumber or vinegar to allay their heat (al-Rāzī 159).⁴

jubn qadīm (جُبْن قَدِيم) aged cheese, similar in its effects to *jubn ḥirrīf*, see above.

³ This is the most active part of the stomach. Its function is to curdle the milk in the stomach of the young animals to slow down its passage through the digestive system. After the animals start feeding on foods other than milk, the stomach is called *karṣh*.

⁴ The habit of eating cheese with cucumber in modern Iraq might have originated in such a belief.

jubn Rūmī (جبين رومي) Byzantine Cheese, a hard variety of cheese, used grated.

khilāt (خلاط) yogurt infused with herbs and vegetables (Chapter 39).

kishk (كشك) dried dough of crushed wheat and yogurt used in cooking meat dishes, called *kishkiyyāt*. When needed, *kishk* is pulverized, dissolved in liquid, and added to the pot (Chapters 40, 63).

kishk Turkumānī (كشك تركماني) drained yogurt, shaped into loaves, and dried in the sun, as described in al-Bghdādī's fourteenth-century augmented version *Kitāb Waṣf al-Aḥima* (323).

khumra (خمرة) yogurt starter, usually a batch of previously made yogurt.

laban (لبن) **laban ḥalīb** (لبن حليب) milk, described as nourishing and gaseous. Boiling the milk helps make it less bloating. It is recommended as a cure for forgetfulness and depression (Ibn Sīnā 305). Al-Isrā'īlī says the best way to have it is when freshly milked and still warm. Even better is sucking it right from the animal's dugs (4: 85).

Milk is sometimes cooked by adding to it some heated pieces of iron or heated stones called *radf* (رضف). Milk treated by adding stones to it is called *laban marḍūf* (لبن مرضوف). The benefit of this practice is to rid the milk of some of its moisture, thus making it less cold and more suitable for people with cold temperaments.

laban ḥāmiḍ (لبن حامض) literally, 'sour milk,' general name for various kinds of yogurt and buttermilk. The qualifying adjective distinguishes it from *laban* and *laban ḥalīb* (milk). According to Ibn Jazla, yogurt rich in butter is the best (fol. 181r).

laban al-khaḍ (لبن الخض) sour buttermilk remaining after churning milk and extracting its butter, also called *makhḍ*.

laban maḍīr (لبن ماضير) sour milk, also called *laban māḍir* (لبن ماضر) and *laban qāriṣ* (لبن قارص). See *maḍīr* below.

laban mujaḥḥan (لبن مجن) soft cheese made by draining curdled milk in a sack overnight (Istanbul MS, fol. 234v). Milk is curdled with any of these ingredients: rennet, crushed safflower seeds, *sakanjabīn* (syrup of sugar/honey and vinegar), cooked tamarind, sour pomegranate juice, and citron juice (al-Isrā'īlī 4: 96).

laban rāyib (لبن رايب) yogurt make without rennet. See *rāyib* below.

laban yāghart (لبن ياغرت) yogurt made with cow's milk and rennet,

mentioned in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id*, with a recipe (194).

laqūḥ (لقوح) pl. *liqāḥ* (لقاح) she-camel, which has been lactating for no more than two to three months. After that, it is *labūn*.

liba' (لبأ) also called *laban raṭb* (لبن رطب) fresh milk, beestings, first milk of an animal that has just delivered (*Tāj al-ʿAnūs*). It is relatively thicker than regular milk and harder to digest. It is used as follows: milk is put in *qidād* (قداد) bags made of kids' skins then buried in hot sand (*malla*) until milk solidifies into cheese. People eat it with dates or by itself (*Kanz al-Fawā'id* 189).

maḍīr (مضير) *laban maḍīr* (لبن مضير) sour milk, milk which develops a tongue-biting sour taste before it thickens and curdles into yogurt. It is used as a drink and in cooking a white meat dish known as *maḍīra* (Chapter 69). Also called *laban māḍir* (لبن ماضر) and *laban qāriṣ* (لبن قارص) (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. مضر).

mā' al-jubn (ماء الجبن) cheese whey separated from curds when making cheese. It can be a by-product or deliberately extracted for its own medicinal benefits. Ibn al-Bayṭār instructs, for instance, that milk is brought to two or three boils and then it is sprinkled with *sakanjabīn* (honey/sugar and vinegar syrup), which will separate whey from the solids (665). It is used to induce diarrhea and cure jaundice, among other things. Ibn Sīnā especially recommends it for nourishing and fattening dogs (250, 305).

al-makhīḍ (المخيض) *al-mamkhūd* (الممخوض) *laban makhīḍ* (لبن مخيض) sourish buttermilk left after churning the soured milk and extracting its butter.

makhīḍ jāmid (مخيض جامد) dry and thick buttermilk, completely drained of its whey. The present day *jamīd*, used in making the traditional Jordanian dish *mansaf*, undoubtedly has its roots in this product. Cf. *dūgh* above.

makhīḍ al-laban al-hāmiḍ (مخيض اللبن الحامض) sour buttermilk left after churning sour yogurt and extracting its butter.

maṣl (مصل) yogurt whey, the somewhat sour, yellow, and thick liquid that drips when yogurt is drained in a piece of cloth or a wicker bowl. It is also the liquid that separates when yogurt is cooked to make yogurt

cheese *aqiṭ* (*Lisān al-‘Arab*).⁵ It is used fresh (*maṣl ṭarī*) or dried for future use. When needed, it is crushed, sifted, and dissolved in liquid and incorporated into dishes such as *maṣliyya* (Chapter 70).

māst (ماست) sour and thick yogurt made with rennet. The physicians’ advice is to eat it with olive oil, thyme, rue, and nigella seeds to aid its digestion (Chapter 39).⁶

minfaḥa (منفحة) rennet. See *infāḥa* above.

mish (مش) cheese whey.

al-murawwab (المروّب) *laban murawwab* (البن مروّب) milk that has thickened and soured by leaving it aside for a while and now it is ready to be churned to extract its butter.

qanbarīs (قنبريس) sourish soft cheese made by draining yogurt or buttermilk. The medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā’id* describes it as delicious, rich, and sour. In texture, it is a little softer than *aqiṭ* (yogurt cheese, entry above), and it keeps year round when stored in unglazed jars. The book provides these recipes:

Buttermilk (*makhīd*) is first heated until the solids coagulate and separate from the whey and then drained (188). Another method is by boiling vinegar and adding it to yogurt, which is then left undisturbed overnight to let it set (190). Alternatively, milk is boiled and made into yogurt using a starter. It is left overnight at a warm place to set and then drained in a sack (194).

al-qarīṣ (القريص) *al-qārīṣ* (القارص) sour milk (Ibn Sīdah *Al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* 400). To make it drinkable, some fresh milk is added to it. It is deemed a lowly drink, unlike regular milk *laban*. It is said ask a man, “What kind of *laban* ‘milk’ you think is the best?” If he says “*qārīṣ*,” ask him, “Whose slave are you?” If he says, “milk,” ask him, “Whose son are you?” (al-Dīnawarī, *Uyūn al-Akḥbār* 349). It is also called *maḍīr* (entry above).

qarīsha (قريشة) ricotta cheese made from cheese whey. Al-Warrāq’s recipe in Chapter 39 clearly indicates that it is a kind of fresh soft

⁵ Idn Jazla specifies it as *mā’ al-laban al-nay’* (whey of uncooked yogurt), fol. 199r.

⁶ My definition here is based on al-Warrāq’s recipe. In terms of taste and consistency, al-Isrā’īlī says *māst* is between *laban ḥilī* ‘milk,’ which is sweet and liquid, and *dūgh* ‘thick and sour buttermilk,’ which is defatted and drained of its whey (1: 283-84, 4: 76). *Māst*, therefore, is similar to today’s regular yogurt.

cheese, unlike *Tāj al-‘Arūs*’ description of it as *yābis* *shadīd* ‘hard cheese’ (قرش s.v.).

al-rā’ib (رائب) *laban rā’ib* (لبن رائب) yogurt made without rennet after churning its butter and removing it. It is believed to be easier to digest than thick and drained varieties of yogurt such as *māst* and *shūrāz* (Ibn al-Bayṭār 632).

rakhbīn (رخبين) dried buttermilk, a dairy product similar to *kishk Turkumānī* (dried yogurt, entry above).⁷ It is sometimes added to dishes for its cooling effect on their properties. When needed, a small amount is dissolved in some liquid and added to the pot. Stew dishes flavored with this product are called *rakhbīnāt* (Chapter 81). Additionally, *rakhbīn* is a valued ingredient added to fillings of pastries, for instance, to give them a delicately tart overtone (Chapter 36, *sanbūsaḡ* recipe). When chicken is grilled on a rotating spit *kardhabāj*, it is frequently basted with a mix of *rakhbīn* and oil (Chapter 31).

al-rawb (الروب) yogurt made without rennet after churning its butter and removing it, also called *al-rā’ib* (entry above).

samn azād (سمن آزاد) creamy top of yogurt, mentioned by al-Rāzī (166).

shūrāz (شيران) thick drained *māst* (yogurt made with rennet, entry above). See recipe in Chapter 39. Al-Tujībī in his Andalusian thirteenth-century cookbook *Fidālat al-Khiwān* gives a recipe and suggests serving it spread on a dish, garnished with capers, pickled lemon, lightly sprinkled with nigella seeds, drizzled with sweet olive oil, and eaten with green spring onions. It is best, he adds, when the yogurt used is somewhat sweet (217).

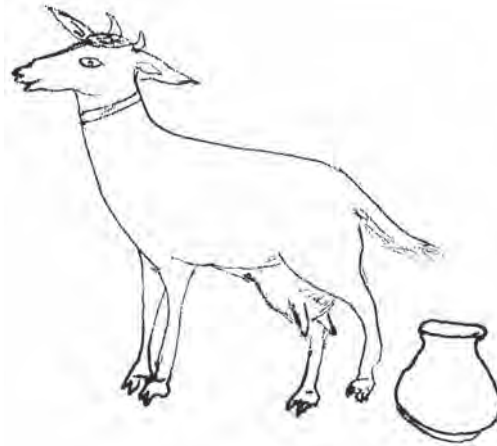
urna (ارنة) seeds of certain vegetables (possibly from a plant called *urnia*, similar to *khiṭmī* marsh mallow plant). When added to milk, the seeds puff and solidify the milk, turning it into soft fresh cheese, called *urna* (Ibn Sīdah 405).

zubda (زبدة) butter. Al-Tujībī’s Andalusian thirteenth-century cookbook gives a recipe for collecting it: Fresh milk is put in a vessel and set aside for a day and a night to sour. Then, it is put in *shakwa* ‘leather container’ set on a stand. The sour milk is churned vigorously. When butter starts to accumulate in clumps, some water is added and

⁷ This product, now called *jamīd* (جميد), is still used in the Levant. In Jordan, it is an essential ingredient in the traditional dish *mansaf*.

churning is continued until butter becomes one mass. The rest of the liquid is enjoyed as a drink (219).

Al-Rāzī says butter is nourishing. However, it is laxative and dulls the appetite. His advice is to have honey with it to cut down its greasiness. Having it with salt and sharp cheese will have the same benefit (164).



5. *Desserts, Conserves, and Sweeteners*

‘**afzīnaj** (عَفْزِينَج) walnut confection prepared like *lawzīnaj* (entry be-low). It is more commonly known as *jawzīnaj* (جَوْزِينَج). ‘*Afzīnaj* derives from ‘*afz*, an unusual name for walnut (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. عَفْز). Other renderings of the name: *bafrīnaj* (بَفْرِينَج) in Chapter 2, ‘*afriṭaj* (عَفْرِيْتَج) and *tafrīnaj* (تَفْرِينَج).¹ Interestingly, the name occurs as *nafrīnaj* (نَفْرِينَج) in other medieval sources.²

anbijāt (أَنْبِجَات) honey-based conserved fruits, enjoyed as food. When mixed with spices and herbs, they double as medicine. The name originated in the Indian practice of preserving ‘*anbā* (عَنْبَا) mango by cooking it in honey (al-K_huwārizmī 33). The fruit conserves are also known as *murabbayāt* (مُرَبِّيَات) entry below.

‘**asal** (عَسَل) designates syrups in general such as bees’ honey ‘*asal naḥl*; sugar syrups such ‘*asal qaṣab* and ‘*asal ṭabarzad*; and date syrup ‘*asal al-tamr*, also called *dibs*. ‘*Asal* may designate bees’ honey in particular.

In the medieval medical opinion, bees’ honey is extremely hot. Therefore, it is fit for old and phlegmatic people. The young should avoid it. To avert its harmful effects, vinegar and drinks made with sour fruit syrups may be taken after eating it (al-Rāzī 240). Compared with bees’ honey, sugar syrups have less heat.

‘**asal abyad** (عَسَل أَبْيَض) literally, ‘white honey,’ also called ‘*asal mādhī* (عَسَل مَادِي) light-colored honey, smooth and thin in consistency. See ‘*asal mādhī* below.

‘**asal aḥmar** (عَسَل أَحْمَر) reddish brown honey, an indication of its excellence. Other desirable qualities are clarity, intense sweetness, slight sharpness in taste, pleasant aroma, and medium consistency (Ibn al-Bayṭār 1179).

‘**asal ghalīẓ** (عَسَل غَلِيْظ) red and thick honey.

‘**asal jals** (عَسَل جَلَس) thick honey.

‘**asal mādhī** (عَسَل مَادِي) light-colored honey, thin and smooth in consistency. Wine is sometimes called *mādhī*, either because it is made

¹ Chapter 104, Oxford MS, and Helsinki MS, respectively.

² Such al-Ṭha‘alibī, *Fiqh al-Lughā* 69; al-Suyūṭī 86.

from honey, or it feels smooth to the throat and easy to swallow like this honey (al-Bīrūnī 265). Etymologically, *mādhī* is of Sanskrit origin, ‘medhu,’ ‘mada,’ from which the English ‘mead’ (honey wine) derives.

‘*asal manzū*’ *al-raghwa* (عسل منزوع الرغوة) honey boiled and skimmed of its froth. This procedure is necessary to purify honey, reduce its heat and acidity, and make it less bloating. Skimming the froth prevents honey from looking cloudy. Ibn Zuhr explains that whereas sugar syrup acquires its heat from the fire it is cooked on, bees’ honey gets its heat—almost poisonous in its effect—from the bees’ entrails.³ Therefore, it has to be remedied *yusallah*: honey is mixed and boiled with plenty of water, skimming as needed until all the added water evaporates and honey is back to its original consistency. See also the following four entries.

‘*asal maṭbūkh*’ (عسل مطبوخ) boiled and skimmed honey (see above).

‘*asal maṭbūkh bi ’l-mā*’ (عسل مطبوخ بالماء) honey boiled with water added to it. The process is sometimes referred to as washing *ghasl*, as in al-Warrāq’s recipe for conserving citron (Chapter 125). See ‘*asal muṭaffā*’ below.

‘*asal muṣaffā*’ (عسل مصفى) honey strained of its wax and any other impurities.

‘*asal muṭaffā*’ (عسل مطفى) literally, ‘extinguished honey,’ called so because it is purified and its properties are made less hot. This is done by adding water to it then boiling it and skimming the froth as it comes up until all water evaporates and honey retains its original consistency.⁴

‘*asal nahl*’ (عسل نحل) bees’ honey, called so to differentiate it from other syrups such as ‘*asal qashab*’ (sugarcane syrup). More often than

³ Ibn-Zuhr, *Kitāb al-Aghdhīya*, ed. and trans. Expiracion Garcia (Madrid: Al-Majlis al-A’lā li ’l-Abhāth al-’Ilmiyya, 1992) 70.

⁴ Al-Warrāq is the only source, to my knowledge, who uses the adjective *muṭaffā* describing this operation to extinguish the hot properties of honey and get rid of its acidity to lessen its harm. Ibn Sīnā calls it ‘*asal maṭbūkh bi ’l-mā*’ ‘honey cooked in water.’ A detailed description of how honey can be ‘extinguished’ this way may be found in tenth-century *Kitāb al-Murshid* by al-Tamīmī. It is cited in Manuela Marin and David Waines, “The Balanced Way,” *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989): 129.

not, it is just referred to as *‘asal*. Context will determine which honey is intended.

Medieval physicians, such as Ibn Sīnā, explain the existence of honey as having been initiated by the rising vapors of the fruits of trees, water and earth, which all gather up in the sky and get ‘cooked’ with the heat of the sun. As a result, they condense and become thicker and sweeter in taste. Then the cold of the night condenses them even more, and they become thick and heavy and fall like dew (*ṭal* **طل** *nadā* **ندى**) on the ground, rocks, and trees. The visible varieties, called *‘asal al-ṭal* (**عسل الطل**) manna, are gathered by people. The invisible varieties that fall on flowers are sucked by bees for their nourishment. In their bellies, the dew/honey undergoes some transformations. They vomit the surplus and hoard it in their cells. Poetically, bees’ vomit is called *lu‘āb al-naḥl* ‘bees’ saliva’ (Ibn Sīnā 340; al-Bīrūnī 353).

The best honey is described as having a translucent brownish reddish hue, intensely sweet with just a hint of sharpness in taste, with a pleasant aroma.⁵ It induces thirst because it is dry and hot in properties, and rather acrid. Therefore, it is not recommended for people with hot temperaments. Neither is it the proper food for the summer. However, cooking it and skimming off its froth will render it less harmful (see *‘asal manzū‘ al-raghwa* above). Honey is valued as a nourishing, appetizing, and aphrodisiac food. It is also believed to have countless other benefits such as healing wounds and curing chest ailments (Ibn al-Bayṭār 479-80).⁶

‘asal nay (**عسل نىء**) raw, uncooked honey, recommended for people with cold stomachs.

‘asal qaṣab (**عسل قصب**) sugarcane honey, which is molasses produced in the process of making cane sugar, as follows:

Sugarcane juice is strained, boiled down into thick syrup then drained and filtered in cone-shaped clay vessels. Cane syrup will drip down through three holes in the bottom of the vessels, leaving unrefined crystallized cane sugar in the cones. This dripping syrup is

⁵ Al-Dīnawarī says the best honey is golden in color. A drop of it on the ground will remain rounded like mercury (*‘Uyūn al-Akhbār* 348).

⁶ Al-Isrā’īlī mentions that smearing the male private part with honey after having a bath will help elongate it. This should be repeated over a month’s period (2: 229).

‘*asal al-qaṣab*, also called *quṭāra* (قُطَارَة), which is molasses (al-Hassan and Hill 222).

‘*asal al-sukkar* (عسل السكر) syrup made from cane sugar.

‘*asal tamr* (عسل التمر) date syrup, also known as *dibs* (دبس), entry below.

bafrīnaj (بفرينج) walnut confection. See ‘*afzīnaj* above.

bahaṭṭa (بهطة) smooth variety of rice pudding, made with rice flour, milk (instead of water), sugar, and fat. It is more commonly known as *muhallabiyya* (see below). Medieval lexicons say it is Hindi *Sindiyya* in origin (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. بهط). Al-Warrāq uses the name *muhallabiyya* for such dishes (Chapter 78). However, the Istanbul manuscript contains several *bahaṭṭa* dishes, which are similar to the *muhallabiyyāt* versions. The compiler says they are from *Kitāb al-Aṭbikha*. He calls the variety made with wheat starch, *hayṭaliyya* (هيطلية) (fols. 165r-66v).

basīsa (بسيسة) crumbled honey pie (Chapter 98).

daqīq al-sukkar (دقيق السكر) powdered sugar.

ḍarab (ضرب) thick white honey, perhaps whipped to get this consistency, as the name suggests.

darīb (ضريب) also called *shahd* (شهد) honey with its wax.

dibs (دبس) date syrup, the best of which, Ibn al-Bayṭār says, is found in Basra. He describes how to make it:

According to the pressure-method, called *sayalān* ‘oozing,’ weight is put on dates to allow syrup to ooze. It is also done by boiling dates, according to which equal amounts of dates and boiling water are cooked until dates disintegrate. Then the mixture is beaten, strained, and put in big containers in the sun to thicken if it is made during the summertime. In winter, the strained mixture is returned to the pot to boil down to the desired consistency.

Date syrup is a nourishing source of food, but might generate some unhealthy humors. However, having almonds with it or lettuce stems *uṣūl ak-khas* after eating it will remedy this (266).

fālūdhaj (فالودج) golden translucent and condensed starch pudding, similar to the traditional varieties of starch *ḥalāwa* (thick and chewy puddings) still cooking in the Middle East. Nowadays, the chewy varieties (*ḥalqūm/luqm*) are mostly purchased from professional

confectioners. Variations on the starch pudding use rice flour, ground almond, eggs, or melon (Chapter 93).

The first to make it is said to be ‘Abdullāh bin Jad‘ān, a famous pre-Islamic figure, renowned for his generosity (Ibn Ḥamdūn 1105). This dessert is a refined variation on *ḵhabīs*, a thick pudding for which al-Warrāq dedicates four chapters (see below).

Etymologically, *fālūdḥaj* derives from the Persian *pālūda*.⁷ The Arabic name is *siriṭrāt* (سرطراط), which indicates the pleasure and ease of eating and swallowing it (*Tāj al-‘Anūs*, s.v. سرط). Apparently, medieval Turkish cooks of the Ottoman Empire ‘Turkishized’ the name to *rāḥat luqum* ‘easy on the throat.’ The Victorian travelers visiting the region named it ‘Turkish delight.’ In the modern Arab world, it is called *ḥulqūm* / *luqm*.

fālūdḥaj mu‘allak (فالودج معلك) thick and chewy starch pudding (see above).

fānīdh (فانيذ) *fānīd* (فانيد) pulled taffy, chewy sugar-candy, usually shaped into small discs. Medieval sources briefly describe it as cane juice boiled down to thick syrup and then made into *fānīdh*.

Besides enjoying it as candy, it is used as a substitute for sugar as in some wine recipes. For medicinal purposes, it is mixed with different herbs and spices and chewed to cure coughs and cold-related ailments (Ibn Sīnā 342).

Of its varieties:

1. ***fānīdh aḥmar*** (فانيذ أحمر) red pulled taffy. The name indicates they are made from molasses or dark unrefined brown sugar, called *sukkar aḥmar* ‘red sugar’ (mentioned by Ibn al-Bayṭār 547).

2. ***fānīdh Ḥarrānī*** (from city of Ḥarrān in Iraq) pulled taffy made with refined white sugar syrup. This variety, white and soft, is rated the best.⁸ According to Ibn Jazla, it is made by dissolving sugar in a small amount of water and letting it simmer gently until it thickens. At this point, it is hung to a big nailed peg and pulled repeatedly (fols 155r-v). Other names for this candy:

fānīdh abyad (فانيذ أبيض) ‘white taffy.’

fānīdh sukkarī (فانيذ سكري) ‘taffy made with sugar.’

⁷ According to Steingass, it means, among other things, strained, gilded, clear, and ‘sweet flummery,’ similar to jelly in consistency.

⁸ Ibn Sīnā 342; Ibn al-Bayṭār 383; Ibn Jazla, fol. 155r.

fānīdh khazā'inī (فانيذ خزائني) 'excellent taffy fit for the king's coffers.' Ibn Sīnā describes it as *jayyid* 'good quality' (1053).

The heating and laxative powers of this variety of *fānīdh* are described as inferior to those of *Sijzī* because it is made with white sugar (*qand*), which is less hot and moist than unrefined sugar (Ibn al-Baytār 383).

3. **fānīdh Khurāsānī** (فانيذ خراساني) pulled taffy from the Persian region, *Khurāsān*. Probably it is a basic variety made with thickened molasses, which is sugarcane syrup (*quṭāra*, 'asal qaṣab').

4. **fānīdh Sijzī** (فانيذ سجزي) or **shajarī** (شجري) taffy of Sijistān, region to the east of Persia (al-Baytār 512). *Shajarī* seems to be a corruption of the name.

It is described as having a considerable heating power that softens the bowels and dispels winds (Ibn al-Baytār 383). From this we deduce that, unlike *fānīdh Harrānī* (see above), it is made with unrefined cane sugar.

5. **ka'b al-ghazāl** (كعب الغزال) literally, 'gazelle's heel,' called so because it is shaped as a half circle of *fānīdh* (al-Maqrīzī 540). Incidentally, we know from this source that the regular shape for *fānīdh* is round.

jalanjabīn (جلنجبين) rose petal conserve or syrup, believed to strengthen the stomach and aid digestion.⁹ For a recipe, see Chapter 125.

jawzīnaj (جوزينج) walnut dessert prepared like *lawzīnaj* (see below), also called 'afzīnaj (عفزنج) entry above.

jullāb (جلاب) rose water syrup, sometimes used as a substitute for plain syrup. It is also diluted with water and consumed as a refreshing drink chilled with ice.

Ibn Sīnā gives a recipe for making this syrup: cook together 1 *mann* (4 cups) sugar and 4 *ūqiyyas* (½ cup) water. Before taking it away from heat, add 2 *ūqiyyas* (¼ cup) rose water (1229).

khabīṣ (خبيص) condensed pudding. Some varieties are made moist and soft and others, grainy and crumbly in texture. They are not as translucent as *fālūdḥaj*, and are thinner in consistency (see above). They are made with starch and nuts, or fruits such as carrot, dates, and apples (Chapters 94, 95, 96, 97).

⁹ al-*Khuwārizmī* 330; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Irab* 1209.

A variety of this dessert made with almonds attributed to the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn (d. 833), son of Hārūn al-Rashīd (Chapter 94), found its way to the medieval Christian West. In the Latin cookbook *Liber de Coquina*, written towards the end of thirteenth-century, it was called *mamonía*.¹⁰

lawzīnaj (لوزينج) *lawzīnaq* (لوزينق) almond confection. The drenched variety *mugharraḡ* is similar to baklava: thin sheets of dough are stuffed with a mix of ground nuts and sugar, and drenched in syrup and delicate oils. Excellent *lawzīnaj* is described as very well stuffed, and enclosed in sheets of dough, more delicate than the morning breeze *nasīm al-ṣabā*, and as thin as the inner skin of the egg shell *khirshā*' and locusts' wings *ajniḡat al-janādib*.¹¹

The dry variety *yābis* is similar to almond brittle (Chapter 99). Ibn Jazla says that the Persian variety, *lawzīnaj Fārisī*, is uncooked. It is simply made by combining equal amounts of ground skinned almond and sugar, and binding and scenting the mix with rose water, musk and camphor (fols. 186v–87r). Ibn Zuhri says that besides eating *lawzīnaj* as a pleasurable food, it has some medicinal benefits such as inducing sleep, nourishing the brain, and 'ripening' cold humors in the chest and lungs to facilitate purging phlegm (95). This indeed explains the etymological origin of the European medicinal 'lozenge.'

mādhī (مادي) light-colored honey, smooth and thin in consistency. See '*asal mādhī*' above.

mann (من) manna, its formation is said to be initiated by the rising vapors of the fruits of trees, water and earth. All these gather up in the sky and 'cook' with the heat of the sun, and condense and become thicker and sweeter in taste. Then the cold of the night condenses them even further, they become thick and heavy and fall on the ground, rocks, and trees, like dew (*ṭal* طل). This explains why manna and similar sweeteners are called '*asal al-ṭal* (عسل الطل) honey of dew. The quality depends on the kind of trees they fall on. Good varieties are taken from terebinth, almond, and similar trees. The kind that falls on tamarisk trees is called *turunjabīn* (ترنجبين) (al-Bīrūnī 353; Ibn al-Bayṭār 139).

¹⁰ Rodinson, "Ma'mūniyya," 191.

¹¹ *Jundub* (sing.) is a male locust (see Glossary, Section 11.4). The analogy is from Ibn al-Rūmī's poem, cited by Ibn Abī 'Awn, 61.

mu‘aqqad (معقدّ) nougat. See *nāṭif* below.

muhallabiyya (مهلبية) sweet and smooth milk pudding. Some varieties are made with eggs like custard, some are made into smooth rice puddings using finely ground rice, and others are made with *itriya* ‘dried noodles.’ For a story behind naming this dish, see Appendix, s.v. al-Muhallab bin abī-Ṣufra. *Bahṭṭa* (بهطة) is another name for the rice pudding (see above).

murabba (مرّبّا) *murabbayāt* (مربيات) conserves made from fruits, vegetables, rinds, and roots. They are cooked in sweet solutions like honey until they develop a thick consistency. They are eaten for sheer joy *ladhdha* but also for medicinal purposes when mixed with spices and herbs (see also Section 12.2 below)

Foods preserved by pickling in vinegar are also called *murabbayāt*. To differentiate them from foods preserved in honey, they are sometimes described as *murabba bi ‘l-khall* (مرّبّى بالخل) ‘preserved in vinegar.’

nāṭif (ناطف) nougat made with egg whites, honey, and nuts. Other varieties resemble nut brittle (Chapter 104).

nāṭif al-mismār (ناطف المسمار) literally, ‘honey candy made on the nail.’ It is a kind of honey pulled taffy, mentioned in Chapter 94. According to a pulled honey taffy recipe in al-Tujībī’s thirteenth-century Andalusian cookbook *Fidālat al-Khūwān*, honey is cooked until it thickens and then it is spread on a marble slab until it is cool enough to handle. The honey sheet is hung to a big nail (*mismār*) hammered into the wall. The honey sheet is pulled and folded several times until it looks white (245).

qand (قند) crystallized cane sugar produced by straining and boiling down extracted cane juice then draining and filtering it in cone-shaped clay vessels. At this stage, *qand* is raw and unrefined. For a finer and whiter sugar, it is cooked with water mixed with some milk, and the process of draining and filtering is repeated. The products of this process are *quṭāra* (قطارة) molasses and refined white sugar cones of *qand* (al-Hassan and Hill 222). The solid cone of the white refined sugar is called *sukkar ublīj* and *ṭabarzad* (see below).

Top-quality *qand* is called *qand khazā’inī* (قند خزانني) ‘worth-keeping in kings’ coffers.’ Judging from medieval verses, we gather it is white and shaped into small balls or sticks, poetically compared to hail balls, snow, and small silver pillars. These delicacies are served at the table

for eaters to nibble at (al-Tha‘alibī *Yatīmat al-Dahr* 536). *Qand* is used in making *fanūdh sukkarī* (sugar pulled taffy; entry above).

qand mahlūl (قند محلول) syrup made from dissolved cane sugar. See *qand* above.

qaṭāyif (قطايف) sing. *qaṭfa* (قطفة) delicate sweet crepes stuffed with sugar and nuts and drenched in perfumed syrup (Chapter 102). The name derives from *qaṭīfa* ‘velvet,’ as al-Khuwārizmī suggests (31). Their lovers call them *lafā’if al-na‘īm* ‘rolls of bliss’ (Ibn Ḥamdūn 1103). *Khushkanānaj al-qaṭāyif* (خشكانانج القطايف) are round crepes filled with a mix of nuts and sugar and folded into half moons like *khushkanānaj* (Section 2, above). Then, they are fried and drenched in syrup (Chapter 101).

qaṭāra (قطارة) literally, ‘drippings,’ molasses of cane sugar, a by-product in the process of refining and whitening *qand* sugar (al-Hassan and Hill 222). Also called ‘*asal qaṣab* ‘sugarcane honey’ (entry above).

rub (رب) pl. *arbāb* (أرباب) condensed juices of fruits and vegetables, boiled down until thickened, without adding sugar to them. They are valued mostly for their medicinal benefits, but are also used in drinks and cooking (Chapter 126).

ṣafanj (صفنج) literally, ‘sponge,’ also called *zalaqanba’* (زالقنبع). It is a variety of porous yeast cake (*zalābiya furniyya*, Chapter 100). See *zalābiya ghayr mushabbaka* below.

shahd (شهد) honey with its wax.

shahmiyya (شحمية) yeast cake baked in a pan smeared with pounded *shahm* ‘tallow,’ filled with nuts and dried fruits, and fed with honey (Chapter 98).

shāsh (شاش) honey put in a vessel and set aside until it solidifies and becomes like candy.

sukkar (سكر) generic name for sugar including *mann*, which is dried exudates and sweet granular substances excreted on leaves of certain trees (see *mann* above).

Sukkar also designates crystallized sugar produced from cane juice, called *sukkar qand*. It is moderate in properties and does not need any remedying *ishlāh*, and hence is rendered suitable for both hot and cold-tempered people. Compared with honey, it is less hot and dry, and hence gentler on the stomach (al-Rāzī 240; al-Isrā’īlī 2: 225-26).

See the following entries for different kinds of cane sugar:

sukkar abyad (سكر أبيض) white, refined, and pure cane sugar *sukkar qand* (see above).

sukkar aḥmar (سكر أحمر) literally ‘red sugar,’ it is unrefined crystallized brown cane sugar, sometimes used instead of white sugar because it is stronger in properties (hotter and moister). The darker it is, the stronger these properties are (Ibn al-Bayṭār 533).

sukkar muṭayyab (سكر مطيب) sugar perfumed with aromatics such as musk, camphor, and rose water.

sukkar nabāt (سكر نبات) literally ‘germinated sugar,’ rock candy. It is pure, translucent, crystallized sugar made from syrup, sometimes flavored with rose water or water of violets (Ibn al-Bayṭār 383).

According to *Tāj al-ʿAnūs*, s.v. نبت, it is a marvelous kind of sugar, made into lumps that resemble crystal *billawr*, extremely white and polished. Crystallized minerals in nature are sometimes compared to it.¹² Luckily, al-Tamīmī in *Kitāb al-Murshid* describes how it is made: Flavored or unflavored syrup is made then put in a container with a date palm frond in the middle. Sugar crystals, as pure and translucent as *zulāl* ‘raw egg white,’ start building on the fronds.¹³

This sugar is regarded as the most excellent variety. Its medicinal benefits depend on what is added to its syrup (Ibn al-Bayṭār, 383). It is used crushed in cooking and medicinal preparations.

sukkar qand (سكر قند) cane sugar. See *qand* above.

sukkar Sulaymānī (سكر سليمانى) hard sugar-candy made from white cane sugar. *Sulaymānī* and *ṭabarzad* are sometimes referred to as *al-sukkarān* ‘the two sugars’ as in the Istanbul MS (fol. 22v). Compared with regular sugar, *Sulaymānī* variety tends to be somewhat less sweet, but hotter and moister due to the way it is made.

From various references to *Sulaymānī* sugar, we know that it is made from white sugar boiled into thick syrup then beaten until it starts to cloud and crystallize. Beating aerates the syrup and make the candy brittle in texture and less sweet. While still malleable it is shaped into discs, rings, fingers, etc. However, they might have been more commonly shaped into small rings—similar to today’s lifesavers candy—because of the epithet *Sulaymānī*. Small and delicate ring-shaped objects are commonly compared to Solomon’s ring *khātām Sulaymān*. In the *Arabian*

¹² al-Bīrūnī, *al-Jamāhir fī Maʿrifat al-Jawāhir* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 37.

¹³ Cited by Marin and Waines, “The Balanced Way,” 130.

Nights, for instance, a damsel's beautiful mouth—small, round, and full—is usually compared to *khātam Sulaymān*.

The sugar is enjoyed as candy but also pounded, sifted, and used for cooking purposes. Sometimes it is just coarsely crushed for garnish.

sukkar ublūj (سكر ابلوج) excellent refined white cane sugar *qand*, usually sold in solid conical masses. A singular sugar cone is called *ublūja*. The name derives from *ablaj* (adj.) 'shining with radiance' (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. بلج). This information is confirmed by fourteenth-century *Masālik al-Aḥṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* by Ibn Faḍlullāh al-ʿUmarī, who compares the Egyptian pyramids to this kind of sugar, and adds that the only difference in shape is that the pyramid is square at the base whereas this sugar cone is round.¹⁴

ṭabarzad (طبرزد) *tabarzan* (تبرزن) *tabarzal* (تبرزل) fine-quality white and refined cane sugar *qand*. It is usually sold in solid molded cone-shaped masses as they take the shape of the clay vessels in which cane sugar is washed and refined. It is also called *sukkar ublūj* (entry above).¹⁵ The medieval name *ṭabarzad* is not descriptive of the quality of the sugar itself as much as the way it is used: *tabar* is a Persian loan word for hatchet or axe used to chisel the amount needed from the solid mass of sugar.

tazāyīn (تزايين) **tahāsīn** (تحاسين) delicate sweet cookies and colored nuts and sugar used as decorations for desserts.

turunjabīn (ترنجبين) literally, 'honey of dew,' a kind of manna, said to fall from the air on trees such as the tamarisk *tarfāʾ*, mostly in *Khurasān* and the Levant. The best is described as soft and white, like nougat *nāṭif*, or as thick as honey (al-Bīrūnī 114; Ibn al-Bayṭār 139). See *mann* above.

In properties, it is moderate, slightly leaning towards heat. It is effective as a laxative and purgative, also recommended to cure coughs and chest ailments and quench thirst (al-Nuwayrī 1243; Ibn al-Bayṭār 139).

ublūj (ابلوج) see *sukkar ublūj* above.

yaʿqīd (يعقيد) honey boiled until it thickens.

zalābiya mushabbaka (زلابية مشبكة) latticed fried fritters, soaked

¹⁴ <http://www.alwaraq.net>, 74.

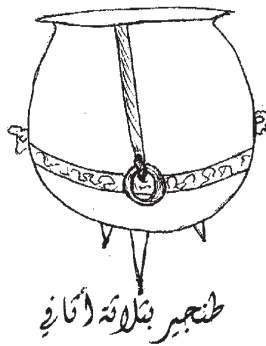
¹⁵ Until recently, sugar cones like these, called *shakar kalla* (شكركلّة) in Iraq, were sold in the markets wrapped in navy-blue paper to show off the sugar's whiteness.

in honey or drenched in sugar, the same as today's *zalābiya* (Chapter 100). Some medieval lexicographers suggest that the name is of Arabic origin because the word *zalābiya* occurs in ancient Arabic verses (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. زلب).

zalābiya furniyya (زلابية فرنية) also called *furniyya* (فرننية) *zalaqanbaʿ* (زلقنبع) and *ṣafanj* (صفنج) baked yeast pastry/cake. It is a round porous cake, thick and domed in the middle. When served, it is first pricked or sliced to wedges; moistened with milk, clarified butter, and honey; then given a final sprinkle of ground sugar and sometimes a bit of black pepper to facilitate its digestion (Chapter 100).

zalābiya ghayr mushabbaka (زلابية غير مشبكة) also called *zalābiya sādḥaja* (زلابية ساذجة) yeast pastries. Some are made like doughnuts—shaped into ring cakes, deep-fried, and then soaked in syrup. The baked variety is called *zalābiya furniyya* (entry above).

zalaqanbaʿ (زلقنبع) baked yeast pastry, see *zalābiya furniyya* above.



6. *Dishes*

adasiyya (عدسية) dishes of lentil cooked with or without meat along with vegetables, especially chard (Chapter 64).

ahlām (أهلام) meat with skin on preserved in vinegar. See *halām* below.

anjudhāniyya (أنجذانية) meat dish flavored with crushed dried *anjudhān* 'leaves of asafetida plant' (Chapter 80).

aruzziyya (أرزية) rice porridges, savory and sweet, cooked with meat and milk (Chapter 51).

al-‘ashīqa (العشيقية) literally 'the beloved,' a braised dish made with diced meat or disjointed chicken (Chapter 71). According to al-Dīnawarī, the dish's real name is *al-washīqa* 'meat cut into small pieces,' and *al-‘ashīqa* is the commoners' name (*Al-Ma‘ānī al-Kabīr* 92). See also *al-ma‘shūqa* below.

‘aṣīda (عصيدة) a kind of soup *ḥasā*, rather dense in consistency. The main ingredients are flour, fat, and water. Thinner varieties are *ḥarīra*, and *ḥasū* (see below). However, it may be a kind of dessert when made with mashed dates and clarified butter, as in *‘aṣīdat al-tamr* (mentioned in Chapter 6).

Bābakiyya (بابكية) a variety of *kishkiyyāt*, stew dishes cooked with *kishk* (dried dough of crushed wheat and yogurt). See Chapter 63.

bādhinjān Būrān (بادنجان بوران) fried eggplant seasoned with *murī* (liquid fermented sauce), black pepper, and caraway seeds (Chapter 45). See *būrāniyyāt* below.

bādhinjān maḥshī (بادنجان محشي) dressed eggplant prepared by boiling it and dressing it with olive oil, spices and herbs. See Chapter 45.¹

baṣaliyya (بصلية) meat stew cooked with onion. See Chapter 76.

bawārid (بوارد) cold dishes of red meat, chicken, fish, and vegetables. They are usually served before the hot dishes, which explains why they are nicknamed (برائد الخير) 'harbingers of good news.' However, the vegetarian ones are not received with the same enthusiasm as the meat

¹ For differences between *maḥshū* and *maḥshū*, see Section 10.2.

ones, as their nickname (زحام بلا منفعة) ‘much ado about nothing’ might suggest (al-Ābī 172).

Poultry and fish are mostly grilled and served with dipping sauces *ṣibāgh* (Chapters 31, 33), red meat is pot-roasted (Chapter 42), and vegetables are mostly simmered with olive oil, vinegar, spices, and herbs (Chapters 45, 46).

bazmāward (بزماورد) a sandwich made by spreading a filling on a flat thin bread and rolling it up tightly then slicing it into thin discs. A special long and sharp knife is used to cut this roll into dainty slices (al-Tunnūkhī 129). The sandwich is nicknamed *Abū Kāmil* (أبو كامل) ‘father of the perfect one’ (al-Ābī 172). Other names: *luqmat al-khlīfa* (لقمة الخليفة) ‘the Caliph’s morsel,’ *luqmat al-qāḍī* (لقمة القاضي) ‘the judge’s morsel,’ *narjis al-mā’ida* (نرجس المائدة) ‘narcissus of the table,’ *nawāla* (نواله) ‘a morsel,’² and *muyassar wa muhanmi* (ميسر ومهنا) ‘delightful and easy to eat’ (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. ورد). It is a luxurious food fit for nibbling, passed around on a tray to guests, like today’s *hors d’oeuvres*. Etymologically, the name may mean ‘a tightly wrapped roll,’ based on a possible combination of *wārid* (long) and *bazm* (tightly wrapped).³ It may mean ‘a festive roll,’ based on the Persian *wardān* ‘rolling pin’ and *bazm* ‘banquet’ (meaning of words from Steingass). See Chapter 23, for recipes.

būrāniyyāt (بورانيات) fried eggplant dishes invented by Būrān (d. 884), wife of Abbasid Caliph al-Ma’mūn. The dishes are sometimes referred to as *maqluwwāt Būrān* (Būrān’s fried dishes). According to her method, small eggplants are pierced, soaked in salted water, fried in sesame oil, and sprinkled with *murr*, black pepper, and caraway seeds. Other vegetables such as truffles or gourd may replace the eggplant (Chapters 45, 46).

bustāniyya (بستانيّة) stew which incorporates orchard *bustān* produce, most probably picked up and cooked in the orchards themselves (Chapter 62).

dākibriyān (داكبريان) is *shawī al-qidr* (شوي القدر) ‘pot roasting’ in

² Meaning of word from Steingass.

³ Meanings of words from *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ورد, بزم. Interestingly, one of the meanings of *bazm* is ‘taking a small bite with the front teeth only,’ which also applies to *bazmāward*, an unsubstantial food, fit for nibbling.

Arabic, as al-Warrāq explains. The recipe in Chapter 87 describes how to prepare the pot so that the meat roasts in it.

dikabrīka (ديكبريكة) delicately soured meat stew.⁴ It is described as the sister of *sikbāj* (beef stew soured with vinegar), but less sour. Like *sikbāj*, it gets better with reheating. When first cooked it is eaten as hot *tharīd* (bread sopped in its broth) with a little sugar. Later, it is served as plain *tharīd*. Its meat may be eaten hot or cold, and its sauce can be strained to get rid of the fat then served as cold *tharīd* (al-Ābī 571; Ibn Ḥamdūn 1103).⁵ See Chapter 56.

The Medieval medical verdict is that it is less harmful to the stomach than *sikbāj* because its properties are less cold. It is praised as a good dish that does not need any remedying *iṣlāḥ* even if eaten frequently (al-Rāzī 143-44).

fujliyya (فجالية) a dish cooked with meat and radish, with spices and herbs (Chapter 54).

halām (هلام) pl. *ahlām* (أهلام) veal or mutton, cut with skin on, cleaned of hair and then cooked in seasoned vinegar, and preserved in it (Chapter 41). Ibn Ḥamdūn says the affluent cultured classes in Iraq are famous for this dish. They take tender veal, wash it, dry it, and put it in a pot. Then they pour grape vinegar and olive oil on it, and add rue, parsley, citron peel or its blossoms, peels of Levantine apples, coriander seeds, and saffron. They cook it, let it cool, and store it (*Al-Tadhkirat* 103). It is served with sauce made from the vinegar in which it is kept after mixing it with almonds and sugar. Fish is prepared the same way, as in al-Warrāq's *halām al-samak* (Chapter 33).

ḥarīra (حريرة) a variety of soup, silk-smooth and flowing in consistency. Its basic ingredients are starch, water, and fat (Chapter 107).

harīsa (هريسة) smooth porridge cooked with meat and grains such as rice or wheat. The secret for good *harīsa* is slow and prolonged cooking, and constant beating until it is smooth and meat turns into threadlike shreds. Therefore, care has to be practiced lest it should scorch and spoil.

⁴ I base this interpretation on the Persian *dīg* 'meat in a pot,' and *barīk* 'fine,' and 'delicate' (meanings of words from Steingass). An anecdote in *Nathr al-Durar* (al-Ābī 571) supports this interpretation: a written letter is compared to *dikabrīka*, put less vinegar, and it turns into a fried dish—frivolous and unsubstantial. Put more vinegar, and it turns into *sikbāja*—heavy and too serious.

⁵ Perhaps the second meaning of *dīg* 'yesterday' (Steingass) applies here too, since the stew is appreciated even more when served the following day.

It is touted as a highly nourishing winter dish. To break up its density in the stomach and help digest it, it is served with *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), cinnamon, and pepper (al-Rāzī 145). These three condiments are served in small dipping bowls *uskurrujāt*. The way to eat *harīsa* is to scoop some of it with a piece of thin *ruqāq* bread. The morsel is lightly dipped in *murrī* followed by a dip in black pepper then cinnamon.⁶ It is a popular dish which can be purchased from food markets early in the morning. It is also cooked at home and offered to guests.

Ḥārūniyya (هارونية) meat stew soured with sumac juice and enriched with walnut, named after the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (809). It is served as *tharīd* (bread sopped in sauce) garnished with ground walnut and chopped mint. See *summāqīyya*, below.

Hāshimiyya (هاشمية) dish of meat and onion seasoned with spices and herbs. The sauce is thickened with breadcrumbs or ground nuts (last recipe in Chapter 76). The dish is named after Hāshim bin ‘Abd Manāf (d. 524), great grandfather of Prophet Muḥammad

ḥasū (حسو) pl. *iḥsā’* (إحساء) light, smooth, and thin soup made with water, flour or fine breadcrumbs, and fat. In addition to this basic formula, *ḥasū* is made with other ingredients such as almonds, as in al-Warrāq’s *ḥasū al-lawz* (almond soup). In fact, it may apply to any thin and light soups, which can be sipped *yuhṣā* (يُحَسَّأ) from which the name of the soup *ḥasū* derives (recipes in Chapter 107). A silk-smooth variety is called *harīra* (see above). Generally, soups are recommended for the sick.

hintīyya (حنطية) smooth porridge cooked with crushed wheat (Chapter 52).

hişrimiyya (حصرمية) stew soured with juice of unripe grapes *hişrim* (Chapter 62). All sour stews are deemed suitable for people with hot temperaments. Cold-tempered people are advised to have white simple stews *işfīdbāj* and desserts made with honey after having such sour stews. The aim is to balance their cold properties (al-Rāzī 144–45).

hummaḍīyya (حماضية) meat stew soured with citron pulp (Chapter 58).

⁶ As described by Kukhājim (qtd. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Baṣā’ir wa ‘l-Dhakhā’ir* 162).

Ibrāhīmiyya (إبراهيمية) white *z̄rbāja* (delicate bird stew) in which no saffron is used. To keep it white and pure, it is soured with distilled vinegar and the spices are added in a bundle of cloth. It is delicately sweetened, thickened, and perfumed with white sugar, skinned almond, and rose water (Chapter 57). Like *z̄rbāja*, it is moderate in properties. It agrees with the stomach and liver and delights the heart (Ibn Jazla, fol. 18r).

The dish is named after Ibrāhīm al-Mahdī, the gourmet Abbasid prince, half brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd (see Appendix).

ihsā' (إحساء) pl. thin soups. See *hasū* above.

isbanākhīyya (إسبناخية) spinach stew (Chapter 53).

isfidhbāja (إسفذابجة) *isfidbā* (إسفذباً) white stew, praised as a balanced dish fit for all. The name is composed of *isfīd* 'white' and *bā(j)* 'broth' (Chapter 59).

janb mubazzar (جنب مبزّر) a whole side of ribs, rubbed with spices such as pepper, coriander, cumin, and cassia. It is left to marinate first and then it is hooked into *kullāb* 'hooked skewer' and lowered into the *tannūr* to roast to succulence (Chapters 87, 89).

jazūriyya (جزورية) a simple dish made mostly with camel meat (Chapter 77).

jedī maghmūm (جدي مغموم) literally, 'enveloped' or 'covered' kid. A suckling kid is stuffed with a chicken and wrapped in sheets of caul fat. The stuffed kid itself is stuffed in a whole piece of tripe *karsh*, which is sewn-closed then roasted slowly in the *tannūr* (Chapter 87).

jedī maḥshū (جدي محشو) stuffed kid, a sophisticated and beautiful dish, albeit excruciatingly elaborate (Chapter 88).

jūdhāba (جودابة) an exciting dish similar to bread pudding assembled in a pan called *jūdhābadān*. It is baked in the *tannūr* with a chunk of meat suspended above it so that it receives all the drippings while baking (Chapter 92). From the medical point of view, the sweet bread puddings served with the meat facilitate its digestion.

Etymologically, the name of the dish might have been derived from *jadhaba* 'cut' (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. جذب). In this dictionary, the dish is defined as 'sliced food' (الطعام الذي يشرّح). This clearly illustrates how the roasted meat is customarily served along with the bread pudding. The dish might also mean 'the suspended' describing the

meat chunk usually kept suspended above the bread pudding pan while roasting and dripping its fat.⁷

jullubāniyya (جلبانية) a dish cooked with grass pea, meat and spices (Chapter 65).

kabāb (كباب) meat cut up into small portions and grilled on burning coals. Vegetables such as truffles may be peeled and prepared this way (Chapter 46). Meat thinly sliced and griddled (pan grilled) is called *kabāb khālīṣ* 'pure and simple kebab,' also called *kabāb Khālīdī* because it was made for Yaḥya bin Khālīd al-Barmkī (Chapter 42). A famous kabab dish in Baghdad is called *al-Rashīdī*, after the name of Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.⁸

Meat grilled this way is alluded to as *mukabbab* (مكعب). It derives from the verb *kabba* (lay meat on the fire).⁹ Cf. *shawī* (roasting big chunks of meat in the *tannūr*).

Medieval physicians believe that grilled meat is hard and slow to digest. They advise just chewing the meat and sucking its juice, unless it is very tender to begin with. They also recommend marinating it in vinegar first before cooking it to facilitate its digestion. Having it with vinegar-based dips and sauces is similarly helpful (al-Rāzī 146).

kardhabāj (کردباج) *kardanāj* (کردناج) poultry grilled on a rotating spit. Whole birds are seasoned, inserted in a roasting spit, and rotated constantly above burning coals. Sometimes the meat is basted with a feather while rotating (Chapter 90). It is believed to be hard to digest. Having it with *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) facilitates purging it from the system (al-Rāzī 147).

khall wa zayt (خل وزيت) a cold side dish of bread pieces sopped in a mix of vinegar, topped with shredded roasted meat of pullets or chicken, drenched with olive oil, and garnished with nuts, pulp of small and smooth cucumber *khiyār*, and fresh herbs (Chapter 47). It is the perfect dish for hot summer days, served before the main hot dishes.

⁷ Based on *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. دالّ *dalā* lower, dangle, used synonymously with *jadhāba*.

⁸ Badrī Fahd, *Al-ʿĀmma bi-Baghdād fi ʿl-Qarn al-Khāmis al-Hijrī* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-Irshād, 1967) 119. In modern Iraq, meat prepared this way is called *tikka*, which, interestingly, derives from تَكَ *ṭaka* 'cut' (*Lisān al-ʿArab*).

⁹ *Mukabbab* may designate ground spicy meat mix formed into balls 'kubab,' as in the last recipe in Chapter 78.

kishkiyya (كشكية) meat dish prepared with *kishk* (dried dough of crushed wheat and yogurt). Cooking it with garlic and mint is recommended because they make it less bloating (al-Rāzī 142). See Chapter 63.

kurunbiyya (كرنبية) cabbage stew cooked with meat, spices, and herbs (Chapter 53). It is believed to allay symptoms of overdrinking and hangovers (al-Rāzī 147).

kushtābiyya (كشتابية) a succulent dish of meat described as a happy medium between the fried and the boiled (بين المقلي والمصلوق). For recipes and a story behind the invention of this dish, see Chapter 85.

lakhsha (لخشة) dish made with fresh pasta, prepared by cooking meat and boiling thin pieces of dough in its broth (Chapter 81).

laqāniq (لقانق) *maqāniq* (مقانق) *naqāniq* (نقانق) small sausages made with small intestines, stuffed with a spicy mix of pounded meat, using a sausage stuffer *miḥashshā*. Some varieties are immediately boiled in broth or roasted in the *tannūr*. Others are dried and stored for future use (Chapter 36).

lūbyāyiyya (لوببائية) dish of white or red beans simmered with or without meat along with spices and herbs (Chapter 65).

mā' al-laḥm (ماء اللحم) meat juice extracted by slicing meat thinly and cooking it in a pot—no liquids added—until it ‘sweats’ and releases all its moisture, which is collected and given to the sick as nourishing food (Chapter 106). Ibn Sīnā stresses the fact that it is different from *marqa*, i.e. meat broth made by boiling meat in a large amount of water (qtd. Ibn al-Bayṭār 667).

mā' al-sha'ir (ماء الشعير) *mā' al-kishk* (ماء الكشك) barley broth recommended as healthy and nourishing food for the sick (Chapter 108; Ibn Sīnā 951; Ibn al-Bayṭār 668).

mā' wa milḥ (ماء و ملح) a simple dish of meat simmered in salted water. It is usually cooked during hunting sessions, using the meat of the hunted animals such as antelope and wild ass (Chapter 48).

maḍīra (مضيرة) white stew cooked with meat and sour milk *laban maḍīr* of medium to low acidity. It is touted as the healer of all maladies and a favorite summer dish (Chapter 69). The recommendation is not to use light meat like chicken for this stew because it is already made light and rarefied *latīfa* with the sour milk (al-Rāzī 141).

madqūqa (مدقوقة) *mudaqqaqa* (مدققة) spicy meat-mix ground into paste and cooked in casserole-like dishes. It may be formed into patties or balls *mukabbab*, which are either fried or simmered in rich broth (Chapter 78).

maghmūma (مغمومة) literally, ‘covered’ or ‘enveloped.’ It is a kind of potpie. Meat and vegetables are layered in a pot with little liquid added. They are covered with a disc of thin flat bread and cooked on slow burning coal fire. To serve, the pot is turned over onto a wide platter. Poets play on the two meanings of *maghmūma*—‘covered’ and ‘sad.’ See Chapter 74, for recipes and verses. Another variety of *maghmūma*, also called *tannūriyya*, is baked in the *tannūr* as chicken pie with two layers of dough (Chapter 91).

maḥāshī (محاشي) very large sausages made with the lower intestines.

makhlūṭa (مخلوطة) a medley, a rich porridge-like dish made by simmering meat with rice and beans or lentil along with milk, spices, and herbs (Chapter 55).

mamqūriyya (ممقورية) *mamqūr* (ممقور) fish and poultry preserved by sousing them in vinegar, salt, and herbs. When needed, pieces are taken out and served fried with sauce made with their vinegar (Chapter 37).

maqlawiyya (مقلوية) dish of ground meat cooked in a round-bottomed soap stone pan, similar to a wok (Chapter 2). The meat is cooked by frying, stirring, crumbling, and tossing it with spices and herbs. The verb used is *yuqlā wa yuḥarrak* (يُقْلَا وَيُحَرِّك) ‘stir-fry’ (Chapter 78). *Qalāyā* ‘fried dishes’ (Chapter 84), on the other hand, are prepared by simply frying the cut meat. They do not necessarily involve tossing, stirring, and flipping as is done with *maqlawiyyāt*.

al-ma‘shūqa (المعشوقة) *al-‘aṣhīqa* (العشيقة) literally, ‘the loved one,’ and ‘the beloved,’ a meat dish that has very little sauce in it. It is made of diced meat or disjointed chicken (Chapter 71). According to al-Dīnawarī, the dish’s real name is *al-waṣhīqa* ‘meat cut into small pieces, and *al-‘aṣhīqa* is the commoners’ name (*Al-Ma‘ānī al-Kabīr* 92).

maṣliyya (مصلية) meat dishes cooked in sauce enriched with *maṣl* ‘yogurt whey.’ *Maṣl* is used fresh *ṭanī* or dried, in which case the recipe calls for pulverizing it before adding it to the pot (Chapter 70).

maṣūṣiyya (مصوصية) *maṣūṣ* (مصوص) sour stew prepared mostly with meat other than that of quadrupeds, such as birds and shrimp. The souring agent can be vinegar or juice of unripe grapes, sumac juice, or juice of sour pomegranate.¹⁰ In the Istanbul manuscript, the compiler comments that *maṣūṣ* is *sikbājat al-ṭuyūr* (سكباجة الطيور) i.e. it is sour like *sikbāja* but cooked with poultry (fols. 200v–01r). See *sikbāja* below.

mib'ar maḥshū (مبعر محشو) pl. *mabā'ir maḥshuwwa* (مباعر محشوة) large sausages made with a spicy meat mix, stuffed in large intestines, and boiled in broth (Chapter 36).

mishmishiyya (مشمشية) apricot stew cooked with chicken and delicately spiced (last recipe in Chapter 62).

mukabbab (مكباب) spicy mix of ground meat formed into balls *kubab* and simmered in rich sauce, as in the last recipe in Chapter 78. See also *kabāb* above.

mulahwaja (ملهوجة) simple and fast meat dish (Chapter 75).

muṭajjana (مطحنة) braised poultry dish of disjointed cuts simmered in oil and a small amount of water and seasoned with spices and herbs (Chapter 32). According to al-Warrāq, a dish of sliced boneless red meat of quadrupeds (ذوات الأربع) cooked this way is called *ṭabāhiya* (Chapter 86). See *ṭabāhiya* below.

Al-Warrāq's *muṭajjanāt* are cooked in ordinary pots (*qidr*/pl. *quḍūr*) except for a single recipe which calls for a soapstone pot with a narrow top and wider body *burma dayyiqat al-ra's* (برمة ضيقة الرأس), which is ideal for braising (last recipe in Chapter 32).

muthallatha (مثلثة) *thulāthiyya* (ثلاثية) a dish that combines three grains and pulses such as rice, lentil, and white beans (Chapter 52).

In other medieval cookbooks, the word designates dishes that use three main ingredients. For instance, *muthallatha* stews use meat, vegetables, and eggs.¹¹ *Mujabbana muthallatha* is cheese pie filled with cheese, butter, and milk (*Anwā' al-Ṣaydala* 182).

¹⁰ See, for instance, *maṣūṣ al-rūbyān* (shrimp cooked in vinegar) in Chapter 46, and the last few recipes at the end of Chapter 106, dealing with dishes for the sick.

¹¹ As in the thirteenth-century *Anwā' al-Ṣaydala* 116, 182, 206; al-Tujībī's thirteenth-century *Fidālat al-Khiwān* 97.

muzawwarāt (مزورات) ‘simulated dishes,’ usually translated as ‘counterfeit dishes.’ They are meatless dishes meant to give the semblance of the original version, commonly prepared with meat. A dish like this is sometimes referred to as *kadhḥāb* ‘false,’ as in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id* (100–01). Christians traditionally prepare them during the fasting days of Lent. Cooks also make them for the sick since they are light and nourishing (Chapters 46, 105). Doctors prescribe them because they are easier to digest. Indeed, in the medieval sense, *muzawwar* is also synonymous with *muṣallāḥ* ‘improved,’ and *iṣlāḥ* ‘remedying.’ The cooks try their best to make them taste as if there is meat in them to satisfy the cravings of the sick. Sometimes the main ingredient in the dish is simulated such as making an eggless omelet, drained yogurt without yogurt, making milk from coconut rather than milking it from the cow, and making fish condiments without fish. Such dishes are made perhaps to satisfy the craving of a person who has to obey certain dietary constrictions. They also reveal the cook’s resourceful and inventive skills. Needless to say, in a culinary culture that relishes meat, such dishes are not to be reckoned with when in good health or not fasting.

naql (نقل) also pronounced *nuql* and *naqal*, but mostly by commoners (*Lisān al-ʿArab*). They are dishes served during drinking sessions, similar to today’s mazza, ranging from salted toasted nuts, raisins, and fruits, to dishes cooked and served in small portions such as tiny sausages, dry cookies *khushkanānaj*, tiny *sanbūsaj* (filled pastries), grilled swallows, and cured meat *qadīd*. One of al-Warrāq’s recipes describes how to prepare cured meat in a fanciful way to serve it as *naql* with fried or baked tiny thin breads, similar to chips (last recipe in Chapter 89).

Such dishes and foods are called *naql* because the drinkers alternate between nibbling on them and sipping their wine. Evidently, the modern name ‘mazza’ has affinities with such traditions because one of the names of wine is *al-muzzā* (المزّاء), and *al-mazza* (المزّة) may mean ‘delicious wine,’ and ‘a sip’ (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. مزز).

nārbāja (نارباجة) *nārbāja* (نيرباجة) pomegranate stew (Chapter 67). It is the Persian name for *rummāniyya* (see below).

narjisiyya (نرجسية) literally, ‘looking like narcissus.’ It is a meat dish with sunny-side-up eggs, prepared in a special wide and shallow pan (Chapter 73).

nūmbarisht (نیمبرشت) soft-cooked egg, also called *al-murta'ish* (المرتّش) and *al-r'ād* (الرّعاد) 'the jiggly' (*al-Isrā'īlī* 1: 392; *al-Khuwārizmī* 31). It is deemed the most healthful way for cooking eggs because it digests easier than hard-boiled eggs. It is good for coughs, sore throats, tuberculosis, and invigorating coitus.

The egg is prepared in two ways: In the shell, put in boiling water and at the count of 300 it is done. Poached, cracked into boiling water and at the count of 100 it is done. The latter is said to be better because the egg releases and discards its undesirable greasy odors into the water (*al-Isrā'īlī* 2: 278-79; *Ibn Jazla*, fol. 49v).

qaliyya (قلية) pl. *qalāyā* (قلايا) dish of fried meat which has been diced (*mubandaq*) or sliced (*musharraḥ*) and fried with onion, a small amount of vinegar or *murr* (liquid fermented sauce), and some spices and herbs. The final dish has no sauce but should still be moist (Chapter 84). Cf. *maqlawīyyāt*, above.

qarīs (قریس) (قریس) aspic dish. See *samak qarīs* below.

qibba mahshuwwa (قبة محشوة) stuffed omasum tripe, which is the third compartment of the ruminant stomach. It is round like a large ball, which explains why it is also called *rummāna* 'pomegranate' (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. قنب).

The *qibba* is stuffed with a spicy mix of pounded meat and rice, closed with twigs of *khilāf* 'willow,' and boiled in broth (Chapter 48).¹²

rakhbīna (رخبينة) meat stew flavored with *rakhbīn* 'dried butter milk' (Chapter 81). Also see *rakhbīn* in Section 4 above.

rūbyān (روبيان) shrimp prepared in many ways such as boiled, *tabāhija* (a moist fry), *maghmūma* (potpie), *sanbūsay* (fried filled pastries), *mamqūr* (preserved in seasoned vinegar), and *mašūš* (cooked in vinegar with seasonings). See Chapter 46.

rummāniyya (رمانية) pomegranate stew cooked mostly with chicken (Chapter 58). *Nārbāja* stew is a variation on such dishes (Chapter 67).

ṣalāyiq (صلايق) *ṣilāqāt* (صلاقات) sing. *ṣaliq* (صليق) *ṣilāqa* (صلاقة)

¹² *Qibba*, the dish and its name, is the origin of *kībā* (كيبا) and *kābbāyāt* (كبابيات), prepared today by stuffing and sewing smaller pieces of tripe. See recipe in *al-Baghdādī's* thirteenth-century cookbook (*al-Bārūdī's* ed., 53). Arberry mistakenly thinks the word derives from the Persian 'kīpā,' and not from the Arabic *qibba* "as Father Anastase-Marie suggests" (199, n. 7).

boiled dishes of vegetables dressed with oil and seasoned with vinegar, herbs, and spices. They are served as *bawārid* cold dishes before the main hot meal (Chapters 43, 45). Cold meat dishes are prepared with shanks, trotters, heads, and sometimes organ meat. They are boiled, seasoned with herbs and spices, and served with mustard dip (Chapter 44).

samak maḥshū (سمك محشو) stuffed fish, roasted in the *tannūr*, and served with dips *ṣibāgh*, which help bring out its taste and facilitate its digestion. A person who has no credibility is compared to a fish dish served without *sibāgh* (Chapter 33).

samak maqlū (سمك مقلو) fish dusted with flour and salt then fried and served with dips (Chapter 33).

samak qarīs (سمك قريس) fish aspic, sour and cold dish of gelled fish.¹³ It is cooked in vinegar seasoned with herbs then put aside to set *yajmud* with the gel the fish releases—especially the heads—while boiling. The literal meaning of *qarīs* describing water, for instance, is frozen and solid. The fish dish is solid or ‘frozen’ not with cold but with gel (Chapter 33).

sanbūsaj (سنبوسج) filled pastries prepared in several ways. Al-Warrāq says they can be savory and sweet.¹⁴ Some of the savory ones are made with *ruqāq* ‘thin sheets of bread,’ filled with a fine mix of meat, onion, spices, and herbs, and sometimes dried fruits and nuts. They are shaped into triangles,¹⁵ squares, or rectangles, and deep-fried. Others may be made with yeast dough (‘*ajīn mukhtamir*). The dough is flattened into thin sheets, and discs are cut out with the brim of a small round bowl. Some stuffing is put in the middle of a disc and covered with another one. The edge is sealed all around by pressing it with the fingernail (Chapter 36). Al-Warrāq calls pastry shaped this way, *Bābakī* (details in

¹³ The word *qarīs* sometimes occurs as *qarīs* (قريص) and *qarīsh*. In al-Warrāq’s collection of recipes, only fish is used in making the dish, but other meats can be used as well. Ibn Sīnā, for instance, refers to sour *qarīs* made with beef or kid’s meat (985).

¹⁴ He does not give recipes for the sweet ones. Al-Baghdādī’s thirteenth-century cookbook provides directions for sweet *sanbūsaj*. The filling is made of ground sugar and almond bound with rose water. Another option is to fill the pastries with pieces of *halwā ṣābūniyya*, a variety of firm pudding. The pieces are fried, drenched in syrup, and then coated with fine sugar perfumed with musk and camphor (Arberry 201).

¹⁵ A recipe in al-Baghdādī’s thirteenth-century cookbook gives brief directions for shaping pastry into triangles: the flattened dough is divided into strips and then rolled into triangles (Arberry 57). This is similar to what nowadays is called ‘the flag fold.’

Chapter 36). In the Istanbul MS, it is called *al-ḥararī* ‘the round one’ (fol. 58v). Tiny *sanbūsqj* pastries—as small as fava beans—are fried and served as *naql* ‘mazza’ with drinks. The cook is advised to make a lot of these because one cannot have enough of them (Istanbul MS, fols. 58v-59r).

Another variety is shaped into half moons or crescents, like *khushkanānj* cookies (Section 2 above), and cooked in broth, as described in Istanbul MS, 58v. One of al-Warrāq’s stew recipes, *ḥummādiyya Ibrāhimiyya* (stew soured with citron juice), uses such pastries (Chapter 58).¹⁶

sawādhiḥ (سواذج) sing. *sādhaja* (ساذجة) a general term for stews simple in looks and taste. Although the titles of three of al-Warrāq’s chapters carry the name *sawādhiḥ*, none of the recipes in them is called *sādhaja*, an indication that the word describes a way of cooking rather than names of particular dishes (Chapters 56, 60, 74).

shaljamiyya (شلجمية) meat stews cooked with turnip and seasoned with spices and herbs. The stew liquid is thickened by mashing some of the boiled turnip and stirring it back into the pot. The broth of one of the recipes is enriched and whitened with milk, and made enticing with small and spicy meatballs (Chapter 54).

sharā’ih mubazzara (شرائح مبزرة) thin slices of meat rubbed with spices. They can be fried or skewered and roasted in the *tannūr*, as in Chapter 89. There is no specific recipe for the fried variety. However, some of the *kushṭābiyyāt* dishes in Chapter 85 may pass for fried *sharā’ih mubazzara* (especially *Kushṭābiyya* by Ibn ‘Umar). In the Istanbul manuscript, a recipe calls for slicing tender meat into thin strips. They are rubbed with ground black pepper, salt, coriander, ginger, caraway, sumac, and dried mint. Then, they are marinated in a mix of olive oil, vinegar, *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), lemon juice, and crushed garlic. The slices are browned in oil and used. The recipe also suggests that the meat slices may further simmer in the remaining marinade (fol. 192v).

sharā’ih mudakhkhana (شرائح مدخنة) smoked slices of meat used as garnish (Chapter 72). Thin strips of meat are first seasoned with spices and herbs and then exposed to smoke of fire while a pot

¹⁶ The pastries are reminiscent of today’s Middle Eastern *shish barak* and the Italian ravioli. In Istanbul MS, there are other recipes for such ‘raviolis,’ boiled in broth or added to stews (fol. 57v).

is cooking. Smoke is sometimes deliberately created by sprinkling oil on burning coals. Meat strips are fried after they get enough smoke (Istanbul MS, fols. 66r, 152r).

shiwā (شواء) big chunks of meat, mostly *janb* ‘a side of ribs,’ rubbed with spices or marinated in seasoned vinegar, and lowered into the *tannūr*, where it roasts to succulence. A pan with some water in it is sometimes put underneath it to receive the dripping juices. Sometimes the meat is half boiled in vinegar before roasting it to tenderize it (Chapter 87).

shūrbā (شوربا) a general name for soup. The Arabic name is *ḥasū* (حسو) or *ḥasā* (حساء). See *ḥasū* above. The name *shūrbā* has its local ancient roots in the region.¹⁷ In the ancient Babylonian recipes, meat juice or broth is called ‘shīru.’ ‘Pa’ in the Akkadian is juice or liquid.¹⁸ Al-Warrāq’s mention of *shūrbā* is the earliest citation in medieval Arabic cookbooks, so far (Chapter 2). Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) mentions it three times as *shūrbāja* شورباجة (158, 444, 1051).¹⁹

sikbāja (سكباجة) sour stew cooked mainly with beef, but other meats may be incorporated, too. The souring agent used is vinegar (Chapter 49). Physicians recommend it for people with hot tempers. It is the dish to have in hot countries and during the summer (al-Rāzī 139). Evidently, the pre-Islamic Arabs knew the dish.²⁰ *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. صفصة (*ṣafṣafa*) صفصة (*ṣafṣafa*) صفصة, gives its Arabic name as *ṣa’faṣa* (صفصة) صفصة (*ṣafṣafa*) صفصة.

sumāqiyya (سماقية) meat stew soured with sumac juice *mā’ al-summāq*. The juice is extracted by soaking whole sumac berries in hot water and setting them aside to warm up in the heat of the sun. Al-Warrāq’s recipe does not recommend boiling the sumac. When drained, the berries are discarded and only the juice is used. The stew is thickened with ground walnuts. To serve, it is poured on *ṭharīd* (broken pieces of bread) with ground walnut sprinkled all over it (Chapter 68).

ṭabāhija (طباهجة) braised dish of thinly sliced *musharraḥ* red meat of

¹⁷ Hanz Wehr *The Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (3rd ed.) describes it as a word of Syriac origin.

¹⁸ Jean Bottéro, “The Culinary Tablets at Yale,” 11; Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal* 181.

¹⁹ A recipe for making *shūrbā* is in the Istanbul MS (fol. 198v). Al-Baghdādī’s thirteenth-century cookbook gives one, too (47).

²⁰ See Garbutt, “Ibn Jazla” (44, n. 5).

quadrupeds (ذوات الاربع), marinated in sauce, and slowly simmered in a small amount of liquid with oil, spices and herbs, and sometimes vegetables. See Chapter 86 for the genesis of *ṭabāḥija*, and recipes.

Al-Warrāq draws the line between *ṭabāḥija*, which uses sliced red meat, and another braised dish *mutajjana*, which uses disjointed birds (comment and recipes in Chapter 32). He also differentiates between *ṭabāḥija* and *al-maqlī* ‘fried dishes’: The meat of the fried dishes, he says, is not sliced as in *ṭabāḥija*, but rather cut into dices, the size of a hazelnut each. Besides, whereas *ṭabāḥija* sometimes contains sauce and some vegetables, the fried dishes are dry and use no vegetables (Chapter 86).

ṭafshīl (طفشيل) porridge-like dish cooked with meat and a number of grains and legumes such as lentil, chickpeas, beans, mung beans, and rice (Chapter 66).

In some medieval sources the dish is named *ṭafayshal* (طفيشل) and is said to be of Jewish origin. Al-Ṭabarī tells the story of Moses’ return to Egypt and his reception by his family who shared *ṭafayshal* with him (159). It is also said to be one of prophet Muḥammad’s favorite dishes²¹

tannūriyya (تنورية) dishes baked in the *tannūr*, ranging from chicken potpies to bean casseroles cooked on open fire first then simmered in a slow burning *tannūr*. Sometimes, a whole fatty lamb is suspended above the bean casseroles (Chapter 91).

ṭardīn (طردين) thin and smooth triangles of meat patties. A spicy mix of meat paste is thinly flattened on a sheet of paper, boiled with the paper then cut into triangles and fried as needed. These meat patties are mostly used to decorate other dishes (Chapter 36).²²

The name of these delicate meat patties is an unusual one. *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt* gives the word *ṭurdīn* as a Kurdish dish (طعام للاكراد). Steingass does not include it. However, judging from the recipes, it can be related to *ṭarīda* (طريدة) a long piece of silken cloth, and *ṭarrād* (طَرَاد) wide level surface (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. طرد).

ṭharīd (ثريد) broken pieces of bread sopped in rich broth with meat,

²¹ Shams al-Dīn al-Shāmī, *Subul al-Hudā wa ’l-Rashād fī Sīrat Khayr al-‘Ibād* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 2253.

²² There are more recipes and detailed instructions for *ṭardīn* in Istanbul MS (fols. 190r–91v).

mostly on the bone, and vegetables. This is the most popular dish ever served at the tables of high and low. It is what they put in it and how they serve it that elevate it or keep it a humble dish. See, for instance, the festive *sikbāj* stew in Chapter 49. Most of the dishes that have stew in them are served this way. The ones with meat are served as main dishes (Chapters 61, 83). The vegetarian ones made by sopping bread in olive oil, vinegar, with spices and herbs are served as side dishes eaten with roasted chicken (Chapter 47).

thulāthiyya (ثلاثية) a dish which combines three grains and pulses such as rice, lentil, and white beans. See *muthallatha* (مثلثة) above.

‘***ujaj*** (عجج) sing. ‘*ujja* (عجة) omelets, some are left whole, unscrambled (*mudawwarāt*); and others are scrambled *makhḥūtāt*. Some are left simple, made with eggs, milk and ground nuts; and others are cooked with meat, vegetables, spices, and herbs (Chapter 79). A special frying pan, called *miqlāt al-‘ujja* is used in making it. It is round with high sides and a long handle similar to that of the ladle.²³

‘***uṣbān*** (عصبان) sing. ‘*aṣīb* (عصيب) strips of meat wrapped in caul fat, tied with intestines, and roasted in the *tannūr* (Chapter 87). ‘*Uṣbān* also designates intestines of kids and sheep, which are cleaned and cooked as meat (Chapter 83). The definition of ‘*aṣīb* in *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. عصب, as (رثة تعصب بالامعاء فتشوى) ‘cheap and lean cuts of meat wrapped in intestines and roasted,’ clearly points to the humble origin of this dish. The intestines will surely add to the meat the fat and juiciness it lacks and make it more palatable.

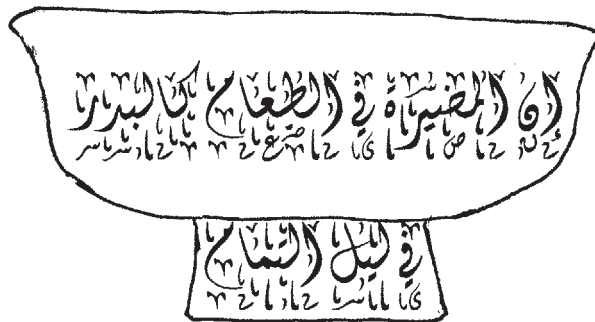
wasṭ (وسط) pl. *awsāt* (أوساط) filled sandwiches. A thick variety of bread, such as *furnī* ‘baked in a brick oven’ is slit open and pith removed. Then, it is stuffed with cooked meat, vegetables, cheese, and the like. The filled bread is pressed for an hour or so then sliced into strips, triangles, or squares (Chapter 23).

wasṭ mashṭūr (وسط مشطور) open-faced sandwich made by discarding the top crust and the edges of a whole bread (*raghīf*) and slathering its face with *binn* (fermented sauce, sometimes replaced with *rahshī* tahini) and walnut oil. It is then toasted on the brazier and spread with yolk of soft-cooked eggs *nīmbarishṭ* (Chapter 23).

²³ As described in thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣā ilā ‘l-Ḥabīb* (Ibn al-‘Adīm 2: 717).

zīrbāja (زيرباجة) delicate bird stew. The name is a combination of the Persian *zīr* (gold, golden) or *zīr* (delicate, dainty, thin), or *zīra* (cumin seeds) and *bā* (liquid, broth). The dish is cooked in several ways. The most common variety is made light with birds, golden with saffron, seasoned and spiced with a light hand (sometimes with cumin), and lightly soured with vinegar, with some sugar added to balance the taste. A pale yellow *zīrbāja* that is not given its fair share of saffron is sarcastically called *al-‘ābida* ‘the ascetic pale female worshipper’ (Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-‘Udabā*’ 809).

Physicians sing praises of its perfectly balanced properties. It is the stew to recommend for weak stomachs because it is not only light but also delicious enough to whet the appetite (Ibn Sīnā 730, 1166). It is also the dish to mention whenever haute cuisine of the high classes is evoked such as in the *Arabian Nights* story of the fateful *zīrbāja* the merchant ate on his wedding night to the favorite slave girl of Sayyida Zubayda, wife of the Abbasid Caliph Ḥārūn al-Raṣhīd. He forgot to wash his hands after devouring it and paid dearly for it.²⁴ For recipes, see Chapter 57.



²⁴ *Alf Layla wa Layla* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 75.

7. *Fats and Oils*

alya (الْيَة) fat of sheep's tail, usually used rendered. It is cut into small pieces, put in a pot with some oil, and cooked on fire until it melts. The sediments are discarded.

dasam (دسم) grease of animal fat and meat.

duhn (دَهْن) pl. *adhān* (أدهان) oils and fats in general. However, it may designate vegetable oils, other than *zayt* 'olive oil,' including cooking oils and aromatic and medicinal oils.

duhn ṭayyib (دَهْن طَيِّب) oil enhanced by treating it with aromatics and other ingredients to improve its properties. The phrase is sometimes used to describe any good quality fine-tasting fat, sweet and free of acidity such as butter and sesame oil. See, for instance, the sixth recipe in Chapter 100. Untreated oil is *duhn ḡhayr ṭayyib* (دَهْن غَيْر طَيِّب).

duhn al-ḥal (دَهْن الْحَل) oil of unhulled sesame seeds. See *shayraj* below.

duhn al-jawz (دَهْن الْجَوْز) walnut oil, delicate oil used uncooked in desserts such as almond and walnut confections, *lawzīnaj* and *jawzīnaj*. Due to its hot properties, it is recommended for people with cold temperaments (Ibn al-Bayṭār 291).

duhn al-lawz (دَهْن اللَّوْز) oil of sweet almond, delicate oil used uncooked in desserts such as almond and walnut confections, *lawzīnaj* and *jawzīna*. It is moderately cold and moist, recommended for headaches and stomachaches. Rubbing the backbone with this oil is believed to prevent osteoporosis *inḥinā' shaykhūkhū* (Ibn al-Bayṭār 291). Oil of bitter almond is used medicinally only, especially to open up blockages.

duhn al-simsim (دَهْن السَّمْسَم) sesame oil, also known as *shayraj* (see entry below).

rahshī (رَهْشِي) *ṭahīn simsim* (طَحِين سَمْسَم) tahini, sesame paste, made by grinding sesame seeds (Ibn al-Bayṭār 324). In modern Iraq, it is called *rāshī* (رَاشِي). The name derives from the verb, *rahasha* (رَهَش) 'grind into fine particles' (*Lisān al-'Arab*). Besides using it in cooking, it is eaten as a condiment smeared on bread, as in the last recipe in Chapter 89. It causes satiety with its hot and moist properties and

dense nature. Having it with honey or date syrup will help it go through the system faster (Ibn Jazla, fol. 110r).¹

samn (سمن) clarified butter of goats and cows; animal ghee, sometimes referred to as *sanm* ‘*Arabī*’ (سمن عربي) (Ibn al-Bayṭār 549).

shahm (شحم) tallow, suet. It is the hard crumbly fat around kidneys and loins of cattle and sheep. *Shahm* may designate the white inner layer of the peel of citrus fruits or the white pith in pomegranate. Dry juiceless grapes are described as *shahmī*.

shayraj (شیرج) *sayraj* (سيرج) *shayraq* (شیرق) also called *duhn al-ḥal* (دهن الحل) sesame oil extracted by grinding unhulled sesame seeds then kneading them with hot water to help the oil separate from the dregs. It is the oil to use when deep-frying because it allows the fried food to brown nicely.

shayraj ṭayyib (شیرج طيب) *shayraj* ‘*adḥb* (شیرج عذب) sweet and enhanced sesame oil. A recipe for sweetening the oil (*ta’adḥīb*) is available in the Istanbul manuscript (fols. 253v-54r). Sesame oil is mixed with an equal amount of water and boiled down until all water evaporates. Sometimes skinned almonds are added in the process for better flavor and aroma.

silā’ (سلاء) clarified butter, more commonly known as *samn* (سمن).

ṭahīn simsim (طحين سمسم) tahini, ground sesame seeds. See *rahshī* above.

ṭayyib al-zayt (تطيب الزيت) the process of enhancing and sweetening the taste of olive oil by getting rid of its acidity. According to a recipe in the Istanbul manuscript, this is done as follows: 2 *raṭls* (4 cups) olive oil are mixed with 2 *ūqiyyas* (1/4 cup) sesame oil, and double their amounts of water (8½ cups). The mix is whipped and boiled until all water evaporates. The process is repeated four times after which the oil is cooled down and then strained and stored (fol. 253v).

zayt (زيت) olive oil, the word derives from *zaytūn* ‘olive.’ According to al-Isrā’īlī, oils extracted from other plants are called *adhān*, sing. *duhn* (2: 284). The word *zayt*, however, is sometimes loosely used to include vegetable oils in general.

¹ Today’s Iraqi custom of combining tahini with date syrup as a dip eaten with bread for a snack might have originated in such a belief.

zayt ‘adhb (زيت عذب) also called *zayt ḥilū* (زيت حلو) sweet and mellow olive oil extracted from fully ripe black olives. It lacks the astringency of *zayt al-anfāq*. To add some strength and astringency to it, sometimes fresh olive stems and leaves are pressed with these olives (al-Isrā’īlī 2: 285).

zayt al-anfāq (زيت الانفاق) olive oil extracted from the first cold press of unripe green olives, characterized by having a high level of astringency. Good quality oil is fragrant, with a fine taste, free of sharpness and acidity (al-Isrā’īlī 2: 284). See also *zayt al-mā* ‘water oil’ and *zayt maghsūl* ‘washed oil’.

This oil is highly recommended for healthy people (Ibn al-Bayṭār 358; Ibn Sīnā 268). Al-Bīrūnī identifies the name *anfāq* as Rumī ‘Byzantine’ in origin—*anfākīn* (أنفاكين) omphacium. He translates it as *zayt al-bākūr* (زيت الباكور), which means ‘oil of olives not yet fully mature,’ and says it is raw in taste *naṣ*’ (212). *Zayt akḥḍar ḡhayr maghsūl* (زيت أخضر غير مغسول) literally, ‘unwashed green olive oil’ is another name for this kind of oil (Istanbul MS, fol. 224v).

zayt fāyiq (زيت فايق) excellent quality olive oil, well-balanced in properties, and has an airy lightness in its texture *laṭāfa ḥawā’iyya*. To test for this lightness in texture: when you put a small amount of this oil on your skin, it should spread smoothly without breaking, and your skin absorbs it quickly. It has a pure color and a fresh and pleasant aroma (al-Isrā’īlī 2: 285–86).

zayt ḥilū (زيت حلو) *zayt ‘adhb* (زيت عذب) sweet and mellow olive oil extracted from fully ripe black olives. See *zayt ‘adhb* above.

zayt al-mā (زيت الماء) literally, ‘water oil.’ It is olive oil extracted by treating it with hot water. Also called *zayt maghsūl* ‘washed olive oil’ (see below).

Commercially, it is produced by using olive pulp left from the first cold pressing. It is soaked in hot water and then pressed to extract the remaining oil, which is inferior in quality to the first cold press (al-Hassan and Hill 224). To separate the oil from the water, and ‘wash’ it to clear it of any impurities, it is allowed “to float in a running stream,” and hence the name *zayt maghsūl* ‘washed oil.’²

A low-grade and cheap variety of olive oil, also called *zayt al-mā*, is

² See Waines, “Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq,” 329.

extracted as follows: After several pressings of the olive pulp, the final liquid separated from the pulp is kept in “settling vats.” The water is drawn off, and the remaining oil is collected and used (al-Hassan and Hill, 223–24). In an anecdote in a medieval historical document, this variety is given the name *zayt al-qulla* (زيت القلة) ‘jar oil,’ a cheap and frugal kind of oil, as we deduce from the anecdote (Ibn Manẓūr *Mukhtaṣar Tāriḫ Dimashq* 3093).

zayt maghsūl (زيت مغسول) literally, ‘washed olive oil,’ also called *zayt al-mā*’ (see above). According to al-Isrā’īlī, this oil is made from fresh unripe olives whose oil is extracted using hot water (2: 284). On the domestic level, washing the oil is done by mixing hot water with olive oil. The mixture is stirred and water is drained from a hole at the bottom of the container. The procedure is repeated until the oil is washed of all impurities and moistures (Ibn Zuhr 71). Washing the oil can temper its acidity and sharpness of taste. It also bring its inherent qualities of moisture and heat to a happier medium (Ibn-Sīna 268; Ibn al-Bayṭār 358).

zayt muṭayyab (زيت مطيب) sweetened and enhanced olive oil. See *ṭayyib al-zayt* above.

zayt al-qulla (زيت القلة) ‘jar oil,’ a cheap and frugal variety of *zayt al-mā*’ ‘water olive oil’ (entry above).

zayt raṭb (زيت رطب) fresh olive oil, recently pressed from olives.

zayt rikābī (زيت ركابي) it is *zayt al-anfaq* (زيت الانفاق) olive oil extracted from unripe green olives. People of Iraq call it *rikābī* because it is transported to them from the Levant on *rakā’ib* ‘backs of camels’ (Ibn al-Bayṭār 361). In Egypt, it is called *zayt Filasṭinī* (زيت فلسطيني) Palestinian oil. It is described as pure, clear, and “proverbially famous.”³ See *zayt al-anfāq* above.

zayt ṭarī (زيت طري) freshly pressed olive oil.

zayt ṭayyib (زيت طيب) fine-tasting, enhanced, and sweetened olive oil. See *ṭayyib al-zayt* above.

³ al-Tha’ālibī, *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information: The Laṭā’if al-Ma’ārif of Tha’ālibī*, trans. Charles Bosworth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968) 118.

8. *Fruits (Fresh and Dried) and Nuts*

akhḍar (أخضر) green, may designate fresh crops regardless of color, as opposed to dried *yābis*.

anbaḡ (أنبج) ‘*anbā* (عنب) mango, grows in India and China. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes how the Indians pickle the sour unripe fruit in brine and vinegar and eat it as an appetizing *kāmaḡh* condiment with food. When it ripens they eat it like apples, he says. Some cut it with a knife and others suck the pulp (203). Ibn al-Bayṭār compares the taste of pickled mango to olives, and says the Indians think of it as the most excellent condiment used to stimulate the appetite. Eating it regularly, he adds, will improve bodily odors (492). Mango preserved in honey, called *anbaḡ* (أنبج) pl. *anbiyāt* (أنبيات), was so popular in Iraq during the medieval times that the name was used synonymously with general *murabbayāt* ‘conserves’ (al-Khuwārizmī 33).

aṭrāf al-adhāra (أطراف العذارى) literally, ‘finger tips of virgins,’ a variety of long grapes.

balah (بلح) fresh dates, still yellow and firm. See *tamr* below.

ballūṭ (بلوط) acorn. See *shāhballūṭ* below.

biṭṭikh (بطيخ) generic name for melon and watermelon. It is a member of the gourd family, which includes the vegetables *qarʿ* ‘gourd,’ *qiththā* ‘long and ridged cucumber,’ and *khayār* ‘small and smooth cucumber.’ See vegetables in Section 14.1 below.

Varieties of melon available in medieval times:

1. **biṭṭikh** (بطيخ) melon. Two major kinds of the cultivated melon *bustānī* are available: round ones, intensely sweet and firm in flesh, and the oblong ones with less firm flesh and not as sweet (al-Isrāʾīlī 3: 2–3).

2. **biṭṭikh akhḍar** (بطيخ أخضر) watermelon, not so sweet. It is called ‘green melon’ because of its outer skin. Other names for this variety of watermelon:

dillā (دلاع) in northern Africa.

habhab (حبب) in al-Ḥijāz, perhaps because of its too many seeds.

raqqī (راقي) in Iraq because it originally came to the region from the Syrian city, al-Raqqā. Ibn al-Bayṭār (547) calls it

biṭṭikh raqqī (بطيخ رقي).

biṭṭikh Hindī (بطيخ هندي) and **biṭṭikh Sindī** (بطيخ سندي) in Persia because it originally came to them from the Indian region. Al-Isrā'īlī calls it **biṭṭikh Filastīnī** (بطيخ فلسطيني) Palestinian melon (3: 6).

Judging from verses written on this melon, the outside skin is striped white and green, like an oval box made of ivory, striped with emerald, with a ruby hiding inside it (al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara* 360).

3. **biṭṭikh Ma'mūnī** (بطيخ مأموني) a variety of watermelon named after the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn. It has extremely sweet red pulp, usually grown in the Persian city of Maru (al-Isrā'īlī 3: 6-7). This must be the melon al-Tha'ālibī mentions as the pride product of of *Khuwārizm*, described as “the sweetest and nicest-tasting of all melons. They were first exported to [the Abbasid Caliph] al-Ma'mūn and then al-Wāṭhiq, packed in snow inside leaden containers.”¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says it has no equal, and describes it as green from the outside and red from the inside, with an intensely sweet and firm flesh. He says it is eaten fresh and dried like figs (179).

4. **biṭṭikh Šinī** (بطيخ صيني) Chinese melon. In Egypt it is called **biṭṭikh asfar** (بطيخ اصفر) yellow melon. It has a rough outer skin, which poets compare to a hedgehog skin. It is heavy for its size, with yellow, smooth, and buttery pulp. In some verses, it is further described as sweet as honey, aromatic as musk, and enclosed in a vest of gold. It fills the hand holding it and has the color of a lovesick lover (al-Suyūṭī *Husn al-Muḥāḍara* 360).

5. **biṭṭikh Khurāsānī** (بطيخ خراساني) melon of *Khurāsān*, the Persian region. It is characterized by having a twisted long neck, and is not so sweet. In Egypt it is called al-'Abdalī (العبدلي) (al-Ābī 333).

6. **shimmām** (شمّام) as it is called in Iraq, the Levantines call it *dastbūya* (دستبوية) (99). It is extremely sweet-smelling melon, small and round, with red and yellow stripes. Ibn al-Bayṭār compares it to the striped cloth *al-ʿitābiyya*, which was in fashion at the time.

7. Besides the above, other varieties, rather sour in taste, are also available. People have them for their medicinal benefits such as to ease fever and help digest beef in the stomach. Instances on these:

milyawn (مليون) or *malūnya* (ملونيا) described as summer melon, long and sour. It is a genetic breed of *qiththā'* 'long and ridged cucumber' (Ibn al-Bayṭār 97, 700).

¹ al-Tha'ālibī, *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information* 142.

Faqqūṣ (فَقْوَص) small and sour unripe Egyptian melon. Al-Rāzī says only the small and tender ones should be eaten because the big ones are hard to digest. Pickling this melon in brine makes it more digestible (229).

Melon in general is cold and moist in properties, and hence has a cooling effect on people with hot temperaments and fevers. It is diuretic and the seeds are even better than the flesh for the kidneys. Its aroma cools the brain and induces sleep. All parts of the melon—flesh, rind, and seeds with their pith—have medicinal uses.

Here are other non-medicinal benefits: Dried and ground melon rind is added to tough cuts of meat as a tenderizer (Ibn al-Bayṭār 97). Dried and ground melon seeds are used as a body scrub. Dried skin of melon is used to scrub pots and pans. It is also used instead of *uṣṣnān* ‘alkali’ to wash hands and mouth after eating. Fresh melon rind is used as a skin-purifying rub.

bunduq (بندق) *funduq* (فندق), sometimes called *jullawz* (جَلْوَن) hazelnut. It is eaten roasted and used in cooking like any other nut. It is accused of causing headaches with its cold properties. It nourishes the brain, and having *fānīdh* ‘pulled taffy’ with it will improve its properties (Ibn Sīnā 242; al-Rāzī 243).

bunduq Hindī (بندق هندي) macadamia, also called *ratta* (رَتَّة).² It has several medicinal uses such as aiding digestion (Ibn al-Bayṭār 120).

burqūq (برقوق) a variety of sweet *qarāṣya* ‘cherry,’ which has the power to purge. The fruit grows abundantly in the Levant. In the western Islamic region, the name designates apricot.³

busr (بسر) ripe fresh dates, still firm and crunchy to the bite. See *tamr* below.

bustān (بستان) orchard with fruits, flowers, and trees. An orchard enclosed with walls is *ḥadīqa* (حديقة).

buṭm (بطم) nut-like fruit of a variety of terebinth tree (*Pistacia atlantica*). The kernel is the size of a pea, and tastes somewhat like the

² I base this identification on my first hand experience with whole unshelled macadamia, which I compared with Ibn al-Bayṭār’s description of the nut—round like a hazelnut, and when shaken it produces a rattling sound.

³ Ibn al-Bayṭār 87. See also Ibn al-Wardī, *Khāṭat al-‘Ajā’ib* (<http://www.al-waraq.net>) 81.

regular pistachio (*Pistacia vera*). Almost all medieval sources identify *buṭm* as the tree of *ḥabba kḥadrāʾ* (حبة خضر^ا) the green terebinth berries. However, Ibn Sīnā says *buṭm* tree yields a somewhat larger variety of *ḥabba kḥadrāʾ* (*Pistacia terebinthus*) (279).

Judging from my first hand experience with *buṭm* and *ḥabba kḥadrāʾ*, I believe Ibn Sīnā is right in his identification. In today's Iraqi markets, both nuts are sold: the green terebinth nuts have wrinkled outer green skin. They are usually left to dry on the trees before sending them to the market, and require neither salting nor toasting. I used to eat the green skin first and then crack the somewhat hard shell with my teeth to get into the small kernel inside. *Butm*, on the other hand, is a little larger than *ḥabba kḥadrāʾ*, and is usually pretreated before selling it. The outer skin is removed and the nuts are kept in brine for a while to make them easier to crack by teeth.

Terebinth fruit is valued for oil extracted from its seeds. The tree's aromatic resin is used as a digestive gum. It is called *ʿilk al-buṭm* (علك البطم), similar to mastic gum in properties. With their hot and dry properties, the nuts are used medicinally as a diuretic. They can cure ailing spleens, coughs, and raw chests. They are slow to digest and spoil the appetite, but are highly aphrodisiac (Ibn al-Bayṭār 96-97). See *ḥabba kḥadrāʾ* below.

faqqūṣ (فقوص) unripe and sour small Egyptian melon eaten like cucumber. See *biṭṭīkh* above.

fustuq (فستق) pistachio (*Pistacia vera*), eaten by itself and used in cooking like any other nut. From poetry written in its praise, we learn it is very popular as *naql* 'mazza,' served salted when drinking wine. It is compared to a philosopher that talks smoothly and sweetly. The nut itself is compared to bird's beak with its tongue showing. Besides, its enticing green color lends itself to an attractive shade called *fustuqī* (al-Nuwayrī 1185-86).

It is categorized as hot and dry in properties with some astringency and bitterness in its taste, which gives it the power to unblock obstructions in the liver. Its aroma sweetens the breath and is claimed to have a euphoric effect upon its eater (Ibn Sīnā 347; Ibn al-Bayṭār 521).

ḥabb al-ṣanawbar (حب الصنوبر) pine nuts, harvested from the

female big pine trees *al-ṣanawbar al-kabūr*.⁴ It is described as oily and delicious, richer in nutrients than walnut, but slower to digest. Due to its hot properties, it is recommended for elderly people and those with cold temperaments. They can have it as *naql* ‘mazza’ with their drinks. Its jam is believed to be good for coitus (Ibn Sīnā 278). Al-Isrāʿīlī says it is also called *ḥabb al-mulūk* ‘kings’ nuts’ (2: 245).

ḥabba *khadrā* (حبة خضراء) terebinth green berries (*Pistacia terebinthus*), closely related to *buṭm*, which is a little bigger (see *buṭm* above). It is used as food and medicine. Ibn al-Bayṭār says the immature bunches of the green berries are preserved in vinegar and salt, or just salted, similar to what is done with capers (575). In al-Warrāq’s recipes the berries are toasted and used whole in making seasoned salt (Chapter 21), and crushed in fish relishes (Chapter 40).

ḥiṣrim (حصرم) sour unripe grapes. See *ʿinab* below.

ḥummād (حمّاض) pulp of citrus fruits, used in cooking such as making *ḥummāḍiyya* stew (Chapter 58).

ijjāṣ (إجاص) *injāṣ* (إنجاص) plum, of which there are numerous types. They may be sweet, sour, or sweet and sour *muzz*. They may be round or oval. There are white, yellow, red, and black varieties. Some have small pits and others, large ones. Some are fleshy, dense, and dry, with thin skins; and others are smooth and juicy, with somewhat chewy skins. The Iraqi *shāhlūj* (شاهلوج), for instance, is described as huge, white, and sweet. Al-Isrāʿīlī describes it as slow to digest, and lacks the laxative quality for which plum is known because it is dense in texture and not so juicy (2: 174–77). A variety in Damascus is called *tuffāḥ al-dubb* (تفاح الدب) ‘bear’s apple,’ which is sour and constipating. The mountain variety is red and extremely sour. Its pulp is cooked down into thick paste and made into flat discs—similar to today’s fruit leather—and exported to other countries to be used for cooking purposes (al-Bīrūnī 24–26).

Al-Warrāq’s recipes call for *khawkh al-dubb* (خوخ الدب) literally ‘bear’s peach,’ which he identifies as *ijjaṣ ṣighār ḥāmīd* (إجاص صغار حامض) small sour plums (Chapter 40, recipe for Levantine *kishk*). However, in

⁴ The male pines produce *qaṭirān* (resin containing turpentine), see Section 12.2 below.

Ibn al-‘Adīm’s thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣa ilā ‘l-Ḥabīb*, it is specified as a variety *qarāṣiyā* ‘cherries,’ both fresh and dried (2: 545).

Ripe plum is commended for its cooling effect on the stomach and its laxative properties, provided it is consumed in moderation. Unripe sour ones have the opposite effects on the body. Dried plums are believed to be laxative. They spoil the appetite because they smear the lining of the stomach. They are good for hot-tempered people only, and hence old people should shun them. In case they eat them, they need to chew mastic gum afterwards to dislodge them from the stomach lining (al-Rāzī 245).

‘**inab** (عنب) grapes:

karma (كرمة) grape vine.

‘**unqūd** (عنقود) and **shimrākh** (شمر اخ) grape bunch.

hiṣrim (حصرم) sour unripe grapes.

mā’ hiṣrim (ماء حصرم) sour juice of unripe grapes (entry in Section 9).

During medieval times, grapes and figs were called the masters of all fruits.⁵ They are commended as nourishing food (Ibn al-Bayṭār 499). When sweet and fully ripe, they are the perfectly balanced food that does not need any adjustment *islāḥ* (al-Rāzī 215).

White grapes are more digestible than black grapes if they are similar in other aspects. The recommendation is not to eat grapes the day they are picked as they will cause bloating, but rather wait on them for two or three days. Fully ripe grapes are easier to digest (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Irab* 1198). The best variety, called ‘**inab rāziqī** (عنب رازقي) is described as white as crystal, big and oblong with a curved waist, and as sweet as honey.⁶ A variety called *aṣābi‘ al-‘adhārā* (اصابع العذارى) resembles the dyed fingers of virgins, as the name suggests. The bunch can be a yard long, with oblong and black grapes similar to acorn (Ibn Jazla, fol. 28v).

jawz (جوز) walnut.

jawz raṭb (جوز رطب) fresh green walnut.

jawz mulūkī (جوز ملوكي) ‘regal walnut,’ the largest variety (Ibn Sīnā, 246).

‘**afz** (عفن) an unfamiliar name for walnut.⁷

⁵ Ibn Zuhr quoting Galen, 43.

⁶ From a poem cited by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Irab* 1198.

⁷ See ‘*afzīnaj* (عفزينج) ‘walnut confection,’ in Section 5 above.

Walnut, both fresh and dried, is used in cooking like any other nut. Due to its hot properties, it is not recommended for people with hot temperaments. If they eat it, they need to drink diluted syrup of *sakanjabīn* (made with vinegar and honey), or consume it pickled in vinegar *murabba bi 'l-khall*. People with cold stomachs need to eat it preserved in honey *murabba al-jawz bi 'l-asal*. To make it more digestible it is better eaten without its astringent skin. Ibn al-Bayṭār describes an easy way to get rid of the skins: Shelled walnut is slowly toasted with wheat bran, which will burn the skins and make removing them easier (Ibn Sīnā 246; al-Bayṭār 177–78).

jawz al-Hind (جوز الهند) 'Indian nut,' *nārjīl* (نارجيل) *rānj* (رانج) coconut. Its milk is called *aṭwāq* (اطواق), described as sweet, and is said to cause intoxication when mixed with wine. The thin brown skin on the pulp is removed because it is indigestible. Coconut is described as heavy on the digestion, but eating it with sugar will make it less so. It is believed to invigorate coitus and heat up the kidneys (Ibn al-Bayṭār 707; al-Nuwayrī 1194). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in his account of his travels, describes how to make coconut milk and coconut oil (125).

jummār (جمار) also referred to as *lubb al-nakhla* (لبّ النخلة), and *qalb al-nakhla* (قلب النخلة) heart of the date palm. It is the sprouting leaves of the date palm, which appear at the very top of the tree. It is taken from old date palms only because they die after that. This also explains why it is called *ra's al-nakhla* (رأس النخلة) head of the date palm.⁸ It is used in cooking. Medicinally, it helps stop bleeding and diarrhea with its astringent properties. It is also good for sore throats (Ibn al-Bayṭār 171; al-Nuwayrī 1193).

jummāz (جميز) sycomore figs growing on the wild fig tree. Ibn Sīnā explains that it is called *sīqūmurūn* (سيقومورون), literally 'foolish fig,' because it does not have a pronounced taste. The yellow variety is said to be sweet and is eaten fresh and dried. The Levantine variety is described as large, red, much sweeter, and more digestible than the Egyptian variety. It is said that after Egyptians eat it, they drink cold water believing that it would make it float in the stomach, and hence less heavy (al-Bīrūnī 139-40; Ibn al-Bayṭār 169–70).

⁸ Al-Isrā'īlī mentions that *jummār* taken from the sprouting leaves at the base of the date palm trunk is tough and woody in texture compared with that taken from the sprouting leaves at the top of the palm (2: 217).

khawkh (خوخ) peach, believed to be good for the stomach, and appetizing if eaten when ripe. Because it has the tendency to putrefy in the stomach fast, the recommendation is to eat it before the meal rather than after it (Ibn Sīna 386). Ibn Jazla says the best variety is *al-miskī* المسكي (fol. 88r). Any other kinds of peaches from which the pits can be easily removed are good because this is an indication they are easy and fast to digest.

Al-Bīrūnī mentions varieties of peach:

1. Peach with a lot of fuzz *zī'bar*, called *sha'rā'* (شعراء) 'downy.' It is red and similar in size to apricot. The fuzz is believed to have the power to do some bad things *afā'il sū'* such as scar the stomach and abort fetuses.

2. Smooth peach called *khawkh aqrā'* (خوخ اقرع) 'bold peach.'

3. Excellent-quality peach of the Levant, called *durrāqin* (دراقين).

4. A curious variety, which al-Bīrūnī amusingly describes as flat looking as if it has been squished with a spatula *kafīt* from both ends. It has brittle seeds, the size of a hazelnut (186–87).⁹

khawkh al-dubb (خوخ الدب) literally, 'bear's peach.' In al-Warrāq's recipes it is identified as *ijjaṣ ṣighār hāmīd* (إجاص صغار حامض) small sour plums (Chapter 40, recipe for Levantine *kishk*). However, in Ibn al-'Adīm's thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣa ilā 'l-Habīb*, it is specified as a variety of cherries *qarāṣiyā*, both fresh and dried (2: 545).

kishmish (كشمش) *qishmish* (قشمش) dried small seedless raisins, available in three colors, white, red, and green. The smallest variety is the size of a peppercorn, and the largest, size of a chickpea. They are dried from a variety of sweet small grapes that grow in very long clusters (Ibn al-Bayṭār 602).

kummathrā (كمثري) *kummathrā* (كمثري) pears. The best is the Persian variety *shāh amrūd* (شاه امرود), which is round, fleshy, thin-skinned, and extremely sweet and aromatic. It is compared to solidified aromatic syrup *jullāb jāmid*. It is rendered completely harmless. Poets compare

⁹ From the description, we can tell they are similar to the flat peaches sold in today's Western markets. I find al-Bīrūnī's passage most interesting because he mentions a kitchen gadget I have not come across in medieval cookbooks. It is *al-kafīt*, a kind of spatula, which functions as a turner. The name derives from *kafata* 'flip' (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. كفت). It also points to the fact that the word *kafta/kufta* 'meat patties' is of Arabic origin.

eating pears to kissing and biting a breast. The Chinese variety is astringent and not as moist. However, it is believed to fortify the stomach and quench thirst. Pears are not to be eaten on an empty stomach. The recommendation is to have spiced honey drinks after eating them because they have the tendency to cause colic (al-Nuwayrī 1205; Ibn Jazla, fols. 177r–v).

lawz (لوز) almond.

lawz ḥilū (لوز حلو) sweet almond.

lawz murr (لوز مرّ) bitter almond.

lawz ṭarī (لوز طري) fresh and green almond.

lawz mamlūḥ (لوز مملوح) salted and toasted almond. It is served as *naql* ‘mazza’ with drinks to slow down intoxication (Ibn Jazla, fol. 186v).

Sweet almonds are used as food and in cooking. Although they do not digest fast, they have the ability to unclog blockages in the system. Almonds are moderately hot in properties. Having them with sugar is believed to cure dry coughs, increase semen, and nourish the mind. With its rarefying properties *mulattifa*, bitter almond is especially effective in unclogging obstructions in the digestive system. Ibn Sīnā says eating 50 bitter almonds before having wine will prevent intoxication (302).

laymūn (ليمون) lemon, sometimes the ‘n’ is dropped, as in *laymū* (ليموا) and *līmū* (ليمو).

laymūn akḥḍar (ليمون أخضر) green lemon, lime.

laymūn aṣḡar (ليمون أصفر) yellow lemon. In the Egyptian medieval cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id*, a variety of yellow lemon is called *laymūn Šīnī aṣḡar* (Chinese yellow lemon) (141).

laymūn aswad (ليمون أسود) black lemon (al-Qalqashandī 1512), which may be similar to today’s dried lime.¹⁰

laymūn murakkab (ليمون مركب) lemon bred with citron *utruj* (entry below).

laymūn tuḡḡāḥī (ليمون تَفَّاحِي) apple-like lemon. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 1441) says it does not need to be eaten with sugar because it is not as sour as lemon (342).¹¹

mā' laymū (ماء ليمون) *mā līmū* (ماليموا) lemon juice.

naḡḡāsh (نفاش) the largest variety of lemon (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. نفّاش).

¹⁰ In modern Iraq, it is called *nūmī Baṣra*; in the Gulf countries, *laymūn ʿUmānī*.

¹¹ As the name suggests, it is large, probably a kind of grapefruit.

Ibn Waḥshiyya gives the Chaldean name of the lemon tree *ḥasbanā* (حسبنا) and the Persian *laymū*, but says the tree is originally Indian. He describes the grown fruit as round and yellow with sour pulp and a pleasant smell. He mentions a variety that has a yellowish-reddish hue (1: 182), which may be similar to Seville orange. Al-Bīrūnī describes *līmū* as round, heavy for its weight, with a smooth skin, and bitterish pulp (334). In the poets' eyes, it is a silver ball coated with gold. Apparently, there is another variety, not as round, because it is compared to a chicken egg smeared with saffron,¹² which makes it sound similar to the yellow lemon we are familiar with today.

Fresh lemon pulp and juice are used in cooking as a souring agent. Lemon is also kept in brine, called *mamlūḥ*, used as an appetizing pickle. Lemon freshens the breath, strengthens the stomach, and aids in digesting coarse foods. Nutritionally, it is not deemed a significant source. Medicinally, lemon peel, pulp, and seeds are all used extensively for numerous purposes such as to extinguish heat in the stomach due to excess in yellow bile and cleanse the system of fats and oils after eating rich foods. Sniffing the rind is deemed beneficial to colds and running nose. It is used to treat nausea, headaches, and vertigo. Ibn al-Bayṭār describes how to make several sweet lemon drinks:

sharāb al-laymūn al-sadhaj (شراب الليمون الساذج) simple lemonade made with lemon juice, sugar, and water.

sharāb al-laymūn al-safarjalī (شراب الليمون السفرجلي) lemonade mixed with quince juice.

sharāb al-laymūn al-muna'na' (شراب الليمون المنعنع) lemonade flavored with mint.

Such drinks are valued for their medicinal benefits, and when consumed as *naql* 'mazza' with alcoholic drinks, they are believed to prevent hangovers (Ibn al-Bayṭār 650-54).

laymūn murakkab (ليمون مركب) lemon bred with citron *utruj*. Ibn al-Bayṭār describes it as somewhat sweeter than lemon. He says it combines the characteristics of both but in milder degrees. He adds that since its pulp is not as dense as that of *utruj*, it is lighter on the digestion (651).

mawz (موز) banana, consumed raw as fruit and used in cooking, in which case it may be fully ripe or still green. Ripe banana is compared to butter and honey combined, easy to peel, delicious, and easy to

¹² al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥādara* 364; al-Nuwayrī 1191.

swallow (al-Ibshīhī 181). Al-Bīrūnī says bananas are not left to ripen on the tree. Instead, they are cut off and hung in cellars for a few days to ripen. He also says that summer bananas are tastier than winter bananas (354-55). Banana is described as laxative and heavy on the digestive system (Ibn Sīnā 317).

mishmish (مشمش) apricot. Ibn Sīnā recommends the Armenian variety because it does not sour or rot fast in the stomach. Eating apricot causes fevers because it has the tendency to putrefy in the digestive system fast (317).

Qamar al-dīn (قمر الدين) literally ‘moon of religion,’ is an excellent variety of apricot mentioned in medieval sources. It is said to grow in the Levant and Byzantium. It is also called *mishmish lawzī* (مشمش لوزي) ‘almond apricot,’ because the kernel of its seed tastes like sweet almond. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says it is dried and exported to Egypt, where it is valued as an exquisite treat.¹³ This variety of apricot might well be the origin of today’s apricot leather, called *qamar al-dīn*. It is sheets of dried mashed apricot, popular today in the Eastern Mediterranean region. Indeed, one of Ibn al-‘Adīm’s thirteenth-century apricot stews does suggest using *qamar al-dīn* which is made in Byzantium or Madīna (قمر الدين الذي يعمل في الروم أو في المدينة *mishmish lawzī* ‘almond apricot’ (*Al-Wuṣṣā ilā ‘l-Ḥabīb* 2: 611). The key word in this recipe is *yu‘mal* ‘made’ as it indicates that the apricots were treated in a certain way, quite likely made into *qamar al-dīn* apricot sheets, as we know them today.

nabq (نبق) fruit of the *sidr* (سدر) lote or medlar tree, which is similar to the jujube tree.¹⁴ Ibn Sīnā describes the fruit as red and delicious. It is believed to strengthen the stomach with its astringency (321). The leaves of the *sidr* tree are crushed and used as soap because they contain a mucilaginous substance that foams and cleanses when used with water. The leaves are usually sold already dried and crushed. The person who sells them is called *al-saddār* (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. سدر).

Ibn Waḥshiyya, in his entry on *nabq*, elaborates on the tree and its fruit. He says they are astringent with a pleasant aroma. Round *nabq* can be red or yellow, with or without stones, large or small, ranging

¹³ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 91, 136; Ibn Sa‘īd, *Al-Jughrāfiya* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 71.

¹⁴ *Nabq* was and still is an insignificant fruit commercially. Nowadays, it is eaten for sheer fun and not as a dependable source of nourishment.

from sweet to sweet and sour. Of the extremely sweet oval variety, he says it is the most valued.¹⁵ The fruit has a cooling effect, but it is slow to digest and causes bloating. To remedy this, diluted honey is recommended. He also tells some ancient Babylonian superstitions surrounding the tree that live to this day. For instance, whoever cuts down a lote tree will die within a year (2: 1194-95).

nāranj (نارنج) orange. Ibn Waḥshiyya says the tree is Indian in origin and describes the fruit as round with pulp similar to that of *utruj* 'citron.' He speculates that it might have been a genetic breed of *utruj*. Oil extracted from the rind has the power to purge winds and strengthen joints and nerves with its heat (1: 177-78).

In other medieval sources, there is mention of a sweet variety, a sour variety, and a third one, sweet and sour. Describing the latter, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says it is the size of a lemon and has a delicious taste (203).¹⁶ From Ibn al-Bayṭār we learn that *nāranj* is round and has a smooth skin. Its pulp *ḥummāḍ* is similar to that of *utruj* 'citron' (708).

Poets describe *nāranj* as a ball of fire or red gold. It is compared to the red planet, Mars and cheeks of the beloved that turn yellow pale first at the sight of the lover and then redden for fear of being noticed by others. Another poet describes the peel as a face ridden with traces of smallpox. This evidently applies to a variety with a bumpy peel (al-Nuwayrī 1189-91).¹⁷

narjīl (نرجیل) coconut, also called *jawz al-Hind* (entry above).

qamar al-dīn (قمر الدين) literally 'moon of religion,' an excellent variety of apricot mentioned in medieval sources. It is said to grow in the Levant and Byzantium. It is also called *mishmish lawzī* (مشمش لوزي) 'almond apricot.' See *mishmish* above.

qarāṣiya (قراصيا) cherries of which there are several varieties,

¹⁵ In Iraq today, this variety is called *nabug khistāwī* because it resembles excellent-quality dates in shape and sweetness.

¹⁶ Most probably it is a variety similar to what nowadays is called in Iraq *rārinj/nārinj* (Seville orange). It has bitter rind. A *nāranjiyya* stew recipe in al-Baghdādī's thirteenth-century cookbook gives directions on how to handle these oranges: you need one person to peel them and another to press out their juice, otherwise the juice will acquire a bitter taste (Arberry 40).

¹⁷ The earliest reference to orange *burtuqāl* (برتقال), as we call it today, I found in al-Jabartī (d. 1822) *ʿAjāʾib al-Āthār* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>)1007. The modern name derives from *bilād al-burtuqāl* (Portugal). Cf. the southern Italian name for orange, *portogallo* 'the Portuguese one.'

consumed fresh and dried. Black cherries are sweet and the red ones are sour. There are also sweet and sour varieties *muzz*. In al-Warrāq's recipes, *khawkh al-dubb* (خوخ الدب) literally, 'bear's peach,' is used. He identifies it as *ijjaṣ ṣighār ḥāmiḍ* (إجاص صغار حامض) small sour plums (Chapter 40, recipe for Levantine *kishk*). However, in Ibn al-ʿAdīm's thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣā ilā 'l-Ḥabīb*, it is specified as a variety *qarāṣiyā* 'cherries,' both fresh and dried (2: 545). In *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. نلك, *qarāṣiyā* is said to be the Levantine name for *nulk*, available in two colors, red and yellow.

Sweet cherries glide through the digestive system fast. They are laxative and aphrodisiac. Sour cherries and their juice are constipating, but they help quench thirst (Ibn al-Baytār 538; al-Bīrūnī 302).

rummān (رمان) pomegranate. Sweet pomegranate is consumed as fruit but is described as slow to digest. The sour variety is used in cooking as a souring agent. It is believed to stimulate the appetite and curb yellow bile. Moreover, it is said to be good for the stomach, and help curb the cravings of pregnant women (Ibn Sīnā 362; Ibn al-Baytār 30–32).

rummān ḥāmiḍ (رمان حامض) sour pomegranate.

rummān ḥilū (رمان حلو) sweet pomegranate.

rummān muzz (رمان مز) sweet and sour pomegranate.

ḥabb rummān (حب رمان) pomegranate seeds.

rubb al-rummān (رب الرمان) concentrated pomegranate juice.

shaḥm rummān (شحم رمان) white pith of pomegranate.

rummān sufrī (رمان سفري) literally, table pomegranate, served as fruit. It is described as beautiful and sweet, with small juicy seeds (al-Maḡarrī 1430)

ruṭab (رطب) fresh ripe dates. See *tamr* below.

safarjal (سفرجل) quince. The sweet variety is eaten raw and is believed to strengthen the stomach with its astringency. Sour quince is used in cooking and for making drinks and syrups that have medicinal benefits. The recommendation is to eat it baked for easy digestion. Quince is first cored, its cavity filled with honey, and then sealed with clay and baked in hot ashes. Quince preparations are believed to be useful for all kinds of stomachaches. It is used to help stop vomiting,

quench thirst, and stimulate the poor appetite. Cooked quince is eaten as *naql* ‘mazza’ with drinks to prevent hangovers (Ibn Sīnā 334).

ṣanawbar (صنوبر) pine nuts. See *ḥabb al-ṣanawbar* above.

shāhballūṭ (شاهبلوط) literally, ‘king of acorn,’ chestnut, described as being less astringent than acorn, sweeter, and more delicious. It is slow to digest, but once digested it is highly nutritious, especially when eaten with sugar (Ibn Sīnā 243). Other names: *kistāna* (کستانه) and *qaṣṭal* (قسطل).

ṭalʿ (طلع) clusters of the first appearing dates in female palms, still enclosed in the spathes, called *kāfūr*, *kifrī*, or *jifrī* (كافور/كفري/جفري). In Chapter 78, it is called *ṭalʿ simsimānī* (طلع سمسماني) because of its sesame-like clusters of date buds.

It is served cooked and raw. Like *jummār* (heart of the date palm) and *kam’a* truffles, it is believed to be a non-fattening nourishing food. However, due to its dry and cold properties, it is recommended for people with hot temperaments. To serve, it has to be boiled with mustard, pepper, mint, and thyme to prevent it from being gaseous.

Ṭalʿ is also the pollen of the male date palm, which resembles wheat flour. It is believed to be aphrodisiac (Ibn al-Bayṭār 464).

tamr (تمر) generic name for dates but also designates the dates when they are fully ripe, very sweet, and soft. It also applies to dried ripe dates.

Dates have different names depending on stages of ripeness:

ṭalʿ (طلع) when dates first sprout.

khalāl (خلال) at the earliest stage of ripeness when dates are still green and sour.

balah (بلح) when dates turn yellow. However, they are still very firm and not so sweet.

busr (بسر) when dates are sweet and ripe but still firm and crunchy to the bite.

ruṭab (رطب) *busr* gradually turns into *ruṭab* when part of the date increasingly starts to moisten and soften until finally the whole fruit is soft and highly moist in texture.¹⁸

tamr (تمر) dates in the last stage of ripeness. They are fully

¹⁸ This explains why it is called *ruṭab* (derived from *raṭb* ‘moist’).

ripe, sweet and soft, and contain the least amount of moisture (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. **يسر**). At this stage dates can be safely stored.

Of the varieties of dates: **barnī** (برني) red dates tinged with yellow, fleshy, and sweet; **tabarzad** (تبرزد) sugar-sweet dates; **āzād** (آزاد) top quality dates; and **maʿqilī** (معقلي). The variety called **qasb** (قاسب) is described as light brown in color, large and fleshy with small pits. When dried, it develops a crumbly texture (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. **قاسب**; Ibn al-Bayṭār 551). **ʿAjwa** (عجوة) is excellent quality dates in al-Ḥijāz. However, *ʿajwa* is also used as a synonym for *tamr* ‘ripe soft dates’ (al-Bīrūnī 117).

In medieval times, dates were reported to be plentiful in Basra. An adage goes, “cheaper than dates in al-Basra” (al-Thaʿālibī, *Al-Tamthīl* 59). With its moist and hot properties, date is believed to increase semen and cause headaches. The recommendation is to eat it with almonds and poppy seeds. It is said to be hard to digest and cause teeth and gums to spoil (Ibn Sīnā 373; Ibn al-Bayṭār 142).

ʿidhq (عذق) cluster of dates.

nawā al-tamr (نوى التمر) date seed.

qimʿ al-tamr (قمع التمر), calyx of the date.

tamr Hindī (تمر هندي) literally, ‘Indian dates,’ tamarind. It is used as a souring agent in cooking by first macerating it in vinegar for an hour then straining it. The sourness of the juice is balanced with some sugar before adding it to the pot. A dish soured with tamarind is called *hindiyya*, described as a summer food with cold properties (Istanbul MS, fols. 140v-r). Physicians recommend it as a thirst quencher (Ibn al-Bayṭār 142; Ibn Sīnā 956).

tīn (تين) figs, of which there is the white or yellow variety, very sweet and rated the best. The red and black varieties are not as sweet. Ibn Zuhri, quoting Galen, says figs and grapes are the masters of all fruits (43). According to al-Masʿūdī, the best figs grow in Wazīriyya, a district in the city of Sāmarrā, north of Baghdad, where the palace of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim was built (d.842). Al-Masʿūdī says this variety is called *tīn Wazīrī*, the sweetest of all kinds of figs, with thin skin and tiny seeds (561).¹⁹

Figs have a laxative power. The best way to have them is with

¹⁹ This information clearly explains why the fig vendors of modern Baghdad advertise the excellence of their figs at the top of their voices, saying, “*Wazīrī yā tīn!*”

walnuts so that they produce good nutrition and prevent them from generating bad blood that breeds lice (Ibn Sīnā 374).

tuffāh (تفاح) apples, of which there are many kinds: sweet, sweet-and-sour, sour, and insipid *tafiḥ*. In color, red and red-and-yellow. Names of some of the varieties:

tuffāh fathī (تفاح فتحي).

tuffāh faṣṣānī (تفاح فوقاني) top quality apples.

tuffāh jabalī (تفاح جبلي) mountain apples.

tuffāh Labnānī (تفاح لبناني) Lebanese apples.

tuffāh miskī (تفاح مسكي) musk apples.

tuffāh Shāmī (تفاح شامي) Levantine apples, rated the best because of their balanced properties.

tuffāh sukkarī (تفاح سكري) sugar-sweet apples.

Generally, ripe apples are valued as good food, which has the power to strengthen the heart. Apple enclosed in dough and baked—perhaps similar to today’s apple dumpling—is a cure for a poor appetite. Sniffing aromatic apples is believed to fortify heart and brain (Ibn Sīnā 373).

Besides enjoying them as fruit, apples are used as a vehicle to exchange love messages engraved on them. Lovers use them to exchange kisses from a distance, a bitten apple is called ‘a kissing messenger.’ The fruit inspired a host of interesting analogies and descriptions in poetry such as *الخمير تفاح جرى ذائباً / كذلك التفاح* (A plate full of apples is like a plateful of virgins’ cheeks), and *الخمير جمد* (If wine is a diluted apple, then an apple is solidified wine (al-Nuwayrī 1203).

tūt (توت) mulberry.

tūt Nabaṭī (توت نبطي) Nabatean mulberry, indigenous to Iraq. It is white and as sweet as figs. *Firṣād* (فرصاد) is another name for this sweet variety (Ibn Sīnā 375).

tūt Shāmī (توت شامي) mulberry of the Levant, black and sweet and sour *muzz*.

Tūt is believed to have an appetizing power that helps food go through the system easily. For this reason, the recommendation is to have it before the meal. Sour mulberry is crushed and used in cooking as a souring agent, as in one of al-Warrāq’s recipes in Chapter 92 (Ibn Sīnā 375; Ibn al-Bayṭār 144).

‘unnāb (عناب) fruit of the jujube tree, similar in shape to olive, and rather dry in texture. The fully ripe ones, sweet and red, are the best.

Jujube is a relatively insignificant fruit, both as food and medicine. It is the fruit to nibble on as *naql* ‘mazza’ with drinks, especially by people with hot temperaments (Ibn al-Bayṭār 498). The wood of the tree *khashab al-‘unnāb* is used in making household objects.

utruj (اترج) *utrunj* (أترنج) *turunj* (ترنج) citron.

ḥummāḍ al-utruj (حماض التارج) citron pulp.

shahm al-utruj (شحم التارج) white spongy layer of peel beneath the yellow outer rind.

In appearance, the fruit is described as large, golden-yellow, oblong, with an uneven surface, and aromatic rind (Ibn al-Bayṭār 7), a description which applies to what is known as **tuffāḥ mā’ī** (تفاح مائي) literally, ‘juicy apple,’ which is a name given to a variety of *utruj* (al-Bīrūnī 116).²⁰ Ibn Waḥshiyya says the tree with all its parts should not be touched by a menstruating woman (المرأة الحايض), which explains why it is called *al-shajara al-tāhira* ‘the immaculate tree.’ He also says the fruit comes out green first then turns yellow, and adds, it is extremely fragrant (1: 178-79).

Other varieties are mentioned and described in other sources. Al-Mas’ūdī, for instance, says that *utruj mudawwar* ‘round citrus’ and *nāranj* ‘orange’ are originally from India (167). A small variety of *utruj*, called **shammām al-utruj** (شمّام التارج),²¹ is described in poetry as having a small waist, large buttocks, and clothed in a yellow dress, striped with green (al-Nuwayrī 1208). Another variety grown in al-Ahwāz in Persia is called **panj angusht** (بنج انگشت) literally ‘five fingers.’ It looks like a hand with fingers, highly aromatic, and is exported everywhere (al-Bīrūnī 23).²² Recipes in the medieval cookbook, *Kanz al-Fawā’id*, call for *utruj* that is either *asfar* ‘yellow’ or *aḥmar* (244).²³ With regard to taste, some are almost insipid and slightly sweet, and others very sour.

Citrus peel, whether fresh, dried, or conserved *murabba*, has endless uses. Particularly, it is valued for its euphoric property *mufarriḥ* when

²⁰ In Egypt and the Levant, it is called *kubbād* (كباد). See, for instance, recipes in thirteenth-century Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā’id* (207–08).

²¹ *Shammām* is a variety of small striped melon, highly aromatic. See *biṭṭūkh* above.

²² This might well be today’s irregularly shaped citron with finger-like protrusions, called Buddha’s hand, commonly grown for its aromatic thick peel.

²³ *Aḥmar*, literally, ‘red,’ sometimes designates the color orange, as in this case; or brown, as in brown sugar *sukkar aḥmar*.

sniffed. The fresh peel kept in the mouth sweetens the breath. It is also used as an air freshener. The dried peel is put between layers of clothes to protect them from moths. It is added to the cooking pots like any other spice to make the food more appetizing and to aid digestion. In this case, the peel is discarded after the food is cooked because it is indigestible. Citron peel conserve, on the other hand, is very popular as food and medicine. The juicy pulp is used as a souring agent in dishes called *ḥummādiyyāt* (Chapter 58). Medicinally, *rubḥ ḥummāḍ al-utruj* ‘condensed citron juice’ is taken as a cure for stomach ailments. The juice is also deemed the best pacifier for women’s lust (Ibn al-Bayṭār 7–9; al-Bīrūnī 21–23).

Zesting the peel to extract its oil is done with a sharp piece of iron or a thin shard of glass. To extract the oil without injuring the outer skin, a thin silver spoon or a potsherd with blunt edges is used (Ibn al-Bayṭār 294).

‘*uyūn al-baqar* (عُيُونُ الْبَقَرِ) literally, cows’ eyes, a variety of grapes, round and not so black, with big seeds, not very sweet, and not juicy. They are abundant in the Levant and are usually dried into *zabīb* ‘raisins’ (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. بَقَر ; al-Bīrūnī 26). According to Ibn Zuhri (48), the name ‘*uyūn al-baqar* or ‘*anbaqrā* (عَنْبَقْرَا) designates plum *ijjās* in Andalusia.

zabīb (زَبِيب) large raisins with seeds. The black and red varieties are sweet. The white variety is less sweet and slightly bitter. They are enjoyed as dried fruit and used in cooking and drinks. They are also served as *naql* ‘mazza’ with drinks.

Physicians describe them as the best friends for liver and stomach. They are also good for kidneys and the bladder (al-Nuwayrī 1198–99; Ibn al-Bayṭār 331). *Kīshmīsh* (كَيْشْمِش) is a small variety of seedless raisins (entry above).

mā’ al-zabīb (مَاءُ الزَّبِيب) raisin juice, extracted by first soaking the raisins in water then mashing and straining them. The resulting liquid is enjoyed as a refreshing drink and used in cooking and making raisin wine.

9. *Herbs, Spices, and Aromatics, Fresh and Dry*

abāzīr (أبازير) *abzār* (أبزار) *buzūr* (بزور) sing. *bizr* (بزر) seeds in general. It may be used as a collective noun for seasoning spices, and in this sense it is synonymous with *tawābil* (توابل) sing. *tābil* (تابل). However, whereas *abzār* can be both fresh (*raṭba*) and dried (*yābisa*), *tawābil* designates dried spices. *Abāzīr* sometimes extends to cover more than the regular spices and herbs. It may include seasonings and sauces such as salt, vinegar, sour juice of unripe grapes, olive oil, and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce).¹

In some of the recipes, the spices are bundled in a piece of linen cloth (مصرورة في خرقة كتان) as a bouquet garnis.

abzār ḥārra (أبزار حارة) hot spices such as pepper, caraway, coriander, cinnamon, ginger, and mastic.

abzār ruṭb (أبزار رطب) fresh herbs used to season and garnish the dish such as parsley, mint, rue, and cilantro.

abzār yābisa (أبزار يابسة) dry spices and herbs such as coriander, black pepper, cumin, and ginger.

adwīya (أدوية) spices and seasonings added to the dish. See *abāzīr* above.

afāwīh (أفاويه) *afāwī* (أفاوي) *afwāh* (أفواه) sing. *fūh* (فوه) a variety of aromatic spices and herbs used to season the pot such as cinnamon, cassia, black pepper, cardamom (*qāqulla* and *hāl*), ginger, caraway, and galangal. It is synonymous with *naḥḥ* (نحف) pl. *nawāḥiḥ* (نوافح) ‘exhaling a pleasant smell.’

al-afāwīh al-arbaʿa (الافاويه الاربعة) literally, ‘the four aromatic spices.’ Apparently it was a common combination of aromatic spices during al-Warrāq’s time. Luckily, he mentions its components: spikenard, cloves, cassia, and nutmeg (end of Chapter 122).

afwāh al-ṭīb (أفواه الطيب) *aṭraf al-ṭīb* (أطراف الطيب) a blend of aromatic spices. Fortunately, Ibn al-ʿAdīm’s thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣā ilā ʿl-Ḥabīb* gives its components: *sunbul* (spikenard), *tanbūl* (betel-leaf), *waraq rand* (bay leaves), *jawz al-ṭīb* (nutmeg), *bisbāsa* (mace), *hāl* (green cardamom), *kibāsh qaranful* (cloves), *zīr ward* (rose

¹ As in the fifteenth chapter of al-Rāzī *Manāfiʿ al-Aghdhīya*, 201–10; and al-Warrāq’s third chapter.

buds), *lisān al-‘aṣāfir* (seeds of elm tree), *dār fulful* (long pepper), *zanjabīl* (ginger), and *fulful* (black pepper). All these spices are ground separately and mixed (2: 518).

ahrār al-buqūl (أحرار البقول) table vegetables usually consumed raw because they are tender and luscious.²

āla (آلة) necessary ingredients needed to make a given dish; it may be the spices and herbs added to the pot to flavor the food.

‘***anbar*** (عنبر) ambergris, a grayish substance located in the intestines of sperm whales. It is found floating at sea or washed ashore. We come across many medieval theories on the formation of ambergris such as it is hardened bees wax that somehow got into the sea; or it is sea foam; or dung of fishes in far away seas. Some believe it comes out of a spring in the sea; or it grows in the bottom of the sea and some fishes swallow it, and vomit it when they are full. All they are certain of is it is pushed afloat or ashore by the sea.

Ambergris is valued for its perfume. Physicians recommend it for elderly people because of its heat, and because it is good for weak nervous systems. It is believed that a small amount of it mixed with a glass of wine induces fast intoxication (Ibn Sīnā 337; Ibn al-Bayṭār 492; al-Dumayrī 520).

‘***anbar Shaḥrī*** (عنبر شحري) top quality ambergris, named after al-Shaḥr, the Yemenite coast.

anjudhān (أنجذان) leaves of the asafetida plant, also called *salīqūn* (سليقون). Only the variety with white leaves, called *anjudhān sarkhasī* (أنجذان سرخسي), is suitable for cooking. The black variety has a very unpleasant odor, which makes it fit for medicinal use only. Ibn al-Bayṭār describes the plant as being similar to *kāsham* (lovage, entry below). He further says it grows in Babylon, sold at grocery stores as a spice (56). In taste, it is strong—stronger than onion and garlic—bitter, and acrid. It becomes pleasant when mixed with the sauce preparations of *ṣibāgh* and *kāmakh*, and when mixed with salt and vinegar. It is believed to aid digestion and help with flatulence. It is one of the plants used to abort fetuses (al-Bīrūnī 73–74).

mahrūt or *mahrūth* (محروت/ محروث) root of the asafetida plant.

² *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. حرر; al-Tha‘alibī *Fiqh al-Lughā* 1.

ḥaltīt (حلتيت) resin extracted from asafetida root (both entries below).

anjudhān Sarkhasī (أنجذان سرخسي) edible variety of asafetida plant with white leaves, roots, and resin. It is named after *Sarkhas*, a city in Persia. See *anjudhān* above.

anīsūn (أنيسون) aniseeds, of its two varieties, *rāzyānaj Shāmī* or *Nabaṭī* and *rāzyānaj Rūmī*, the latter is regarded as less sharp in taste. The herb is mainly cultivated for its seeds, of which the best are the new and big ones. Besides cooking, it is valued for its medicinal benefits against colds, inflammations, and flatulence.³ See also *rāzyānaj* (fennel) below.

‘ar‘ar (عرعر) also known as *ubhul* (ابهل) juniper berries of a coniferous shrub of the cypress family. The oily berries are described as round and red with a sweet and sharp aroma. They are pronouncedly astringent and taste like *ḥabba khaḍrā’* (terebinth berries, Section 8 above). Juniper berries are used in cooking such as adding them to stews. With their hot and dry properties, they have the power to purge the stomach, liver, kidneys, lungs, and chest. They are diuretic, also used in treating chest, joint pain, flatulence, gripes, and intestinal worms. They are deemed more powerful than any other plants to stimulate menstrual flow, spoil live fetuses, and dislodge the dead ones.⁴

‘aṣāfir al-sunbul (عصافير السنبل) a variety of spikenard, also called *sunbul al-ṭīb* (سنبل الطيب). See *sunbul* below.

a‘shāb (أعشاب) generic name for herbs.

ashqīl (أشقىل) squill. See *‘unṣul* below.

azfār al-ṭīb (أظفار الطيب) aromatic shell shards that look like fingernails, taken from shell sea-creatures.⁵ They are mostly used for fumigating and added to aromatic compounds. However, they may be taken internally as in one of al-Warrāq’s recipes of *mayba* (medicinal drinks) where these shell shards are tied in a bundle with other spices and are left in the drink to steep (Chapter 124). See also Section 13 below.

³ Ibn al-Bayṭār 57; Ibn Jazla, fols. 33r–v.

⁴ al-Bīrūnī 21; Ibn Sīnā 335; al-Isrā’īlī 2: 255; Ibn al-Bayṭār 5.

⁵ Martin Levey identifies it as ‘ungues odorati.’ See “Ibn Māsawaih and His Treatise on Simple Aromatic Substances: Studies in the History of Arabic Pharmacology,” *Journal of the History of Medicine* 16 (1961): 407.

bādharnajbawayh (باذرنجبويه) lemon balm, a species of mint. See *turunjān* below.

bādharūj (بازروج) basil. Most medieval sources describe the cultivated variety as *rayḥān maʿrūf* and *mashhūr* (well-known aromatic herb). The only source that describes its shape is *Husn al-Muḥādḍara* by al-Suyūṭī: The herb is called *rayḥān Nabaṭī* ‘Iraqi aromatic herb,’ distinguished by its wide leaves (357).⁶

It is described as hot in properties, and has no benefits when taken internally. It is bad for the digestion, and putrefies in the stomach quite fast. It breeds worms in the digestive system. It is said to cause flatulence, impair the intellect, and darken eyesight. On the positive side, it has euphoric powers due to its fragrance. When sniffed, it induces sneezing. It also relieves pain of bee stings.⁷

bāqa (باقة) bunch (of herbs); cf. *ṭāqa* (طاقة) sprig.

baqdūnis (بقدونس) *maqḍūnis* (مقدونس) parsley. See *karafs* below.

baqla dashṭī (بقلة دشتي) generic name of Persian origin for wild herbs such as *shāhtaraj* (literally, ‘king of herbs,’ fumitory). Ibn al-Bayṭār says some people call it *baql nashī* literally, ‘feathered herbs,’ or *baql Dimashqī* ‘herbs from Damascus’ (102).

baqla utrujiyya (بقلة اترجية) lemon balm, an herb. See *turunjān* below.

baql Khurāsānī (بقل خراساني) a variety of leeks. See *kurrāth* below.

baṣal (بصل) onion, of which only the bulb and the tender leaves are consumed. *Baṣal bustānī* (بصل بستانى) is the cultivated variety, and *baṣal barrī* (بصل برى) is wild onion, called ‘*unṣul* (عنصل) see entry below.

Here are the most common cultivated varieties, with regard to freshness, color, and shape:

baṣal raṭb (بصل رطب) fresh onion.

baṣal yābis (بصل يابس) dried onion.

baṣal aḥmar (بصل أحمر) red onion

baṣal abyad (بصل أبيض) white onion.

baṣal mustaṭīl (بصل مستطيل) long onion.

⁶ During the medieval times, *rayḥān* was a general term for all aromatic herbs. It also includes some fragrant plants, especially myrtle. In the modern Arab world, *rayḥān* designates basil.

⁷ Ibn al-Bayṭār 73; Ibn Sīnā 241; al-Nuwayrī 1224; al-Isrāʾīlī 2: 775–79.

baṣal mustadīr (بصل مستدير) or *baṣal mudawwar* round onion.

baṣal bayn al-mustadīr wa 'l-mustaṭīl (بصل بين المدور والمستطيل) oval onion.

Ibn Waḥshiyya says the round, long, and oval varieties can be either red or white (1: 565). Generally, onion is described as hot and pungent. However, degrees vary as follows: the long variety is the most pungent, the round is the moistest and least pungent, and the oval is in between. White onion is less pungent than the red. Fresh onion is less pungent than the dried. Cooked onion is less pungent than the raw. Onion pickled in vinegar and salt is less pungent than the raw. The least pungent of all is cooked onion (al-Isrā'īlī 3:158–63). According to Ibn Jazla, white onion, fresh and juicy (*rayyān*), is the best (fol. 44r).

Onion is described as having the power to generate winds and induce thirst. It stimulates the appetite when eaten pickled or raw. When eaten raw, the recommendation is to rinse it first in salt and wine vinegar before consuming it. It is believed to arouse the sexual appetite when eaten boiled in water. Having roasted walnut or fried cheese after eating onion will rid the breath of its odor. Onion is cooked with food for flavor, especially dishes with meat because it can remove the unpleasant odors of meat (Ibn al-Bayṭār 95).

Here are some onion-related phrases used in al-Warrāq's cookbook:

bayād baṣal (بياض بصل) the white part of fresh onion.

bayād baṣal murawwas (بياض بصل مروّس) the bulbous white part of fresh onion.

baṣal mudawwar (بصل مدوّر) round onion.

baṣal mudawwar ṣighār (بصل مدوّر صغار) small round onion.

baṣal akḥḍar (بصل أخضر) literally, 'green onion,' fresh spring onion.

khudrat al-baṣal (خضرة البصل) green stems of fresh spring onion.

mā' al-baṣal (ماء البصل) onion juice extracted by pounding the onion in a mortar (*hāwan*) and then straining its juice.

baṣal al-fār (بصل الفار) literally, 'mouse onion,' squill. It has the power to kill mice with its intense pungency. Also called '*unṣul*' (entry below).

basbās (بسباس) fresh fennel, also known as *rāzyānāj* (entry below).

basbāsa (بسباسة) mace, its properties are similar to those of *jawz bawwa* nutmeg (Ibn al-Bayṭār 91).

bazr al-karafs (بزر الكرفس) celery seeds. See *karafs* below.

bazr al-kattān (بزر الكتان) flax seeds, linseeds, eaten toasted. Adding honey to the seeds helps make them less bloating, and taking them with pepper endows them with an aphrodisiac power (Ibn al-Bayṭār 89).

bazr marū (بزر مرو) seeds of *ḥabaq*, a variety of mint. See *marū* below.

bazr qatṭūna (بزر قطونا) seeds of fleawort, a plant grown mainly for its seeds, which look like fleas. It is valued for its laxative and cooling effects. However, an overdose might induce depression, fainting, and even death (Ibn al-Bayṭār 237).

bazr al-qinnab (بزر القنب) also known as *shāhdānaj* (hemp seed). See entry below.

buqūl al-ma'ida (بقول المائدة) literally, 'table herbs,' such as rue, mint, parsley, tarragon, and basil. They are served raw at the table for garnish and as appetizers.

bustaj (بستج) Persian name for *lubān* (frankincense). See entry below.

būtanaj (بوتنج) generic name for mint, see *fūdhanaj* below.

būtanaj nahrī (بوتنج نهري) river mint. See *fūdhanaj* below.

dār fulful (دار فلفل) long pepper, the long dried seed capsules of black pepper, which Ibn Sīnā compares to fingers. The fruits of the pepper tree look like beans (*lūbyā*) when they first come out. Inside them are small seeds that will finally grow into what we know as peppercorns. Therefore, long pepper and peppercorns share the same benefits: good for treating cold-related sicknesses, strengthen the stomach, and aid digestion. Like ginger, pepper invigorates coitus. However, long pepper rots much faster than the corns because the capsules are harvested before they are fully dry (Ibn al-Bayṭār 525; Ibn Sīnā 255).

dār Ṣīnī (دار صيني) cassia, bark and buds of cassia tree. Literally, it means 'tree of China,' often confused with *qarfa*, which is cinnamon (Ceylon cinnamon). True cassia barks are thicker, rougher, and stronger in taste than *qarfa* (true cinnamon), which is lighter in color and finer in texture. Cassia, therefore, is better suited for savory dishes. Cassia buds are the dried unripe fruits of the cassia tree, they look and taste like *qaranful* (cloves).

Besides true cassia, several other varieties are identified in medieval sources. They are less powerful in properties and less aromatic such as **dār ṣūṣ** (دار صوص), also known as **qarfāt al-dār ṣīmī** (قرفة الدار صيني). It is closer in appearance to cinnamon with its tubular rolled barks (Ibn al-Bayṭār 263).

Cassia is recommended for combating flatulence, curing stomachaches, and whetting the mind as well as the sexual appetite (Ibn al-Bayṭār 264). The recommendation is to take it with dense foods such as *ḥaṛṣa* (wheat porridge) because its hot properties have the power to thin down their density, *yulattif*, and facilitate their digestion and purging (al-Rāzī 206). See also *qarfā* below.

faranjamushk (فرنجمشك) literally, 'Frank's musk.' It is a species of mint. Other variants on the name: *falanjamushk* (فلانجمشك) *ifranjamushk* (إفرنجمشك), *baranjamishk* (برنجمشك), and *aṣābī' al-qīnāt* (أصابع القينات) literally, 'slave girls' fingers.' Ibn al-Bayṭār identifies it as *habaq qaranfuli* (entry below), described as having small furry leaves with a pleasant clove-like aroma.

It is a euphoric herb, good for the liver, stomach, and heart. It sweetens the breath, and induces comforting and pleasant-smelling burping. Putting a few prigs of this herb in wine will prevent it from going bad (Ibn al-Bayṭār 36, 519).

fawfal (فوفل) betel nut, an Indian spice that looks like nutmeg. It is red and crushes easily. It grows in clusters on trees similar to coconut palms. Indians use it for its aroma but it dyes the teeth red (Ibn Sīnā 3430; Ibn al-Bayṭār 528). See *tanbūl* below.

fayjan (فيجن) rue, as called in the western region of the Islamic world. In the eastern regions, it is more commonly known as *sudhāb* (see entry below).

fūdhanaj (فودنج) Persian generic name for mint. Other variants: *fūdanaj* (فودنج) *fūtanj* (فوتنج) *būtanaj* (بوتنج). The Arabic name is **habaq** (حبك) **habak** (حبك).

Here are some of the varieties of mint, which use the name *fūdhanaj*:

fūdhanaj bustānī (فودنج بستانی) cultivated mint known as **na'na'** (نعنع). It is weaker in properties than the wild varieties (see *na'na'* below).

fūdhanaj nahrī (فودنج نهري) river mint, also called **na'na' barrī** (نعنع بري) wild mint. Some sources mention that *nammām*

(نَمَام), which is a kind of oregano or wild thyme, evolved from this mint (Ibn Waḥshiyya 2: 771; al-Bīrūnī 364). In properties, it is hot and dry, and is said to help with forgetfulness and mental confusion (al-Nuwayrī 1180). Ibn Jazla says this variety is the strongest in properties. When eaten with lentil and fava beans, it helps with the bloating *naḥkh* they cause (fol. 67r).

fūdhanaj barri (فوذنج بري) wild mint, its leaves are small and round, similar to thyme, and it smells like *fūdhanaj nahrī* (river mint). People in al-Shām (Levant) call it *ṣa'tar* (صعتر) thyme. It is also called *ṣa'tar al-Furs* (صعتر الفرس) Persian thyme (Ibn al-Bayṭār 168).⁸ Another name for it is *baqlat al-'ads* (بقلة العدس) literally, 'lentil herb' (al-Bīrūnī 89).

fūdhanaj jabalī (فوذنج جبلي) mint of the mountain, also known as *ṣa'tar al-Quds* (صعتر القدس) literally, 'Jerusalem thyme' (Ibn al-Bayṭār 531).

Of the varieties of mint, which use the Arabic name *habaq* (mint):

habaq qaranfulī (حبق قرنقلي) also called *faranjamishk* (فرنجمشك) 'mint that smells like cloves.' See *faranjamishk* above.

habaq turunjānī (حبق ترنجاني) lemon balm, a variety of mint, which smells like citron. Also called *bādhharanjabawayh* (بادرنجويه), and *turunjān* (ترنجان). See *turunjān* below.

habaq ṣa'tarī (حبق صعترى) mint that smells like thyme.

habaq Karmānī (حبق کرمانی) also called *ḥamāḥim* (حماحم) and *shahasfaram* (شاهسفرم), see entry below. In the Levnat, it is called *habaq Nanaṭī* (حبق نبطي) Iraqi mint.

habaq rayḥānī (حبق ريحاني) mint characterized by having small leaves.

habaq al-shuyūkh (حبق الشيوخ) literally, 'old-people's mint,' named so because it is believed to make them more alert mentally. It is also called *marū* (مرو) entry below.

habaq al-fatā (حبق الفتى) also called *marzanjūsh* (marjoram) entry below.⁹

In any of its varieties, mint is widely used in cooking, and its medicinal properties are recognized. It is deemed good for stomach and chest. It

⁸ Ibn Jazla (fol. 45v) calls it *baqlat al-Furs* (بقلة الفرس) Persian herb.

⁹ Information on this herb from: *Taj al-Anūs*; al-Nuwayrī 1180; al-Suyūṭī *Husn al-Muḥādara* 357; Ibn al-Bayṭār 529–30, 715; Ibn Waḥshiyya 2: 771–75; al-Bīrūnī 296, 363; al-Isrā'īlī 3: 54, 58.

stimulates menstrual flow and if taken as suppository, it is believed to have the power to kill and extract the fetus. It is also used as a fumigant to dispel insects. Mixed with oil, it is used for massaging the body (Ibn al-Bayṭār 529–30).

fulayfula (فليفلة) berries of the aloe tree, also called *harnuwa* (هرنوة) entry below.

fulayyā (فلياً) Egyptian name for *fūdhanaj* (mint). See entry above.

fulful (فلفل) peppercorns. Black peppercorns are fully-grown, whereas white peppercorns are harvested when still unripe, and hence are believed to be less hot than the black ones. Pepper is valued for its appetizing and digestive qualities. When cooked with meat, it removes its unpleasant greasy odor *zafar* and makes it easier to digest (Ibn al-Bayṭār 525). Other names for pepper: *ḥab Hindī* (حب هندي) Indian seeds and *bābārī* (باباري) in Greek (Ibn al-Bayṭār 80).

fulful abyad (فلفل أبيض) white unripe peppercorns. See *fulful* above.

fuqqāh (فققاح) blossoms of any plant.

ghār (غار) bay laurel, called *rand* (رند) in the Levant. It is an evergreen tree with simple leaves and black berries. The fragrant leaves are used in cooking as a spice. The berries, called *ḥabb al-ghār* (حب الغار), and the tree bark are used medicinally to cure respiratory conditions and destroy kidney stones, among other things. It is said if you pick a single leaf from the tree without letting it fall to the ground and stick it behind your ear, you can drink whatever alcohol you wish without getting drunk (Ibn al-Bayṭār 503).

ghumr (غمر) one of the names of saffron. See *zāfarān* below.

ḥabaq (حبق) **ḥabak** (حبك) mint, in Persian it is called *fūdhanaj* (فودنج). See entry above.

ḥabb al-ʿarūs (حب العروس) cubeb, also known as *kākanj* (كاكنج) and *kabāba* (كبابة). See *kabāba* below.

ḥabb al-ās (حب الأس) black myrtle berries. See *ās* in Section 13 below.

ḥabba sawdāʾ (حبة سوداء) nigella seeds, also known as *shūnīz* (شونيز). See entry below.

hāl (هال) green cardamom (lesser cardamom, scientific name *Elettaria*

cardamomum). Also called *hayl* (هيل), *hāl bawwa* (هال بوة), *hayl bawwa* (هيل بوة), *khayr bawwa* (خير بوة), and *habb al-hāl* (حب الهال).¹⁰

Some medieval sources identify it as the small variety of *qāqulla* (قاقلة) which is black cardamom, but as al-Bīrūnī argues, it is not it (299). See *qāqulla* below. Compared with *qāqulla*, green cardamom (*hāl*) is said to be superior to it, much nicer, gentler in taste (*alṭaf*), and less astringent. It is used in making women's liquid perfumes. Medicinally, it is rendered good for the liver and kidneys due to its rarefying qualities (*laṭīf*). It is good for headaches caused by dense winds and is highly recommended as a digestive (Ibn al-Bayṭār 532; Ibn Sīnā 259; al-Bīrūnī 375).

ḥandaqūqī (حندقوقي) melilot, yellow and sweet clover, mostly used as fodder for animals. For human consumption, the young leaves and the seedpods are the parts used. However, due to its hot properties, it should be balanced with cold foods such as lettuce and endive. Medicinally, it is used as a diuretic and is deemed good for cold stomachs. Using its juice to induce sneezing is believed to help with mental disorders (al-Isrā'īlī 3: 53–54).

harnuwa (هرنوة) also called *qarnuwa* (قارنة) and *fulayfula* (فليفلة), berries of the aloe tree, a little smaller than peppercorns and lighter in color. They are recommended for chest pains (Ibn al-Bayṭār 728).

hashā'ish (حشائش) generic name for fresh herbs, also called *a'shāb* (أعشاب).

ḥaṣwat al-baḥr (حصوة البحر) sea musk. *Ḥaṣwa* 'stone' designates a 'lump.' This variety of musk is imported in the form of lumps from India via the sea. It is also called Indian musk and Chinese musk.

hawāyij (حوایج) customary spices and herbs added to the dish.

hiltīt (حلتيت) resin of asafetida root. The root itself is called *maḥrūt* (محروت), and the leaves of the plant are *anjudhān*. The resin is sometimes referred to as *ṣamgh al-anjudhān* (صمغ الانجدان). The resin is extracted by slashing the root with a knife then leaving it in a shaded place to allow the milky sap to leak and harden into lumps of *ṣamgh* (gum). The resin is clear reddish-brown and strong smelling. It has a

¹⁰ Commoners *al-amma* call it *habb hān* (Tāj al-ʿArūs, s.v. ففل where it is inaccurately identified as *qāqulla*, the large black cardamom). See *qāqulla* below.

strong and pungent unpleasant flavor compared to onion-garlic odor (Ibn Sīnā 273; Ibn al-Bayṭār 205–06). See *anjudhān* above.

ḥulba (حلبة) fenugreek. The seeds are called *ḥulba yābisa* (حلبة يابسة) dry fenugreek. They are hot in properties and cause headaches and nausea if consumed in excess. The sprouted seeds are *ḥulba manbūta* (حلبة منبوتة), which should be eaten sparingly and far between.

The fresh herb is called *baql al-ḥulba* (بقل الحلبة), used to cure back complaints, kidney ailments, and pain caused by a cold womb. It is also believed to increase blood (Ibn al-Bayṭār 203).

ḥurf (حرف) *ḥabb al-rashshād* (حب الرشاد) *thuffā* (ثفاء) seed of garden cress. The seeds have a pronounced peppery and sharp taste. They are as hot as mustard seeds. Indeed, they are hot enough to hurt the stomach and kill fetuses. They are used to treat asthma and headaches, and when cooked with soup, they act as an expectorant. They are effective in stimulating the appetite and coitus. Fumigated, they are used as an insect repellent. The leaves of the plant have similar properties but are weaker in power because they are moist (Ibn al-Bayṭār 195). See *rashshād* below.

‘ilk (علك) gum. The most popular varieties are:

‘ilk al-Rūm (علك الروم), also called *maṣṭakā* (مصطكى) mastic gum, the best of which is white and bright, and slightly tinged with redness. The yellowish variety is inferior (Ibn al-Bayṭār 693).

‘ilk al-Anbāt (علك الانبات) also known as *‘ilk al-buṭm* (علك البطم). It is resin of the terebinth tree *al-ḥabba al-khadra*, described as a sweet-smelling white gum, slightly bluish in hue (al-Bīrūnī, 272; Ibn al-Bayṭār 489–90).¹¹

These two gums are beneficial to liver and stomach.

ishturghāz (إشترغاز) Persian for ‘thorns of camels,’ also called *zanjabīl al-‘Ajām* (زنجبيل العجم) Persian ginger (*Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, s.v. زنجبيل). It is a root somewhat similar to *anjudhān* (root of asafetida) but thinner, sharper in taste, softer in texture, and has no resin. Ibn Jazla (fol. 28v) identifies it as the root of *anjudhān Khurāsānī*.

In properties it is hot and dry, and is most commonly used to flavor

¹¹ This is still a very popular gum in Iraq. It is called *‘ilich may*, literally, ‘water gum,’ used as a digestive.

vinegar, called *khall al-ishturghāz* (خل الاشترغاز) used to stimulate the appetite and aid digestion (Chapter 21). The recommendation is not to eat the roots themselves because they are slow and hard to digest. However, Ibn al-Bayṭār says that some people do spice their meat stews with it, and eat it pickled in vinegar as a digestive (Ibn al-Bayṭār 34).

jawz bazwa (جوزبوا) *jawz al-ṭīb* (جوز الطيب) nutmeg, brought from India. Good quality nutmeg is described as heavy and brownish-reddish in hue. It is recommended as a breath freshener and is deemed good for the digestion. When not available, *basbāsa* (mace) is used as a substitute (Ibn al-Bayṭār 179).

jazmāzaq (جزمازق) *kazmāzak* (كزمازك) *kazmāzaj* (كزمازج) *jazmāzaj* (جزمازج) *jawzmāzak* (جوزمازك) seed of the tamarisk tree (*aṭhal*, *ṭarfā*). The seed is also known as *adhba* (عذبة) and *ḥabb al-aṭhal* (حب الاثل) tamarisk seeds.

They are small seeds enclosed, sticking to each other, in grayish chickpea-like berries. These somewhat bitter and astringent seeds are given to thin slave girls to help them gain weight. The seeds are used to make dry and thin bread called *khubz al-jazmāzaj* (recipe in chapter 13). Special *kaʿk* (dry ring-cookies) are made by adding ground *jazmāzaj* seeds to the flour (Ibn al-Bayṭār 9, 459). The seeds are also used in curing many physical disorders, especially spleen-related ones. They have the power to treat bad breath, and add glow and luster to the eater's complexion (Ibn al-Nafīs *Al-Shāmil fī 'l-Ṣinā'a al-Ṭibbiyya* 1: 167).

kabāba (كبابة) cubeb. The big variety is called *ḥabb al-ʿarūs* (حب العروس) 'seed of the bride.' The smaller variety is *falanja* (فلنجة). They are dark brown berries of the pepper family, aromatic and lightly bitter, closer to allspice in taste than to pepper. The berries are a little larger than peppercorns, with tails and wrinkled leathery skins. Most of them are hollow and easy to crush. They are valued for their aroma and medicinal properties. Ibn Sīnā recommends them for gum diseases. He contends that saliva of a man who has chewed cubeb would pleasure his female partner while making love (Ibn Sīnā 291; Ibn al-Bayṭār 577). This certainly explains why it is called 'seed of the bride.'¹²

kabar (كبر) capers. See Section 3 above.

¹² Cubeb is not the same as allspice, which is a New World spice. Nowadays, allspice is more commonly used than the hard to find cubeb.

kāfūr (كافور) camphor, white and aromatic crystalline resinous sap of the camphor tree, native to India and China. It is used in cooking as an aromatic spice, as well as in medicines and perfume compounds.

A camphor tree is described as being huge enough to accommodate more than a hundred men under its shade. It is also believed that it is at its most productive when the year is riddled with thunderstorms, trepidations, and earthquakes. Rumor has it also that the camphor trees are often frequented by tigers. Camphor gatherers have access to the trees for one month only, the time when the tigers are in heat. During this period they get sick, and both females and males go to the seashores where they cure themselves with sea water.

The best variety is called *Rabāḥī*, after Rabāḥ, name of the king who first discovered it. It is also known as *Fanṣūrī*, after the name of the Indian island, Fanṣūr, where camphor trees grow. White camphor is extracted from the wood in the countries of origin by slashing the trees and letting the resin flow. This variety is called *makhḷūq* (naturally extracted). Camphor is also extracted by boiling the wood (*taṣʿīd*),¹³ which releases the resin. It comes out in glossy sheets, similar to melted glass when it is first made. This is called *maʿmūl* (manufactured).

Due to its cold and dry properties, camphor is used for heat-related conditions. In summertime, it is used to flavor dishes. It is believed to induce euphoria, check tooth decay, and prevent it from spreading. However, over sniffing it will cause insomnia, inhibit sexual desires, and whiten the hair. Its cold and dry properties can be balanced by mixing it with musk and ambergris.¹⁴

kākanj (ككنج) cubeb, also known as *kabāba* and *ḥabb al-ʿarūs*. See *kabāba* above.

kammūn (كمون) cumin plant, of which only the seeds are used. Al-Bīrūnī mentions that its growers do not actually water it but keep on promising to water it until it sprouts. This explains why in the Arab folk culture procrastinators are compared to cumin growers.

There are many species of this plant. Divided by region:

Kammūn Kirmānī (كمون كرمانی) after the Persian city, Kirmān, described as delicious, and the strongest in properties, also known as *kammun mulūkī* 'regal cumin.' It looks like caraway but smaller; also similar to it in color and aroma.

¹³ *Taṣʿīd* is extracting resin from a solid material by boiling it. Distilling of liquids is *taqṭīr*.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Bayṭār 572–73; Ibn Sīnā 289, al-Nuwayrī 1235.

However, it tastes like regular white/tan cumin. Ibn Sīnā describes it as black (292), but probably he meant darkish in hue, compared with the yellow and tan varieties.

Kammūn Fārisī (Persian cumin) described as yellow, rated next to *Kirmānī* variety with regard to strength of properties.

Kammūn Shāmī (Levantine cumin) it is weaker in properties than the Persian variety.

Kammūn Nabaṭī (Iraqi cumin) the most dominantly used. This variety and the one above it are the lightest in color, described as white (tan).

Kammūn Ḥabashī (كمون حبشي) Abyssinian cumin, also called *Kammūn aswad* (كمون اسود) black cumin. It is wild cumin *per se*, similar to nigella seed. Ibn al-Bayṭār says sometimes nigella seed is called black cumin (612).

Seeds that are not cumin *per se*, but carry the name:

Kammūn ḥilū (كمون حلو) literally, ‘sweet cumin,’ is aniseed.

Kammūn Armanī (كمون ارمني) Armenian cumin, is caraway.

Cumin is hot and dry in properties, and pairs well with *isfidhbājāt* (plain stews), chickpea broth, dill, and cinnamon. It does not pair well with vinegar the way caraway does. Of its medicinal benefits, it combats flatulence, relieves liver complaints, facilitates digestion, and induces burping. It is rarefying and diuretic.¹⁵

kanhān (کنهان) Persian name for a tree whose leaves are similar to those of the terebinth tree (*shajarat al-ḥabbat al-khaḍrāʾ* or *buṭm*). Ibn al-Bayṭār says it is a small tree cultivated by people of Babylon. It is smaller than the terebinth tree with juicier leaves and branches. When eaten, the leaves have the power to heat the whole body, brain, liver, and spleen. It is used as a scorpion repellent. Ibn al-Bayṭār himself performed an experiment by putting the leaves in a bowl with three scorpions. He said they moved away from the leaves and started stinging each other until they stopped moving and died after two hours (617).

karafs (کرفس) general name for parsley and celery, which belong to the same big carrot family. Many species are mentioned in medieval books. Broadly speaking, there are the cultivated varieties (*nīfī* or *bustānī*) and wild ones (*barrī*).

¹⁵ Ibn Sīnā 292; Ibn al-Bayṭār 611–12; al-Bīrūnī 322–23; al-Rāzī 208.

Of the cultivated, there are two kinds:

karafs nahri (كرفس نهري) or *karafs al-mā'* (كرفس الماء) celery that grows along water edges and brooks. It is also known as *qurrat al-‘ayn* (قُرّة العين) ‘the delightful vegetable,’ and *karafs murabbā* (كرفس مربا) i.e. preserved (in honey or pickled). Ibn Sīnā says the preserved stalks have no medicinal power, and people have them for sheer delight (357).

karafs bustānī (كرفس بستاني) parsley. Literally, ‘orchard celery,’ which al-Isrāʾīlī says is not *murabbā* (i.e. not preserved), which indicates that this variety is grown for its leaves only. Many of al-Warrāq’s recipes use chopped *karafs* leaves to garnish a dish before serving it.

Comparing between the above two varieties, al-Isrāʾīlī points out that river celery is much bigger, smoother, and more succulent and delicious than the orchard variety. Besides, it is less hot and less dry, and hence easier to digest and less harmful to the stomach (3: 29-32).

Of the wild varieties:

karafs jabalī (كرفس جبلي) mountain parsley. It has a span-long stalk, with a small root, and small leaves, but still bigger than the orchard variety.

karafs ṣakhrī (كرفس صخري) literally, ‘rock parsley,’ called so because it grows among rocks. This is another variety of parsley *per se*,¹⁶ also called ***maqdūnis*** (مقدونس) and *karafs Maqdanawī* (كرفس مقدنوي) because it grows abundantly in Macedonia.¹⁷ Other names for it are *karafs Rūmī* (كرفس رومي) Byzantine parsley. In Persian, it is *Jaʿfarī* (جعفري) (al-Bīrūnī 316). In al-Warrāq’s recipes the herb is called *karafs Maqdūnī* (كرفس مقدوني), and *karafs Fārisī* (كرفس فارسي).

karafs ʿaẓīm (كرفس عظيم) literally, ‘huge celery,’ is angelica, also called *karafs Nabaṭī* (كرفس نباتي) i.e. indigenous to Iraq, *karafs mashriqī* (كرفس مشرقى) celery of the eastern Islamic region, and *karafs shatawī* (كرفس شتوي) winter celery.

It is described as being much bigger than the cultivated variety of celery. The stalk is white and tubular, and looks as if it is striped. Its

¹⁶ In English books on herbs, this variety is identified as “rock celery.”

¹⁷ In medieval cookbooks other than al-Warrāq’s, it sometimes occurs as *baqdūnis* (بقدونس), the way it is pronounced in most of the Arab world today. However, one of the Istanbul MS recipes (fol. 209r) calls it *maʿdūnis* (معدونس), more akin to *maʿdanūs* in Iraq today, sold as a variety of *karafs*.

bigger leaves are tinged with redness, and have a sharp taste and a pleasant aroma. The whole plant—its tender root, stalks, and leaves—is aromatic and used in cooking as well as eaten raw. It grows in shaded areas, along streams. In the kitchen, it has the same uses as those of the cultivated variety. It is cooked with fish and vinegar or pickled in brine (al-Isrāʿīlī 3: 34–35).

All the varieties of *karafs* share, more or less, the same properties. They differ in degree depending on whether the plant is wild or cultivated, juicy or dry. For food, it is served raw and cooked. Medicinally, it is used as a diuretic. It can control diarrhea and relieve flatulence. However, pregnant women are cautioned against eating it, otherwise their babies will be born sick and retarded. *Karafs* is recommended as a powerful aphrodisiac for both men and women. It also works as a breath freshener.¹⁸

karafs Fārisī (کرفس فارسی) Persian parsley, also known as *maqḍūnis*. See *karafs* above.

karafs Maqḍūnī (کرفس مقدونی) Macedonian parsley, also known as *maqḍūnis* (مقدونس). See *karafs* above.

karafs Rūmī (کرفس رومی) Byzantine parsley, also known as *maqḍūnis*, see *karafs* above.

karawyā (کراویا) caraway seeds. Al-Isrāʿīlī says the cultivated variety (*nīfī*) is called *qarnabād* (قرنباذ), and the wild mountain variety is *qarṭamānā* (قرطمانا) and *qardamānā* (قردمانا) (3:198–99).

The whole plant is sweet smelling, hot, and moderately sharp in taste. Its root is cooked and served like carrot. Medicinally, it is used as a diuretic. It is valued for its powerful properties that neutralize gaseous foods such as vinegar, asparagus, beans, carrots, and cauliflower (Ibn al-Bayṭār 592–93).

kāsham (کاشم) lovage (wild celery). A variety of this plant is called *kasham Rūmī* (کاشم رومی), also known as *anjudhān Rūmī* (أنجذان رومی) Byzantine asafetida (Ibn Jazla, fol. 33v).

It is a sweet-smelling plant whose seeds are now more commonly known as “celery seeds.” They look like fennel seeds but much smaller, sharper in taste with an earthier note and just a hint of bitterness. The

¹⁸ al-Isrāʿīlī 3: 9–37; al-Bīrūnī 315–16; Ibn Sīnā 295; Ibn al-Bayṭār 582–85.

root is white and fragrant. Both the root and the seeds are hot enough to encourage menstrual flow and expel gases. Ibn al-Bayṭār mentions that the seeds are so delicious, the Byzantines use them to spice their dishes as a substitute for pepper (al-Isrāʾīlī 3: 233–34; Ibn al-Bayṭār 573).

kashūt (كشوت) dodder. See *ukshūth* below.

kazmāzak (كزمازك) see *jazmāzaq* (جزمازق) above.

khardal (خردل) mustard, designates the seeds and the vegetable (*baql*). Good quality seeds are described as big and plump, and not too dry. When pounded the inside should look creamy-white. Of its varieties, al-Warrāq mentions the black and the white, which al-Bīrūnī calls *isfind* (إسفند) (38).

With their hot and dry properties, mustard seeds are used medicinally to treat cold-related ailments. Mustard condiments such as *raghwat al-khardal* (رغوة الخردل), *khardal maʾmūl* (خردل معمول) prepared mustard sauce, and *šināb* (صناب),¹⁹ are taken with food to aid digestion, and expel phlegm (Ibn al-Bayṭār 231). For mustard greens, see Section 14.1, s.v. *khardal akhdar*.

khardal fujj (خردل فوج) mustard condiment prepared with juice of raw mustard seeds, (Ibn al-Bayṭār 231). See recipe in Chapter 48.

khardal maʾmūl (خردل معمول) mustard sauce made from mustard seeds (Chapter 38).

khashkhash abyad (خشخاش أبيض) white poppy seeds. The plant is cultivated in orchards (*bustān*) and its white seeds are deemed fit as food because they are not as cold and dry in properties as the black variety. Even so, the white seeds can induce sleep gently and numb the senses if overeaten. They are sprinkled on bread before baking it as a substitute for sesame seeds or added to *nāʿīf* (nougat). A variety of bread is made with its flour.²⁰ Black poppy seeds are mostly used for medicinal purposes. See Section 12.2 below, s.v. *khashkhash aswad* and *afyūn*.

khiṣī al-thaʿlab (خصي الثعلب) Satyrion, literally ‘fox’s testicles.’

¹⁹ It is brownish-red mustard sauce prepared with raisins. See Chapter 38 for mustard preparations.

²⁰ Ibn Sīnā 378; Ibn al-Bayṭār 240; al-Isrāʾīlī 2: 122–24.

It is more commonly known as *sahlab* (سحلب), which is probably a corrupted form of the name. The root of the plant begins as two egg-like soft tubers, while one grows, the other diminishes in size, which is why the plant is sometimes called ‘brother killer’ (*qātil akhūhi*). The root is yellowish white, sticky, with a sweetish taste tinged with a slight sharpness, and a faint semen-like odor. It is a powerful sexual stimulant (Ibn Sīna 380; Ibn al-Bayṭār 243).

khūlanjān (خولنجان) *khūlanj* (خولنج) *khālanjān* (خلنجان) galangal, Thai ginger. Ibn al-Bayṭār correctly identifies it as the big variety of *su'd* ‘cyperus longus’ (259). According to the Assyrian botanical records, it used to grow wild at the edges of the southern marshy areas in Mesopotamia.²¹ However, all medieval sources mention that it is imported from India and China.

Galangal is a reddish-black lightweight fragrant rhizome, similar to ginger in appearance. In taste, it is a combination of lemon, pepper, and ginger. The aromatic dried roots are used as a spice in cooking and as medicine. It is beneficial as a digestive, a gas-dispeller, breath sweetener, and aphrodisiac. With respect to the last function, Ibn al-Bayṭār swears by it. It will work even if you just keep a piece of galangal in your mouth. Additionally, he gives a sure and tried recipe: grind ½ teaspoon of galangal, stir it into 1 cup of cow’s milk, and drink it first thing in the morning, it will do wonders (*ghāya fi ’l-bāh*) (Ibn Sīna 384; Ibn al-Bayṭār 259).

kundur (كندر) frankincense, also called *lubān* (see below).

kurrāth (كرّاث) leeks, of which there are many varieties:

kurrāth Nabatī (كرّاث نبطي) Nabatean leeks grown in Iraq, sometimes referred to as *kurrāth al-baql* (كرّاث البقل) tender-leaf leeks, and *kurrāth al-mā’ida* (كرّاث المائدة) table with green, tender, long, flat, and narrow leaves, which grow in threes, fitted into each other, and joined at the base like a neck to the plant. The root is long, small, bitter, and inedible.²² Of this variety only the leaves—tender, crisp, and small—are eaten raw.

qirt (قرط) wild variety of the Nabatean type, more pungent, and causes odorous breath and sweat (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. قرط).

²¹ Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 11.

²² This matches the description of leeks consumed raw as an appetizing herb, in modern Iraq.

kurrāth Shāmī (كراث شامي) Levantine cultivated bulbous leeks, of which there is a variety with a long neck and small and round bulb, and another, with a short neck and large and round bulb, the size of a turnip. The second variety is said to be more delicious than the first. Their leaves are not edible.

kurrāth Fārisī (كراث فارسي) literally, 'Persian leeks.' They grow in *Khurasan* and Ray and are eaten like *kurrāth Nabaṭī* (see above). However, their leaves are bigger and coarser. They are also referred to as *baql Khurāsānī* (بقل خراسانی).

salābis (سلايس) leeks grown in Babylon, similar to the Persian variety, but tastier, less sharp, and easier to digest. Like *kurrāth Fārisī* (see above), they are reputed to improve one's temperament, rejuvenate, and cure impotence.

kurrāth Rūmī (كراث رومي) 'Byzantine leeks,' also called *khadrāwāyā* (خضر اوایا). It is mountain leeks with delicate leaves, long, and slender, eaten raw and cooked. Its taste is tinged with sourness. It is sharper than varieties grown in fields.

kurrāth barri (كراث بری) wild leeks, also called *kurrāth al-karam* (كراث الكرم) literally, 'grape leeks.' In power, it is between the cultivated leeks and garlic. It is sharper and hotter than the cultivated varieties.

kurrāth al-thūm (كراث الثوم) ***thūm kurrāthī*** (ثوم کراثی) or ***sumkrāth*** (سومکرات) literally, 'garlic leeks.' It is shallot that tastes like garlic and leeks combined. The leaves are similar to leeks. The root looks like a red onion from the outside, composed of 3 to 4 bulbs joined together. However, they are not separated by a skin like regular garlic cloves. In one of al-Warrāq's recipes in Chapter 68, it is mentioned as *kurrāth al-baṣal* (كراث البصل).

All the species mentioned above are pungent, hot, and sharp in taste. They are mostly eaten as appetizers. The Nabatean-leeks are rated the most pungent because the leaves are consumed raw as a table herb. All kinds of leeks are frowned upon by physicians, who consider them hurtful to the stomach. They are also blamed for causing flatulence, headaches, and nightmares. They dim eyesight, and hurt teeth and gums.

To balance their assertive hot powers, cold vegetables, such as lettuce, are to be served with them. Otherwise, they need to be served

cooked. Medicinally, they are used to stop nose-bleeding and colic pain. They are diuretic and aphrodisiac.²³

kuzbara (كزبرة) *kusbara* (كسبرة) *kuṣfara* (كسفرة) coriander seeds; *kusbara raṭba* (كسبرة رطبة) fresh coriander leaves (referred to in the recipes as cilantro).

Both the seeds and the green herb are hot and moist in properties. The seeds are believed to strengthen and delight the heart. Soaked in water and sugar, they are used to help dry out semen and relieve intense erection.

Cilantro (fresh coriander leaves) improves digestion and induces sleep. Besides, it is said if a sprig of fresh cilantro is put on the thigh of a woman having a hard time during labor, it will ease childbirth, provided the sprig is taken away immediately after delivery (Ibn al-Bayṭār 595-98). Chewing coriander, dry or fresh, can remove unpleasant odors of onion and garlic (Ibn Jazla, fol. 176r).

kusbara raṭba (كسبرة رطبة) fresh coriander leaves (referred to in the recipes as cilantro). See entry above.

lisān al-‘aṣāfir (لسان العصافير) fruit of *dardār* (elm tree), which look like tongues of sparrows, red from the outside and yellowish white from the inside. They have a sharp biting taste, tinged with a bit of bitterness. Medicinally, they break up kidney stones, help with palpitations, and invigorate coitus (Ibn al-Bayṭār 639).

lubān (لبان) frankincense; *kundur* (كندر) is its Persian name. The Greek and Latin name is ‘olibanum.’ It is a resinous gum that oozes out of the olibanum tree like a milky-white sticky liquid, and hence the name *lubān* (from *laban* ‘milk’).²⁴

Al-Bīrūnī says the best quality is *al-Shaḥrī* (الشحري), which is the white male (الذكر الابيض), usually referred to as *lubān dhakar* ‘male frankincense’ (329-30). The lumps are round, golden, and easy to burn. They are found abundantly in al-Shaḥr region—the Arabian coast from Omān to ‘Aden. Good quality *lubān* is white, does not break easily, and when broken, the inside feels sticky to the touch. The inferior Indian variety is bitter and greenish in hue.

Lubān is hot and dry in qualities. It is used in cooking, burnt as incense, chewed as gum, and taken as a medicinal concoction to dry

²³ al-Bīrūnī 315; al-Isrā’īlī 3: 40–45; Ibn Sīna 297, Ibn al-Bayṭār 546, 590–91.

²⁴ In modern Iraq, it is commonly known as *bastaj* (بستج).

up phlegm in the chest and treat bronchitis. It is also believed to be particularly good for the digestion and enhancing the memory (Ibn al-Bayṭār 612–13; al-Nuwayrī 1237).

mā' ḥiṣrim (ماء حصرم) sour juice of unripe grapes. See Section 3 above.

mā' ṣamgh (ماء صمغ) diluted gum. See *ṣamgh* 'Arabī below.

mā' ward (ماء ورد) rose water distilled from rose petals, used in cooking and medicine. With its moderately cold, dry, and astringent properties, it is believed to have a rejuvenating power. It strengthens the brain, benefits stomach and liver, and eases hangovers and headaches. However, having too much of it may hasten hair whitening (Ibn al-Bayṭār 670; al-Bīrūnī 371).

mā' ward Jūrī (ماء ورد جوري) rose water distilled from pink roses growing in Jūr, a Persian region. They are the most fragrant of all rose varieties, mostly used in women's perfumes (al-Bīrūnī 371; al-Maqdisī 155).

maḥlab (محبلب) aromatic kernel of the pit of a variety of small black cherry. The scientific name is "prunus mahaleb." The seeds are soft and have a nutty chewy texture. They taste a little bitter and sour when tried by themselves. The white seeds are the best and most aromatic. *Maḥlab* is used as a spice and included in hand-washing compounds. Medicinally, it is used to treat liver, spleen, and kidney-related ailments (Ibn al-Bayṭār 675).

maḥrūt (محروث) *maḥrūth* (محروث) root of the asafetida plant. See *anjudhān* above.

maqdūnis (مقدونس) a variety of parsley, also known as *karafs Maqdūnī*. See *karafs* above.

marū (مرو) several species of a fragrant herb of the mint family (*habaq*). Its taste is described as not quite pleasant and somewhat bitter. Other names for it are *zaghbar* (زغبّر) and *zabghar* (زبغر) (al-Nuwayrī 1224). The seeds of the herb are *bazr marū* (بزر مرو). Of the herb varieties:

ḥabaq al-*shuyūkh* (حبّق الشيوخ) literally, 'old-people's mint,' named so because it is believed to help them be more alert mentally.

marū abyad (مرو أبيض) called so because it has white seeds. It is not as aromatic as the other kinds, but more moderate in

properties and has a euphoric quality (قوة مفرحة). Also called *ward lisān al-thawr* (ورد لسان الثور) (Ibn Jazla, fol. 195v).

marmāhūr (مرماحور) very aromatic with greenish flowers.

The green cultivated variety is the best.

All varieties of *marū* are used to ease flatulence. When added to a glass of wine, the herb is believed to make it more intoxicating, but causes headaches when sniffed while drinking wine. It treats cold-related complaints and works as a euphoric (Ibn al-Bayṭār 682).

marzanjūsh (مرزنجوش) *marzajūsh* (مرزجوش) *mardaqušh* (مردقوش) marjoram, described as having small leaves and white aromatic flowers.

Its Arabic names is *samsaq* (سمسق), *ḥabaq al-fatā* (حباق الفتى) literally, ‘the boy’s mint,’ and ‘*abqar* (عبققر) (al-Nuwayrī 1224). It is also called *ādḥān al-fār* (آذان الفار), which is the literal translation of the Persian *marzanjūsh* ‘mouse ears.’

The herb is recommended for treating colds, and nasal congestion (Ibn al-Bayṭār 678). With its rarefying properties that have the power to break down densities, it is recommended for unblocking obstructions in the brain, and treating migraine headaches and coarse winds (al-Nuwayrī 1224).

maṣṭakā (مصطكى) *mastakā* (مستكا) mastic, aromatic resin from an evergreen tree related to the pistachio tree (*pistacia lentiscus*).

Sometimes called *mastajī* (مستجي) and *mastījī* (مسطيجي) (Ibn al-Bayṭār 693). The mastic resin is extracted by slashing the trunk and large branches of the tree, and as the resin seeps it hardens into small translucent lumps.

Its two major types are

‘**ilk al-Rūm** (علك الروم) Byzantine gum, pure and white.

maṣṭakā Nabatī (مصطكى نباتي) Nabatean mastic, indigenuous to Iraq, also called ‘*ilk al-buṭm* (resin of terebinth tree). It is sometimes referred to as *maṣṭakā aswad* (مصطكا اسود) literally, ‘black mastic,’ because it is not as white as the first type.

Mastic is highly valued for its fragrance. It is used extensively as an aromatic spice (*ḥib*), in perfume compounds, and in medicine. It is chewed as gum and taken internally. With its moderately hot and dry properties, it is rendered good for the digestion. It is a digestive, a belch-inducer, and a breath-freshener. Small sticks taken from the tree are used to brush the teeth and whiten them. See also ‘*ilk* above.

misk (مسك) musk, a greasy secretion produced in a glandular sac

beneath the skin of the abdomen, behind the navel of the male musk deer. When the secretion is still fresh it has the consistency of honey. The musk sac itself is called *nāfijat al-misk* (نافجة المسك), *nāfiqat al-misk* (نافقة المسك), or *fār al-misk* (فار المسك) literally, ‘musk mouse.’ *Nafija* also designates the small bag in which the musk is stored and transported. In his description of musk, Ibn al-Bayṭār specifies the Tibetan musk as the best because the deer over there feed on aromatic plants such as spikenard, and because the musk is unadulterated (689–90).

Musk is used as an aromatic ingredient (*tīb*) in cooking and added to perfumes and medicinal preparations. With its hot and dry properties, it has the power to relieve cold-related ailments such as headaches and colds. It is also used as a deodorant and to invigorate coitus and hearts of cowards.

misk Dārī (مسك داري) top quality musk named after Dārīn, a port city in al-Baḥrayn. Musk is brought from India by ships to this place, and from there it is transported to other places (al-Bīrūnī 4). See *misk* above.

murratayn (مرتين) literally, ‘the two bitters.’ They are ***shih***, also known as *ja’dā* (wormwood), and ***ālā*** ‘rosebay’ (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. مرر). These plants, with their narcotic properties and tannin content are added to wine to preserve it and increase its potency. See Section 1, for details.

muṭayyab (مطيب) adj. (food) enhanced by adding *muṭayyibāt* (see below).

muṭayyibāt (مطيبات) general term for spices, herbs, and seasonings that add flavor and aroma to the food and enhance it. They can be spices, fresh and dried herbs, *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), oil, sugar, vinegar, and nuts.

nammām (نمام) cultivated oregano (*bustānī*). It is a member of the mint family, an herb widely used in cooking, as well as in medicines. It is also known as *saysanbar* (سيسنبر), but some say this is the wild variety of the plant, which Ibn al-Bayṭār calls *orī ānūs* (اوريعانوس) wild oregano.

The cultivated variety is described as a sprawling plant, and as it crawls it spreads its roots, unlike wild oregano. It is called *nammām* because of its pleasantly pronounced marjoram-like scent, which

permeates the whole area around it, like a gossip person who cannot keep a secret.²⁵

na'na' (نعنع) also known as *fūdhanaj bustānī* (فودنج بستانی) cultivated mint grown in orchards. It is weaker in properties than wild river mint.

Na'na', with its hot and dry properties and refreshingly sharp taste, can stimulate the appetite and aid digestion. It has the power to relieve bloating and headaches, and stop hiccups and vomiting. Besides, it is believed to be good for the heart and coitus. As a contraceptive, women are instructed to use it in the form of a suppository before having sex.²⁶

na'na' barrī (نعنع برّی) river mint, also known as *fūdhanaj nahrī* (فودنج نهري) river mint, which is stronger in properties than the cultivated variety. See *fūdhanaj* above.²⁷

nānkhawāh (نانخواه) ajowan, bishop's weed, *nakhwa* (in the Arab region today). It is similar in appearance to cumin and caraway seeds, but smaller. In taste, it is rather sharp and bitter; in aroma, a little harsher than thyme. Ibn al-Bayṭār explains that the Persian name *nānkhawāh* means *tālīb al-khubz* (طالب الخبز) 'bread seeker.' It is called so, he adds, because bread sprinkled with these seeds before baking it is appetizing. Medicinally, it is used as a diuretic. It is also effective in relieving nausea, flatulence, and colic (707).

nārdīn (ناردين) spikenard. See *sunbul* below.

qāqulla (قاقلة) black cardamom, greater cardamom.²⁸ It is a large variety of cardamom related to *hāl* (هال),²⁹ but it is not exactly it (entry above).

Medieval sources mention two types, the male big *qāqulla kabīra* (قاقلة كبيرة), and the female small *qāqulla ṣaghīra* (قاقلة صغيرة). The

²⁵ Ibn al-Bayṭār 716; al-Isrā'īlī 3: 56; al-Bīrūnī 364.

²⁶ al-Isrā'īlī 3: 54; Ibn al-Bayṭār 715; al-Nuwayrī 1180.

²⁷ It is called *buṭnīj* (بطنج) in modern Iraq.

²⁸ This spice, described as the fruit of an Indian plant, is called *kakūlā* (ككونا) in Hindi (al-Bīrūnī 299). Possibly, it is named after *Qāqula*, which, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates, is a place somewhere around Java Island (313). It is of the *Amomum* and *Aframomum* genus. Its flavor is pronouncedly camphoric, and is more commonly used in savory dishes. See Jill Norman, *The Complete Book of Spices: A Practical Guide to Spices and Aromatic Seeds* (New York: Viking Studio Books, 1991) 39.

²⁹ Its scientific name is *Elettaria cardamomum*.

big variety is described as black, slightly bigger than the medlar fruit (*nabq*) or a small nut, or a big chickpea. It is oval with triangular sides. Al-Bīrūnī says some describe it as round. The seeds are the size of lentils but not as flat. They are aromatic and have a sharp burning taste similar to that of cubeb, with a camphoric overtone. He also adds, they are precious and not easily available ‘*azīz thamīn*’ (299).

The small variety is also said to be black, the size of a lentil each, similar in shape to cloves (i.e. it has a stem attached to it), and resembles cubeb in aroma (Ibn Sīnā 351). Al-Bīrūnī compares its shape to pistachio (299). He also says it is sometimes identified as *hāl* (green cardamom) but, as he argues, this is incorrect because the pods of *hāl* are bigger. He says small *qāqulla* can be used as a substitute for *hāl*, but it is not it, as some might think (299).

All varieties of cardamom with their hot and dry properties are used in cooking and medicine. However, *qāqulla* (large black cardamom) is described as being sharper in taste, coarser, and more astringent than *hāl* (green cardamom). Cardamom is recommended as a digestive. It is used to open up blockages in liver and kidneys and cure nausea, vomiting, and colds. Additionally, it is said to be highly euphoric.³⁰ See also *hāl* above.

qaranful (قرنفل) cloves, unopened flower buds of small evergreen trees in China and India. They are biting sharp, hot, and somewhat bitter. Besides using them as a spice, they are useful medicinally such as to sweeten the breath, strengthen the internal organs, and gladden the soul. If a woman wants to get pregnant, she is advised to take cloves steeped in a drink at noon. If she does not want to get pregnant, she should eat one male clove daily. This variety is called ***habbat qaranful dhakar*** (حبة قرنفل ذكر) which Ibn Sīnā describes as being similar in size to an olive pit (351). Another way for women to manipulate cloves is to drink a glass of milk with ground cloves first thing in the morning. It will invigorate their sexual appetite (Ibn al-Bayṭār 537).

qardamānā (قردمانا) ***qarṭamānā*** (قرطمانا) wild caraway plant, of which the stalks (*quḍbān*) are used. At its best, it is described as full and hard to break, brought from India and Armenia. Its taste is pronouncedly fragrant, sharp, and tinged with bitterness. The herb is used as a seasoning in cooking. In al-Warrā’q recipes it is used in

³⁰ Ibn al-Bayṭār 532; Ibn Sīnā 351; al-Bīrūnī 299; *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. **فقل**.

Chapter 35 for making relishes and sauces. Due to its hot properties, it is medicinally prescribed for treating neurological disorders, intestinal worms, and chronic coughs. When fumigated, it is described as having the power to abort fetuses.³¹

qarfa (قرفة) **qarfat al-ṭīb** (قرفة الطيب) Ceylon cinnamon, dried, rolled and tubular barks of the cinnamon tree. In properties it is similar to *dār Ṣīnī* (cassia). Compared with cassia, it is lighter in color, more fragile, smoother, sweeter, and richer in taste and aroma (Ibn al-Bayṭār 263-64; Ibn Sīnā 351).

qarfat al-qaranful (قرفة القرنفل) **qurayful** (قریفل) the name combines *qarfa* (Ceylon cinnamon) and *qaranful* (cloves). It is a thick bark, which has the color and shape of *qarfa* but tastes and smells like *qaranful*. However, its properties are weaker than those of cloves. (Ibn al-Bayṭār 263; Ibn Sīnā 351).

qirt (قرط) wild variety of the cultivated table leeks (*kurrāth al-baql*). See *kurrāth* above.

qulūb (قلوب) literally, ‘hearts,’ tender tips of herb sprigs.

qurṭum (قرطم) safflower seeds. See ‘*usfur*’ below.

qust (قسط) costus plant, used mainly for its root which looks like licorice, but much more fragrant. See Section 13.

rand (رند) bay laurel. See *ghār* above.

rāsan (راسن) elecampane, also known as *zanjabīl Shāmī* (زنجبیل شامي)

Levantine ginger, and *qust Shāmī* (قسط شامي) Levantine costus. The big sweet smelling root is harvested in the summer, sliced, dried, and used in cooking and in medicinal drinks and syrups. It is valued for the delayed action of its heating and drying properties, unlike pepper whose heat is immediately effective. It is used to purge lungs and stomach, aid digestion and facilitate burping. It is believed to have a euphoric effect by strengthening the heart and bringing joy to it. Having it in excess will spoil the blood and decrease semen (Ibn Sīnā 361; Ibn al-Bayṭār 306).

rashshād (رشاد) garden cress, garden peppergrass. It is an herb with ruffled leaves and pronounced peppery and sharp taste. Ibn al-Bayṭār describes two varieties, the first, with lots of slender separated leaves,

³¹ Ibn Sīnā 351; Ibn al-Bayṭār 537; al-Bīrūnī 304.

and the other with more rounded leaves that have split and elongated tips. He further adds that the best is grown in Babylon (195).

The seed of the herb is called *ḥurf* (حرف), and in Iraq it is called *hab al-rashshād* (حب الرشاد) (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. حرف). Another name for it is *ṭhuffā* (ثفاء). It is as biting hot as mustard. Since the fresh leaves of the herb are somewhat more moderate in heat and sharpness than the seeds, they are served raw at the table as *udm* (ادم) appetizer with bread (al-Isrā’īlī 3: 139–141).³² In fact Ibn al-Bayṭār stresses the fact that bread should be eaten with it due to its intense sharpness (195). See *ḥurf* above.

rayḥān (ريحان) pl. *rayāḥīn* (رياحين) generic name for all sweet-smelling herbs, plants, and flowers. A single sprig of the herb is called *rayḥāna* (ريحانة). All the aromatic herbs and plants such as the numerous varieties of mint, basil, and myrtle, are indispensable ingredients in cooking, for medicinal preparations, and in social gatherings where people sniff them for refreshment and pleasure.

Medieval sources unanimously agree it is a well-known plant (*ma’rūf*), and hence give no details. Ibn Sīnā mentions that there are two varieties. Probably he meant the wild and the cultivated. In the modern Arab world, *rayḥān* is basil.

rāzyānaj (رازيانج) fennel seeds; and fennel, the fresh vegetable. It is a plant with bulbous base and feathery fronds. The leaves, bulbous base, and seeds are all used in cooking and medicinal preparations. It is not the same as anise (*anīsūn*), which is grown mainly for its seeds (also known—and confusingly so—as *rāzyānaj Shāmī* or *Nabaṭī* and *rāzyānaj Rūmī*).

In the western region of the Islamic world, *rāzyānaj* is called *basbās* (بسباس). In the Levant and Egypt, it is called *shamar* (شمر) and *shamār* (شمار) (Ibn al-Bayṭār 93, 312).

rāzyānaj Shāmī/Nabaṭī (رازيانج شامي/نبطي) and *rāzyānaj Rūmī* (رازيانج رومي) varieties of anise plant grown mainly for its aniseeds. See *anīsūn* above.

sadhāb (سذاب) rue, called *fayjan* (فيجن) in Andalusia. It is an herb with a vehement smell, described as *karīṭha* ‘disagreeable,’ and in taste,

³² People in Iraq still eat it the same way.

it is bitter, sharp, and piquant. Despite these qualities, *sādhāb* is an essential herb in the medieval dishes. Many of al-Warrāq's recipes call for a garnish of chopped rue before sending the dish to the table. Physicians recommend it for its power to combat flatulence. Chewing it after eating garlic and onion removes the unpleasant breath they usually cause. It is used as a contraceptive and is said to curb excessive sexual desires. It has to be taken in moderation, otherwise it will have a stupefying effect upon the eater, dulling the mind and blunting the heart. However, this is inevitable anyway, as Ibn al-Bayṭār reflects, because whatever does not smell good will have adverse effects on the brain (365).

sādhaj (ساذج) *sādhaj Hindī* (ساذج هندي) Indian leaf, similar in aroma to spikenard, but it is not it. See Section 12.2 below.

saḥlab (سحلب) see *khiṣī al-tha'lab* (خصي الثعلب) Satyrion, literally 'fox's testicles.'

salīkha (سليخة) a variety of barks of trees closely related to the cassia family. See Section 13 below.

ṣamgh 'Arabī (صمغ عربي) gum Arabic, resin from stems and branches of *qaraz* (قرظ) acacia tree. Ibn al-Bayṭār identifies it as *sant* (سنط) a species of acacia (546). Other gums that might also be called gum Arabic are resin of plum tree, gum of almond tree, and gum of olive tree (al-Nuwayrī 1242).

As a culinary ingredient, it is used to glaze the bread the moment it is taken out of the oven. It is also used as a stabilizer and thickener in stews. Medicinally, it is incorporated into many eye-treating compounds. It is also used to fix fractures. Internally, it is taken to control bowel movements (Ibn al-Bayṭār 445).

ṣa'tar (صعتر) *sa'tar* (سعتر) *z'a'tar* (زعتر) thyme, member of the oregano family. Ibn al-Bayṭār acknowledges the fact that there are numerous kinds of thyme, popular at the places where they grow,³³ different in shapes and colors such as:

ṣa'tar barrī (صعتر بري) wild thyme

ṣa'tar bustānī (صعتر بستاني) cultivated thyme, grown in orchards.

³³ A note on the margin next to al-Isrā'īl's thyme entry, "There are so many varieties of thyme in the western Islamic region *gharb* that neither Ishāq [al-Isrā'īl] nor any other physician has encountered or will ever do" (3: 66).

ṣa'tar jabalī (صعتر جبلي) mountain thyme, also called *arīghāmūn* (أريغانون).

ṣa'tar Fārisī (صعتر فارسي) Persian thyme, also called *jalan-jūna* (جلنجونة) and *fūtanaj barrī* (فوتنج بري). This variety has dark green leaves.

ṣa'tar al-ḥūr (صعتر الحور) literally, 'white thyme,' also called *ṣa'tar al-shiwā'* (صعتر الشواء) literally, 'thyme for grilling.' This variety is light green (Ibn al-Bayṭār 443).

ṣa'tar al-Quds (صعتر القدس) Jerusalem thyme, also called *fūdhanaj jabalī* (فوذنج جبلي) mountain thyme (Ibn al-Bayṭār 531).

ṣa'tar al-ads (صعتر العدس) literally, 'lentil thyme,' a variety of wild thyme, pleasantly pungent and sharp in taste. Its leaves are a little larger than those of regular thyme (al-Bīrūnī 247).

ṣa'tar Nabatī (صعتر نبطي) Nabatean thyme, a cultivated variety with rounded leaves, grown mostly in Babylon (Ibn Waḥshiyya 2: 809).

Thyme commonly used in cooking is mostly of the cultivated varieties, since they are less hot and pungent than the wildy grown ones. Like all other herbs, it is also used for its medicinal benefits such as treating liver and stomach discomforts. It stops nausea, relieves toothache, and cures gum diseases. With its heating effects it has the power to stimulate the appetite and combat flatulence (Ibn al-Bayṭār 443–44; al-Rāzī 182).

shabat (شبت) dill, an herb used fresh and dried in cooking and medicinal preparations. It is believed to have the power to heal wounds, induce sleep, stop hiccups, and deflate winds. *Kāmakh* (fermented condiment) prepared with dill is deemed the best and most beneficial condiment for the stomach (Ibn al-Bayṭār 411).

shāhasfaram (شاهسفرم) *shāhasbaram* (شاهسبرم) an aromatic species of mint with extremely small leaves, similar to those of rue. It is valued for its intense aroma, used to induce sleep and relieve headaches.

Other names for this herb: *rayḥān al-malik* (ريحان الملك) literally, 'the king's aromatic herb'; *ḥabaq Karmānī* (حبق کرمانی); *ḥabaq ṣa'tarī* (حبق صعتری) thyme-mint (al-Bīrūnī, 388; Ibn al-Bayṭār 410). For other varieties of mint. See *fūdhanaj* above.

shāhdānaj (شاهدانج) **bazr al-qinnab** (بزر القنب) hemp seed. Also called *sulṭān al-ḥabb* (سلطان الحب) literally, 'king of seeds.' Hemp seeds

are toasted, like sesame seeds, and added to dishes such as desserts and seasoned salt mixes, as in *milḥ muṭayya* in Chapter 21. Physicians warn against overindulging because they cause semen to dry up due to their powerful heating property. The seeds are described as hard to digest. They generate unfavorable humors in the body and cause headaches and constipation. Toasting the seeds will lessen their harmful effects. Medicinally they are used to dispel gases and cure earaches.

Ibn al-Bayṭār mentions cultivated and wild varieties of *qinnab* (hemp, a variety of cannabis), from which fiber and seeds are taken. He also describes an Indian variety, which grows in Egyptian fields only, called *ḥashīsha* (حشيشة) marijuana. He says it is extremely potent, even a small amount will intoxicate the mind and may even lead to madness. He says it is widespread among the poor who knead the cooked leaves, shape them into pills, or mix them with hulled sesame and sugar, and chew on them (568). See also Section 1, s.v. *dādhi* (the ingredient), type 3.

shāhtaraj (شاهترج) *shāhtara* (شاهتره) fumitory, also called earth smoke. The name of the herb means ‘king of herbs,’ a combination of *shāh* ‘king’ and *tara* ‘herbs’ (al-Bīrūnī, 418). Ibn al-Bayṭār says Galen called it ‘fasanyus’, which means *dukhkhānī* ‘smoky’ in Arabic because its juice sharpens eyesight by making the eyes water profusely, the way smoke does. The herb has a pronouncedly bitter taste. It is used fresh and cooked by boiling it and seasoning it with *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and olive oil, or a combination of vinegar, oil, and rue. It has the power to purify the blood and strengthen gums and stomach (Ibn al-Bayṭār 408; al-Isrā’īlī 3: 120).

shūnīz (شونيز) nigella seeds, known as *ḥabba sawdā’* (حبة سوداء) literally, ‘black seed.’ It has a pleasant aroma and a sharp taste (*ḥirṭf*). It is usually mixed with bread dough or sprinkled on it before it is baked, as it is believed to be effective in combating flatulence. It is also one of the ingredients in making seasoned salt (*milḥ muṭayyab*) in Chapter 21. Sniffing crushed nigella seeds is recommended for relieving cold symptoms (al-Bīrūnī 421–22; Ibn al-Bayṭār 433–34).

simsim (سمسم) sesame seeds, described as having the highest oil content among all other seeds, which makes it go rancid fast. Hulled sesam is called *simsim abyad*, literally, ‘white sesame,’ and unhulled sesame is *simsim aḥmar* ‘red sesame.’ Another name for sesame is *juljulan* (جلجلان).

Sesame is accused of causing nausea and bad breath. It is also said to

be slow to digest. However, toasting it and having it with honey makes it less harmful, and when it eventually does get digested it nourishes the body. Medicinally it is used to treat chest-related complaints, among other things (Ibn al-Bayṭār 391). See Section 7, s.v. *shayraj* and *rahshū*.

summāq (سَمَاق) sumac. For cooking purposes, only the sour husk of the dried berries is used. The hard pits are discarded. Both, sumac husk and its *dibs* ‘condensed juice’ (see below) are used as souring agents in dishes. Sumac is valued as an appetite stimulator. Due to its astringent quality, it is also useful medicinally such as in treating diarrhea and bleeding (Ibn al-Bayṭār 390).

dibs al-summāq (دبس السَمَاق) thickened sumac juice made by boiling down liquid of steeped sumac berries.

sunbul (سَنَبُل) spikenard or nard, an aromatic perennial flowering plant, with several downy spikes coming out of an elongated hairy root. It is collected by pulling the plant with its root, gathering it in bundles, and leaving it aside to dry. There are two varieties:

sunbul al-ṭīb (سَنَبُل الطَّيِّب), called so because it is used to make aromatic oils, also called *sunbul Hindī* (سَنَبُل هِنْدِي) Indian spikenard, and *sunbul al-‘aṣāfir* (سَنَبُل الْعَصَافِير) literally, ‘spikenard of the sparrows.’ This is regarded as the best variety. It is black, and its scent is reminiscent of *su‘d* (cyperus).

nārdīn (نَارْدِين) also called *nārdīn iqlīṭī* (نَارْدِين إِقْلِيْطِي) and *nārdīn al-Rūm* (نَارْدِين الرُّوم). It is a weaker variety, grown in Byzantium, used mostly for medicinal electuaries.

Spikenard, especially the highly aromatic Indian variety, is believed to pleasure the soul, instill courage in the heart, boost memory, arouse sexual desires, and invigorate their equipment. It is good medicine for the stomach, liver, and spleen. However, overdosing causes headaches. As a food spice, al-Bīrūnī says spikenard is always used in conjunction with cloves, the way ambergris is with musk. Cloves, on the other hand can be used by themselves.³⁴

sūs (سُوس) licorice, literally ‘sweet root,’ also called ‘ūd al-sūs (عُود السُّوس) ‘twigs of dried licorice root.’ The plant has been around in the region ever since ancient times. Its name in Akkadian is ‘shūshū.’³⁵ The

³⁴ Al-Warrāq’s recipes prove this remark accurate. All the recipes that include spikenard call for cloves, too. Al-Isrā’īlī 3: 218–24; al-Bīrūnī 236–37; Ibn al-Bayṭār 397–98.

³⁵ Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Herbal* 133.

root with its intensely sweet sap is valued for its moderate properties, which have the power to quench thirst, treat chest infections, coughs, and clear the voice. A somewhat dry piece of licorice root is recommended for teething babies to chew on to relieve pain and fight infections. To cure respiratory discomforts the advice is to put a licorice piece under the tongue and keep on sucking its juice. It is also used in the form of drinks and concentrated syrups, called *rubb al-sūs* (رب السوس) (Ibn Sīnā 137, 326, Ibn al-Bayṭār 403). Al-Bīrūnī explains that the Arabs call it *math* (ماتك) literally, ‘root,’ and that they add the leaves to wine when they make it to increase its potency (241).

tānbūl (تانبول) *tāmūl* (تامول) *tanbal* (تنبل) betel leaves which grow on a climbing plant abundant in India. The leaves are used only when fresh and sweet smelling. The fresh leaves used in southern Arabia are usually brought from ‘Umān.

The leaves are popular for their pleasant taste, which is somewhat like cloves. They are chewed with *fawfal* (فوفل) betel nut to sweeten the breath and strengthen gums, stomach, and liver. They have the power to dispel gases and sweeten burping. People put some leaves next to them when they sleep so that as soon as they wake up they can chew them to sweeten their morning breath.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, describing its widespread use in India, says that the fresh leaves are harvested daily. Giving away *tanbūl* leaves is like giving away gold or silver—a sign of generosity. He also describes how it is chewed with broken pieces of betel nut as a digestive after the meal (124). It is used as an aid for lovemaking. Being slightly intoxicating, it has a euphoric effect (*muṭarrib*) upon its chewers, which explains why it is called the wine of India (*khamr ahl al-Hind*). They love to have it most of the time, it gladdens their hearts, dyes their teeth red, and they are proud of it.³⁶ See *fawfal* above.

ṭarkhūn (طرخون) tarragon, of which there are two types, *Bābīlī*, with long slender leaves, and *Rūmī* with round leaves. It is described as a summer herb, slightly bitter and hot. Its sharp taste has a slight numbing effect on the tongue. When still young and tender, tarragon is served raw with the food along with other table herbs (*buqūl al-mā’ida*) like mint and table leeks. It is hard to digest, causes flatulence, and weakens

³⁶ Ibn al-Bayṭār 134; al-Bīrūnī 109; *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. تامل.

coitus. Of its benefits, it helps check gum plaque when chewed and kept in the mouth for a while (Ibn al-Bayṭār 461; al-Nuwayrī 1181).

tawābil (توابل) *tābil* (تابل) spices in general, used mostly to designate dried varieties.

ṭīb (طيب) aromatic ingredients added to food to enhance it such as cinnamon, cardamom, rose water, musk, ambergris, and camphor.

thuffā' (ثفاء) seed of garden cress. See *ḥurf* above.

thūm (ثوم) garlic

ra's thūm (رأس ثوم) head of garlic.

sin thūm (سن ثوم) garlic clove.

The cultivated variety is used in cooking. Its hot properties are believed to be an asset in dispelling flatulence, thinning down blood, and helping break down coarse foods such as *kishkiyya* and *maḍīra*. Physicians describe it as an antidote to poison and recommend it for chronic coughs and winter-related disorders. It is more suitable for people with cold properties such as the elderly. As for those with hot temperaments, they can still eat it provided they have it pickled in vinegar or take it with any other sour foods. Its heat is said to hurt the stomach and induce thirst. Its dry and hot properties are to blame for the negative effect it has on coitus. Rinsing one's mouth with wine is believed to help rid the eater of its strong odor.³⁷

Gourmet cooks call it **عنبر القدور** 'ambergris of the pots,' and poets compare it to pearls enclosed in a silken bundle **كصرة من ديبقي**. To its detractors, garlic looks like a skinned almond, but here ends the analogy as it is so much unlike almond in smell and taste. Better, it is like a handsome scoundrel who beguiles you with his attractive looks (al-Nuwayrī 1178).

thūm kurrāthī (ثوم كراثي) shallots. See *kurrāth al-thūm*, above

turnujān (ترنجان) lemon balm, a species of mint that smells like *utruj* (citron). It is also known as *batharnajbawayh* (باذرنجبويه), and *habaq turunjānī* (البقلة الاترجية), *al-baqla al-utrujīyya* (حبق ترنجاني), and *turjān* (ترجان).

This herb is valued for its exhilarating and euphoric powers which reduce stress and anxiety. Both raw and steeped, this herb benefits

³⁷ al-Isā'īlī 3: 170–72; Ibn al-Bayṭār 154–55; al-Bīrūnī 125–26; al-Rāzī 185.

teeth and sweetens the breath. It relieves colic pain, aids digestion, and induces sweet-smelling burping. Ibn al-Bayṭār has a magic recipe for success: Put in your pocket a ‘bouquet garnis’ of bits of the dried root, sprigs, and seeds of this herb, tied with a thread of silk. It will make you feel composed, happy, and agreeable to everybody around him (71–72).

ubhul (ابهل) juniper berries, also called ‘arʿar (عرعر). See entry above.

‘**ūd** (عود) aloe wood, a type of *ṭīb* (طيب), aromatic wood chips, bitter and acrid in taste, used mainly for fumigating purposes. Some of al-Warrāq’s recipes call for fumigating meat, pots, and wine jars to ensure getting rid of any unpleasant odors. For medicinal purposes, it may be taken internally. It is believed to strengthen heart and liver, have a good influence on the brain, sharpen the senses, and bring joy to the heart. It also makes a good mouthwash to sweeten the breath.

The aloe trees grow in India, China, and Yemen. They are left to rot naturally by burying them in the ground. Good quality aloe wood should be heavy for its size because this indicates the wood has enough moisture in it to ensure long burning with a lot of smoke. The wood is tested for quality by putting a piece in water. If it sinks, this is an indication that it is heavy and thereby good, and vice versa. To ensure good fumigation the wood chips are sometimes moistened (*yūṭarrā* يطري) before burning them, either by soaking them in water or steaming them in a ‘double boiler.’³⁸ According to the steaming method, the wood chips are put in a pot with a perforated bottom, which is fitted on another pot with water that should not reach the bottom of the top pot. Both pots are sealed and put on the fire to allow the rising steam to moisten the chips. Moistened aloe wood is referred to as ‘**ūd ṭarī** (عود طري) and ‘**ūd nay**’ (عود نيء).

The Indian varieties are valued as the best grade chips, black and heavy with moisture. Of these are:

‘**ūd Mandalī** (عود مندلي) Indian type of aloe wood, brought from Mandal, a region in India. It is of highly esteemed quality, very moist and heavy, soft, and strongly fragrant. However, it is said to generate lice in clothes because of its sweetness

‘**ūd Hindī** (عود هندي) also called *al-Hindī al-fāḍil* ‘the best Indian ‘ūd,’ brought from the mountains. It is preferred to

³⁸ As described in al-Nuwayrī’s chapter on aloe wood (1253).

Mandālī because it does not generate lice and it permeates into the fumigated clothes more thoroughly. Other names for it are ‘ūd *liyyā* (عود ليا) *a‘ālūḥan* (أعالوحن) *yalanjūj* (يلنجوج) *alanjūj* (النجوج), and *alanj* (النج).³⁹

ukshūth (اكشوث) ***kashūth*** (كشوث) ***kashūt*** (كشوت) dodder, a wild parasitic weed with yellow or orange threadlike stems. The plant has no leaves but carries bitter and acrid tiny fruits at the end of the stems. The weed with its acrid and bitter qualities is used medicinally to cure stomach, liver, and spleen disorders. It is deemed a good cure for jaundice (for recipes see Chapter 109). A condiment called *kāmakh* made with its threads is good for the stomach. Dodder is added to wine to increase its potency.⁴⁰

‘unṣul (عنصل) squill, wild onion, of which there are white and red varieties. It is full of thick juice, bitter and acrid in taste. Other names for it are ‘*unṣulān* (عنصلان), *ashqīl* (أشقىل) and *baṣal al-fār* (بصل الفار) literally, ‘mouse onion’ because it has the power to kill mice if they eat it. Their bodies will dry up and become like old dry leather the same day they eat it, al Bayṭār elaborates (496).

To extract the juice, it is pounded raw. It is also used dried, baked, and boiled to allay the strength of its dry and hot properties. Due to its powerful rarefying properties, which break up and thin down dense foods and humors, it is used sparingly to flavor vinegar. See *khall al-‘unṣul* (خل العنصل), Section 3 above.

It is mostly used medicinally such as to firm up the gums and loose teeth and destroy kidney stones. Besides, Ibn al-Bayṭār says if a man were to rub the sole of his feet with oil flavored with its juice and climb up into his bed without letting them touch the floor, he will experience an amazing erection (Ibn al-Bayṭār 496–97).

‘usfur (عصفر) safflower; the seed is *qurṭum* (قرطم). The flower of this plant is often compared to saffron. It is valued for its yellow dye and is sometimes given as a substitute for saffron even though it lacks the flavor and subtle scent of the latter. It is also added to meat dishes as a tenderizer. Medicinally, it is used as a diuretic. The seeds have the power to expel winds, increase semen, and improve the voice. The flower and the seeds have to be taken in moderation, otherwise they induce drowsiness and spoil digestion (Ibn al-Bayṭār 482, 547).

³⁹ Ibn al-Bayṭār 501; Ibn Sīnā 337; Ibn Sīdah 934.

⁴⁰ al-Bīrūnī 318; al-Isrāīlī 3: 130; Ibn al-Bayṭār 601.

za'farān (زعفران) saffron, other names for it are *ghumr* (غمر), *jasād* (جساد), *rayhaqān* (ريهقان), and *jādī* (جادي). It is sometimes identified as *kurkum* (كركم), which is turmeric *per se*. The names *za'farān* and *kurkum* are sometimes used interchangeably in Arabic. However, in the cuneiform Assyrian documents on dyes, each is given a distinct name: 'kurkanu' for turmeric and 'azupiranu' for saffron.⁴¹ Later on, the former evolved to *kurkum*, and the latter to *za'farān*.

Unadulterated saffron is described as fragrant and threadlike. It should be brittle in texture but not crumbly. When mixed with liquid, it should dye the hand almost immediately.

Besides using it for culinary purposes, it is deemed useful medicinally such as to aid the digestive and respiratory systems. It has the power to stimulate coitus and ease hard labor. Because it is believed to counteract stomach acidity, it is blamed for spoiling the appetite. When added to alcoholic drinks, it increases its potency. Indeed, so much so, that the drinker will experience an ecstatic state of euphoria, almost to the point of madness. Ibn Sīnā actually mentions that taking 3 *mithqāls* (14½ grams) of saffron will induce an intense state of ecstasy that might lead to the departure of one's soul (265). Ibn al-Bayṭār chides him for irresponsibly giving the exact amount (342).

zanjabīl (زنجبیل) ginger, an Indian plant of which only the root is used. It is described as having a pleasant smell, but not quite aromatic. In taste, it is as sharp and hot as black pepper. Because the fresh root rots quickly, it is usually imported dried or preserved in brine or syrup, called *zanjabīl murabba* (زنجبیل مربی). The jam in particular is touted as an aphrodisiac and a digestive. It fights aging and dries up phlegm. It is also beneficial to cold-related disorders. Of its varieties:

zanjabīl Hindī (زنجبیل هندی) Indian ginger.

zanjabīl Šīnī (زنجبیل صینی) Chinese ginger. It is said to be superior to the Indian variety.

⁴¹ Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 157. Ibn al-Bayṭār, in his entry on *kurkum* (turmeric), first accurately describes the plant as a yellow ginger-like root imported from India. He adds, it dyes food yellow the way saffron does. He then comments that people of Basra (southern city in Iraq) call it *kurkum* and adds that *kurkum* is *za'farān*. Therefore, he concludes that they call it so because of its yellow dye (342, 593). From what we know of the etymological history of the two words, people of Basra got the names right. Al-Warrāq's recipes do not mention *kurkum* (turmeric).

zanjabīl Zinjī (زنجبیل زنجي) African ginger, another name for Chinese ginger (above).⁴²

zanjabīl al-ʿAjām (زنجبیل العجم) Persian ginger. It is *ishturghāz* (إشتر غاز) (*Al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt*, s.v. زنجبیل). See *ishturghāz* above.

zanjabīl Shamī (زنجبیل شامي) elecampane, also known as *rāsan*. See entry above.

zir al-ward (زر الورد) pl. *azrār al-ward* (أزرار الورد) rose bud, used in cooking and flavoring wines and drinks. It is also included in medicinal preparations to fortify internal organs, and expectorate blood (Ibn Sīnā 261). Cf. *qimʿ al-ward* (قمع الورد) the bowl-shaped hypanthium, which ultimately grows to become a rose hip.

zūfā yābis (زوفایابس) dried hyssop, an aromatic sprawling herb with leaves similar to those of marjoram, described as having a pleasant thyme-like aroma and a bitter taste. It grows on the mountains of Jerusalem. Medicinally it is recommended for chronic coughs and asthma (Ibn al-Bayṭār 354; Ibn Sīnā 262). In al-Warrāq’s cookbook it is used in making a laxative salt (Chapter 21).

zurnubād (زرنباد) *zurnabā* (زرنبا) *zurnabāhā* (زرنباها) zedoary, aromatic rhizome of the ginger family. It resembles ginger in taste and color. In its country of origin, China, it is sliced while still fresh then dried and exported.

It is used in cooking and drinks. Medicinally it is taken to deflate winds, control vomiting and diarrhea, and help people gain weight. It cures heart-related ailments, and is prescribed as an antidepressant. It can rid the breath of the unpleasant odors of garlic, onion, and wine (Ibn Sīnā 262–63; Ibn al-Bayṭār 336).

⁴² al-Bīrūnī 206-07; al-Isrāʿīlī 3: 208-10; Ibn al-Bayṭār 348-49.

10. *Kitchen Utensils and Cooking Preparations and Techniques*10.1 *Kitchen Utensils*¹

abzārdān (أبزاردان) containers made of glass or willow wood used to store dried spices.

ājur (آجر) tiles or bricks used to line the bottom of the heated *tannūr* so that pots or meat may be placed on them. The big flat brick is called *qirmūd* (قرميد).

ānuk (آنك) tin used to coat other metals like copper to prevent corrosion and poisoning. Coated copper is *nuḥās mu’annak* (نحاس مؤنك).

athāfi (أثافي) originally, they are three stones, as big as a man’s head each, set up around the fire to support the pot and prevent it from moving. The word also designates a trivet. See *daykadān* below.

atūn (أتون) oven, furnace.

bāriya (بارية) reed mat.

barniyya (برنية) pl. *barānī* (براني) wide-mouthed jar. According to Ibn Waḥshiyya’s description, its bottom is wider than its mouth (1: 422).

barniyya billawr (برنية بلور) crystal wide-mouthed jar.

barniyya ghuḍār (برنية غضار) green-glazed wide-mouthed earthenware jar.

barniyya zujāj (برنية زجاج) wide-mouthed jar made of glass.

bāṭiya (باطية) big wide bowl, similar to a punch bowl, from which wine is scooped with *tās* (طاس) small bowl. It is also used for other kitchen functions such as fumigating perfume compounds (e.g. al-Nuwayrī 421, 1256, 1265).

billawr (بلور) crystal.

būqāl (بوقال) a variety of *kūz*, round cup with handles, but no spout. It may be long and tubular in shape, like a bugle cup.

burma (برمة) pl. *birām* (برام) pot made of soapstone, usually imported from Yemen and Ḥijāz. Sometimes *burma* is used loosely to designate

¹ For a study on cooking and utensils in the western region of the Islamic medieval world, see Manuela Marin, “Pots and Fire: The Cooking Processes in the Cookbooks of al-Andalus and the Maghreb,” *Patterns of Everyday Life*, 289-302.

pots in general regardless of material. It may be green glazed *burma khaḍrā*.

burma dayyiqat al-ra's (برمة ضيقة الرأس) soapstone pot with a narrow top and wider body, used in one of al-Warrāq's recipes for *muṭajjanāt* (braised poultry dishes). It is an ideal shape for braising because it allows for a minimum amount of evaporation (last recipe in Chapter 32).

bustūqa (بستوقة) earthenware jar with a narrow neck, sometimes green-glazed. It is used for keeping wine, milk, and clarified butter. The contents of the jar are kept clean by covering the opening with a piece of cloth and tying it into a knot.

ḍabba (ضبة) a piece of iron or copper band wound around a cracked stone pot to prevent it from breaking.

dakshāb (دكشاب) stirring wooden utensil.

dann (دنّ) pl. *dinān* (دنان) large cylindrical earthenware vessel or cask, which tapers into a rounded bottom. It is used for storing wine, kept partly buried in the ground to prevent it from falling.

dast (دست) large brass pot. According to a marginal note in the Istanbul manuscript (fol. 282v) it is the same as *ṭanjūr* (entry below).

dastīja (دستيجة) pl. *dasātīj* (دساتيج) wine vessel or jar with handles, apparently of medium size because it can be carried by hand.

daykadān (ديكدان) trivet, a three-legged stand used for supporting cooking pots that need to be raised above the burning fire. It may be put inside the *tannūr* so that a pot is placed on it. The Arabic name is *minṣab* (منصب).

fahm (فحم) coal.

fakhkhār (فخّار) earthenware.

fakhkhāra (فخّارة) *jarra* (جرة) earthenware jar.

fīhr (فهر) a stone, large enough to fill the hand holding it. It is used for cracking nuts, coarsely mashing vegetables, and grinding drug ingredients.

furn (فرن) brick oven fueled with wood, similar to glass-making furnaces (Ibn Sīdah 377). Bread baked in it is called *khubz furnī*, which is crusty, thick, and round bread domed in the middle. The commercial *furn* is described as having a flat floor. Fire is lit on one side and the

shaped breads are transferred with a peel and put on its hot floor. Another design is described as having a slanting brick wall with pebbles on it. The fire is lit in front of the wall, and the flattened breads are put on the hot pebbles (al-Hassan and Hill 219).

ghadār (غضار) green glazed earthenware.

ghadāra (غضارة) pl. *ghadā'ir* (غضائر) green-glazed deep dish or bowl, said to be big enough for 5 people (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. **غضر**). The best glazed earthenware is brought from China, called *ghadā'ir Šīniyya*, described as thin and apricot-yellow.²

ghirbāl (غربال) round sieve, which looks like a tambourine.

ghirbāl asal (غربال أسل) sieve with a mesh made of rush stems.

ghirbal sha'r (غربال شعر) fine-mesh sieve made with animal hair.

ghumr (غمر) the smallest drinking cup hardly enough to satisfy one person.

qa'b (قعب) cup big enough for two or three people.

'uss (عس) cup elongated in shape, enough for three to four people (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. **عسس**, **غمر**, **قعب**).

hajar (حجر) literally, 'stone.' Sometimes a stone mortar (*jāwan hajar*) is referred to as *hajar*.

hašīr (حصير) a variety of *bisāt* (mat) made from date palm fronds or reeds.

hāwan (هاون) mortar and pestle, mostly used for pounding dry ingredients such as spices. They are commonly made of copper but some are made of lead, stone, and even gold.

hubb (حبّ) big earthenware jar with two small handles, similar to *khābiya* (entry below) used mostly for keeping water cool. Because it has a tapered rounded bottom, it is put on a four-legged wooden stand. It is usually kept covered with a wooden or earthenware lid (Ibn Sīdah 869, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, **حبب**). Judging from some of al-Warrāq's recipes, it is also used for fermenting wine and making large quantities of vegetables preserved in brine.

huqq (حقّ) *huqqa* (حقّة) small rounded bowl made of carved wood, ivory, glass, brass, or copper, used in recipes for making molded cookies.

² al-Bīrūnī, *Al-Jamāhir fī Ma'rifat al-Jawāhir* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 97.

ibrīq (إبريق) ewer with a long spout and a handle, made of metal such as silver or copper.

ijjāna (إجانة) *injāna* (انجانة) pl. *ajājīn* (أجاجين) large tub used for washing clothes, also used for making dough.

ijjāna ṣaghīra (إجانة صغيرة) small tub.

inā' muzaffat (إناء مزفت) vessel smeared with pitch from the inside, used for fermenting wine. See Section 12.2, s.v. *zift*.

isfaydhūra (إسفذور) pot made of *isfaydhūrī* (إسفذوري) white copper or brass, also called *ṣifr* (al-Bīrūnī *al-Jamāhīr fī Ma'rifat al-Jawāhīr* 112). Brass pots are used when a high temperature is required for cooking, such as when frying *zalābiya* (fried fritters).

iṣṭām (إسطام) *iṣṭām* (إسطام) large paddle-like iron spatula used for stirring pots of thick puddings. Some are used for stoking the fire (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. *سطم*).

iṣṭām daqīq (إسطام دقيق) small paddle-like iron spatula.

jafna (جفنة) huge and wide serving bowl, big enough to feed more than ten people. It is said to be the largest (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. *صحف*):

qaṣ'a (قصعة) serving bowl, a little smaller than *jafna*, enough for ten people.

ṣahfa (صحفة) serving bowl, shallower and wider than *qaṣ'a*, enough to feed five people.

mi'kala (ماكلة) serving bowl, enough for two or three people.

ṣuḥayfa (صحيفة) serving bowl, enough for one person.

jām (جام) *jāmāt* (جامات) pl. *jūm* (جوم) platter made of silver, copper, or glass.

jarra (جرة) pl. *jarāyir* (جراير) *jirār* (جرار) earthenware ewer or jar.

jarra khadrā' (جرة خضراء) green-glazed earthenware ewer or jar, which does not allow for filtering.

jarra midhāriyya (جرة مذارية) unglazed ewer or jar, which allows for filtering of liquids.

jāwan ḥajar (جاون حجر) stone mortar for pounding moist ingredients such as meat and vegetables.

jawlaq (جولق) pl. *jawāliq* (جوالق) large sack made of very coarse cloth such as hemp, flax, or coarse hair of camel or goat. The word

is an Arabized form of the Persian *chawala* (شواله) sack (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. جلق).

jūḍhabān (جودبان) *jūḍhabadān* big and wide pot with low sides, used for baking *jūḍhāba* (pudding-like casserole placed under roasting meat in the *tannūr*).

jūna (جونة) a round basket usually kept draped with a thin cloth, used for carrying the cooked dishes, bread, etc. It can also be a small container where the *ʿaṭṭār* (spice-man) prepares his spices and keeps them in his shop. In this case it is called *jūnat ʿaṭṭār*, famous for its wonderful aroma (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. جون).

kafit (كفيت) spatula which functions as a turner. It derives from *kafata* ‘flip’ (*Lisān al-ʿArab*).³

kalbatān (كلبتان) tongs or pincers to grasp and transfer hot items.

kānūn (كانون) portable brazier used for heating purposes and cooking. Other names for it are *mawqīd* (موقد) and *muṣṭalā* (مصطلى) (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. صلی ‘grill’). From a book on interpreting dreams, we incidentally learn about materials used in making the brazier: iron, copper, wood, plaster, and clay.⁴ Some braziers are made with perforated lids so that vessels can be placed on them, or food can be smoked or toasted on them.⁵ A recipe of *zaytūn mubakḥḥar* (smoked olives) in al-Baḡhdādī’s thirteenth-century cookbook calls for a brazier with a door (Arberry 207). This leads to the assumption that it is shaped like a box with a door kept closed to entrap the accumulating smoke created by the slowly burning walnut shells, olive pits, and cotton saturated in sesame oil.

kānūn ʿajlān (كانون عجلان) a brazier used with dishes that require slow and prolonged cooking or with delicate dishes that burn quickly. Al-Warrāq’s book is the only source where it is mentioned (Chapter 59). It is given as a substitute for *nāfikh nafsihi* (نافخ نفسه), a slow-burning device (see below) used in cooking a delicate green stew.

³ This gadget points to the fact that the word *kufta/kafita* (meat patties) is of Arabic origin. It is mentioned in al-Bīrūnī’s entry on peaches in which he describes a variety of flat peaches. He says they look as though they have been squished from both ends with a *kafit* (187).

⁴ Ibn Sīnā, *Muntakhab al-Kalām fī Tafsīr al-Aḥlām* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 171.

⁵ Judging from a recipe for smoked olives in *Kanz al-Fawāʿid* (205).

This portable stove is called *‘ajlān* either because it is made of clay, which, compared with metal, would allow for slow cooking of the pot. In this case the name derives from *‘ajal* ‘clay.’ There is also the possibility that the name derives from *‘ijla* ‘bottle of oil’ (Steingass). In this case, we may assume that liquid fuel used for this stove is *zayt al-waqūd* (زيت الوقود) fuel oil, possibly kerosene,⁶ which ignites much faster than coal, and hence the name *kānūn ‘ajlān*, ‘a brazier that can be ignited quickly.’ The steady burning and low heat of fuel oil is ideal for the low heat required in slow cooking.

khābiya (خابية) big earthenware jar similar to *hubb* (entry above) and larger than the *dann* (see above). It is cylindrical with a tapering rounded bottom. When stored, it is partly buried in the ground to keep it from falling. It is used to keep liquids, mostly wines.

khāfiqiyya (خافقية) pl. *khawāfiq* (خوافق) thin glistening china bowl used for serving food at the table.

khām (خام) (fabric) plain white cotton, calico (Hans Wehr *Dictionary*); also known as *kirbās* (white cotton, *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. كربس).

khariṭa (خريطة) leather drawstring bag.

khariṭa mushamma‘a (خريطة مشمعة) waterproof leather drawstring bag used to carry wet foods such as stews and puddings (al-Iḥṣān 188). It is made by dipping the material in melted wax.

khazaf (خزف) fired clay containers, also *fakhkhār*.

khilāf (خلاف) willow tree or osier whose twigs are used in making strainers and toothpicks (*khilāl*). See Section 13, s.v. *khilāf*.

khilāl (خلال) toothpicks, used to test for doneness of baked pastries. Sometimes garlic cloves are skewered in them to make fishing them out of the cooked stew much easier.

⁶ See for instance, Zayn Bilkadi, “Bitumen: A History,” *Saudi Aramco World* (Nov./Dec. 1984), in which he says,

So advanced a stage did petroleum refining reach under the scientists of Islam that in the early 12th century, kerosene or white naphtha could be purchased anywhere in the streets of Damascus. Indeed, a considerable distilling industry prospered in Damascus and, apparently, in Egypt too. In one account it was claimed that in one day a fire at the residency of the Fatimid ruler al-Mustansir destroyed 100 tons of refined naphtha. (9)

Given the ancient history of petroleum products in Iraq, we may safely assume that the above information equally applies to Iraq under the rule of the Abbasids.

khirqa (خرقة) scrap of fabric used for drying the dishes. A wet cloth is used to wipe clean the inside of the *tannūr* before baking. The baker may dip a piece of cloth in water and shake it on the baked bread to sprinkle it with water and keep it soft (al-Thaʿālibī *Fiqh al-Lughā* 51).

khirqat kattān maṣrūr (خرقة كتان مصرور) linen cloth tied into a bundle with herbs inside it (*bouquet garnis*). It is added to the boiling pot so that the herbs may impart their flavors into the stew and then discarded when cooking is done. The herb bundle is sometimes called *khirqat al-abzār* (خرقة الازرار).

khirqā ṣaḥīḥa (خرقة صفيقة) tightly woven fabric such as silk used for straining liquids.

khīsh (خيش) sackcloth.

khiwān (خوان) low table of wood or marble used for spreading the serving plates. The ones caliphs and the affluent use are made of *khiwān mujazzaʿ* (خوان مجزّع),⁷ silver, and even gold. *Khiwān* designates a table when empty or spread with food. *Māʿida* (مائدة), on the other hand, is used only when the table has food on it (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. **ميد**, خون).⁸

khūṣ (خوص) leaves of date-palm tree. Sometimes strips are made of the leaves to tie herbs into bundles.

khuttāf (خطاف) iron rod with a hook. In al-Warrāq's recipes it is used for dangling strips of meat in the *tannūr* to roast (Chapter 87, p. 364).

kisāʾ (كساء) *kisā* (كسا) coarse thick cloth usually used for making blankets. For kitchen use, food items are spread on it to allow them to dry out. Also used to cover pots or ingredients to keep them warm (*tadthīr*) or to trap smoke in while fumigating.

kūb (كوب) round cup or bowl with a small base and a wide brim, with no spout or handle.⁹ Inspired by the shape of this cup, the derivative *kawab* is descriptive of a person having a thin neck and a huge head (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. **كوب**). The cup is used as a drinking vessel, and is made in different sizes and from various materials such as *fakhkhār*—

⁷ They were made of *jazaʿ* (جزع) Arabian black and white shells, which were in high fashion during medieval times (al-Jāhiz *Al-Bukhālāʾ* 18).

⁸ In the dictionary, **ميد** is entered under the entry **مهيد**.

⁹ Abū-Zayd al-Qurashī, *Jamharat Ashʿār al-ʿArab* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 4.

earthenware, glazed and unglazed—and *ṣafīḥ* (sheets of metal). The measuring *kūb* equals 3 *raṭls* (6 cups), according to al-Khuwārizmī (33).

kullāb (كَلَّاب) iron rod with a hook for taking bread out of the *tannūr* or suspending pieces of meat in it when roasting them.

kurr (كَرّ) pl. *kirār* (كِرَار) cistern-like containers used for holding liquids (Steingass).

kūz (كُون) cup with a handle but no spout. Compared with *kūb* ‘cup,’ it is taller and narrower at the top. It is different from *ibrīq* (decanter), which has a slender long neck, a long spout, and a handle.

Kūz is made from different materials such as clay, plain and glazed, metal, and wood. Apparently, *kūz* cups used for drinking *fuqqāʿ* (non-alcoholic beer) are made tall and narrow. Thus, when beer is poured into them, they produce sounds similar to *qarqara* (rumbling), and the drinker sounds like a braying camel.¹⁰ The derivative *mukawwaz* is descriptive of a person with a long head.

The sizes range from small to large. The small ones are used for drinking beer and the larger ones for making beer in them. The measuring *kūz* equals 6 *qaṣṣ* (18 cups), according to al-Khuwārizmī (33).

labda (لَبْدَة) felt, fabric made from compressed animal fibers.

lawḥ (لَوْح) board for spreading and shaping dough.

māʾida (مَائِدَة) table laden with ready-to-serve food, otherwise it is called *khūwān*.

mājūr (مَاجُور) round earthenware trough or tub used for making dough; tall bulging earthenware vessel with a wide mouth (Hanz Wehr *Dictionary*, s.v. مَجْر).

malla (مَلَّة) a pit in which flattened dough is baked in the heat of ashes and stones. The resulting bread is called *khubz al-malla*, *matīl* and *mamlūl*; also called *mudrib* and *madrūb* because it is usually struck with a stick after it comes out of the *malla* to shake off ash and sand (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ضَرْب). See Section 2 above.

Meat is also roasted slowly in the *malla*. Like bread, it is called *matīl* and *mamlūl*. This simple technique, characteristic of nomadic life,

¹⁰ We learn this from verses cited by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Risāla al-Baḥdādiyya* (235, n.1).

is adopted by cooks not necessarily on the move. In Ibn al-ʿAdīm's thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣa ilā 'l-Ḥabīb*, there is a detailed recipe on how to roast a whole lamb or kid in the *malla*. It is called "a meat roast the Arabs prepare." The sheep is rubbed with spices and oil. Then a pit, big and deep enough to hold the animal, is made. Its base is lined with stones, a wood fire is lighted on them and kept burning until the stones are hot. Then the fire with the ashes is removed, sticks of tamarisk tree are latticed on the stones, and the prepared sheep is laid flat on them. The pit is then covered with a tray and sealed closed with mud. Wood fire is lighted evenly all over the tray until meat is done (2: 558).

This simple dish never lost its allure. In the fifteenth-century Urdu cookbook *Nīmatnāma* of the Sultan of Mandu, the dish receives regal attention: The pit itself is rubbed with flowers from the inside, the meat is wrapped in banana leaves. After the fire is removed, the pit floor is lined with sticks and banana leaves. Then meat is put and covered with more banana leaves. After the pit is sealed, more of these leaves along with flowers are heaped on top, and two or three bundles of firewood are left burning. Meat is left to roast overnight (11).¹¹

maqlā (مقلي) *miqlāt* (مقلاة) frying pan, made of different materials such as soap stone, iron, and copper to suit the various kitchen needs. Iron skillets, for instance, are recommended for frying fish. Fried dishes of ground meat are cooked in wok-like soapstone pans, and *zalābiya* (fried fritters) is fried in flat pans made of brass (*isfaydhūra*). Flat frying pans are sometimes used as griddles to make a variety of *kabāb* (third recipe in Chapter 42).

maqlā muqaʿar (مقلي مقعر) concave frying pan, like a wok.

maṭṭār (مطار) *maṭara* (مطرة) pl. *muṭr* (مطر) a jar with a small mouth and bulging body, as described in *Kanz al-Fawā'id* (186). Material from which it is made is said to be *marū* (مرو) delicate white stone, also used as a fire-striking stone (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. مطر).

¹¹ Interestingly, even today, this originally Bedouin method for roasting meat is still popular in Jordan. Cecil Hourani in *Jordan: The Land and the Table* describes meat roasted this way in an orchard outside Amman. He calls it *zerb*, which definitely derives from the medieval name of bread baked in *malla*—*maḍrūb* (literally, 'the beaten'). He says that the dish "has now been added to the menu of a new and elegant Amman restaurant" (39-40).

mawqid (موقد) general name for cooking devices fueled with wood or coal. See *mustawqad* below.

midrab (مضرب) beater, whisker.

midrāb harīsa (مضراب هريسة) rectangular piece of wood for beating *harīsa* (wheat porridge).

mighrafa (مغرفة) ladle, also called *midhnaba* (مذنبة) because it has a tail-like handle. The rounded back of the ladle is sometimes used to mash food such as skinned and boiled fava beans and chickpeas.

mighrafa min 'idān al-khilāf (مغرفة من عيدان الخلف) ladle made of willow twigs used to ladle out food while straining all the liquid.

mighrafa muthaqqaba (مغرفة مثقبة) ladle with small holes for skimming froth. It will allow the liquid fat to drip back to the pot.

miḥakk (محك) metal scraper to clean the dough bowl.

miḥashshā (محشى) copper sausage stuffer.

miḥlab ((محلّب) small wooden bowl for keeping fresh yeast, which is a fermented batch of dough.

miḥrāk (محراك) fire poker, also called *miḥrāth* (محراث) used for stoking the ashes and embers in the *tannūr*.

mihrās (مهراس) big and heavy rectangular stone used as a mortar for crushing seeds and similar items (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. هرس). It is also called *hāwan* (al-Suyūṭī 88). Besides stone, *miḥsrās* is sometimes made from hard wood (*Anwāʾ al-Ṣaydala* 326).

miḥwar (محور) wooden rolling pin used for flattening dough into round disks (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. حور).

mijashsha (مجشة) hand mill.

mikabba (مكبّة) domed lid, used to cover the serving bowl while carrying it to the table.

mi'kala (مأكلة) serving bowl, enough to feed two or three people. See *jafna* above.

mikhbaṣa (مخبصة) big spoon for stirring *khabyṣ* (thick pudding).

mikhyat (مخيّط) large needle.

miknasa (مكنسة) sweep made from date palm fronds used to clean the *tannūr* before wiping it with a wet cloth. A new small sweep may

be used to whip egg whites, as in a recipe in Ibn al-‘Adīm’s cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣā ilā ‘l-Ḥabīb* (2: 626).

miksār (مكسار) board of solid wood used for cutting meat with a *sāṭūr* (cleaver).

miḷ‘aqa (ملعقة) spoon.

mindīl (منديل) piece of cloth. In al-Warrāq’s cookbook, it is needed to wipe the inside of the *tannūr* to remove unwanted moisture or any ashes or burnt particles that have stuck to the inner wall from the previous baking. Another piece of cloth is needed to wipe the bottom of bread after it is taken out of the *tannūr* or to cover it to keep it soft. See *khirqa* above.

minqāsh (منقاش) decorating utensil used for making geometric impressions on pastries; tweezers.

minṣab (منصب) iron trivet used for supporting cooking pots on the fire or inside the *tannūr*. See *daykadān* above.

minsaf (منسف) winnowing sieve. See also *ghirbāl* above.

minsagha (منسغة) a bundle of feathers, usually from ducks’ tails, used for making decorative impressions on flattened bread before baking it. Bread prepared this way is called *khubz murayyash* (خبز مريش) literally, ‘feathered bread.’

miqrāz (مقراض) clippers. Like kitchen scissors, they are used to snip food items such as almonds and rose petals.

miṣraq (معرق) sharp knife, similar to a razor blade (*shaḡra*) used to scrape off the remaining meat on the bones.

mirkan (مركن) big tub, similar to *ijjāna* (إجانة). See entry above.

mirqāq (مرقاق) dowel used in shaping and flattening *ruqāq* (رقاق) paper-thin bread.

miṣsara (معصرة) grape press used for making wine.

miṣfāt (مصفاة) strainer made of metal or wood.

mishjab (مشجب) three-legged piece of wood on which clothes are hung. For the kitchen, it is used for fumigating food and utensils, and hanging jars to allow liquid inside them to chill.

mistāh (مسطاح) mat made from date palm fronds used to cool down bread that has just been taken out of the oven.

mistahadda (مستحدة) whetstone.

miswat (مسوط) *miswāt* (مسواط) large stick or spoon used to stir the pot.

miṭbaqat samak (مطبقة سمك) hinged fish grill used when fish is baked in the *tannūr* to prevent it from slipping down into the fire.

munkhul khafif (منخل خفيف) fine-meshed sieve. See *munkhul ṣafiq* below.

munkhul khushkār (منخل خشكار) sieve with relatively large holes used for sifting whole wheat (*khushkār*).

munkhul ṣafiq (منخل صفيق) fine-meshed sieve made with tightly woven fabric such as silk.

munkhul sha'r (منخل شعر) fine-meshed sieve made with animal hair.

muṣṭalā (مصطلى) brazier used for heating and cooking purposes. Smaller varieties are used for burning incense and fumigating.

mustawqad (مستوقد) *mawqid* (موقد) stove, of which several kinds are made to accommodate for the varieties of dishes prepared. The built stoves are waist high and large enough for cooking several pots simultaneously (see Chapter 2).

According to al-Warrāq's instructions, smaller stoves are needed for making thick puddings and *nāḥif* (nougat). They need to be rounded so that the pudding rounded pots fit into them snugly. They are probably portable and lower than the regular ones to allow for lengthy beating and stirring without putting much strain on the cook's shoulders. See also *naḥikh* *naḥsihi* below.

muzammala (مزملة) water-cooling green-glazed crock, insulated by wrapping it with coarse cloth such as sackcloth or canvas, and filling the space between the cloth and the vessel with hay. It is used to keep water, which has already been cooled during the night, cold (al-Isrā'īl 1: 393). Since it is made rounded with a tapered base, it is usually put on wooden or metal stand. Evidently, they are made large—large enough for a fully-grown man to hide in them if needs be.¹² The vessel's name derives from the Arabic verb *tazammala* 'to be wrapped.'

¹² See, for instance, Ibn al-Ṭaṭṭaṭī (104); Abū al-Fidā *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 186.

The word is recognized as being indigenous to the Iraqi vernacular (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. **زمل**).

naʿār (**نعار**) bucket. The name is a variant on *nāʿūra* (**ناعورة**) water bucket of the *nāʿūr* (**ناعور**) water-driven wheel. The name comes from the screeching and wailing sounds that the wheel produces while turning with the power of water.

naḥikh nafsīhi (**نافخ نفسه**) literally, ‘a stove that blows its fire by itself’ (i.e. it does not need the cook to blow its fire to keep it going). It seems to have been a relatively familiar gadget in the affluent kitchens of medieval times. It is a slow-burning stove, which allows for delicate pots and foods to keep on cooking for a long time without causing the pot to break or food to spoil. One of al-Warrāq’s recipes in Chapter 59 requires it for cooking a delicate green stew (**إسفيزباجة خضراء**). In the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kānz al-Fawāʿid*, it is used to cook an interesting dish of sparrows in a delicate pot made of glass. The pot needs to keep on simmering throughout drinking sessions, during which time the drinkers would help themselves to the sparrows, while amusing themselves by watching the cooking birds with heads attached along with vegetables and chickpeas moving up and down the pot with the gently boiling liquid (61-63). Al-Khuwārizmī describes it as a portable brazier which stands on three legs. Its base and sides are all pierced with holes. In the middle a clay platform is placed, under which coal fire is lighted, and on top of which the cooking pot is put. The brazier is placed in an open area, exposed to the breeze (48) so that the coals keep on burning gently by the circulation of the air. In *Kānz al-Fawāʿid*, there are details on how to start the fire. The brazier is first put in an enclosed place (**موضع مقفل**), coals are put, and in the middle, a single burning coal *jamra* is placed. One has to wait until the coals pick up the heat before cooking starts (63). See also *kānūn ʿajlān* above.

narjīsī wāsiʿ (**نرجسي واسع**) wide frying pan specially used for making *narjīsīyya* omelet (with eggs sunny-side up).

naṭ (**نطع**) sheet of leather spread as a table cloth. Leather is the preferred material because it is easy to clean.

nuḥās maṭlī (**نحاس مطلي**) **nuḥās muʿannak** (**نحاس مؤنك**) tinned copper.

nuqra (نقرة) *nuqra nuḥās* (نقرة نحاس) big copper pot used for boiling water and making syrup.

qaʿb (قعب) big thick glass made of wood. It can also be a small cup similar in shape to a hoof, enough to satisfy one person (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. قعب).

qadah (قدح) drinking glass, enough for two people. It may designate a drinking glass in general, available in different sizes. In wine drinking contexts, *qadah* designates an empty glass. When filled, it is *kaʿs* (كأس).

qafaṣ (قفص) cage-like basket made with the stems of the date palm fronds.

qafshīl (قفشيل) ladle, an Arabized word for *kaḥja līz* (*Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, s.v. قفشيل). Also called *mighrafa* (entry above).

qarrāba (قرابة) pl. *qarrābāt* (قرابات) large flagon or vessel used for fermenting wines in the sun over long periods of time. It is described as having two handles and a spout (Steingass).

qārūra (قارورة) glass jar usually used for keeping wine.

qaṣʿa (قصعة) big wide bowl, commonly made of wood or earthenware, used for serving dishes such as *ṭharīd* (bread sopped in broth and meat). It is big enough to serve ten people. See *jafna* above.

qaṣab Fārisī (قصب فارسي) thick, long, and sturdy reed, usually brought from India to make *mushshāb* ‘arrows’ (Ibn Sīnā 352). In the kitchen, it is used to stir liquids in big cauldrons. It is hollowed and used to feed pastries with honey and make holes in cakes while baking in the *tannūr* (Chapters 93, 98). Also called *ʿūd mushshāb* (عود نشاب).

qaṭramīz (قطرميز) glass jar of various sizes (Hanz Wehr *Dictionary*), sometimes made of *billawr* (crystal). Al-Warrāq uses it for keeping pickles. However, from other medieval sources we learn it is also used for keeping raisins, honey, camphor, etc.

qawālīb (قواليب) *qawālīb* (قواليب) sing *qālab* (قالب) cookie cutters and metal or wooden molds used for shaping pastries and candies as fish, sparrows, fruits, etc.

qidr (قدر) generic name for a pot.

qidr mudawwar (قدر مدور) pot with a rounded bottom, used for cooking *khabyṣ* and *fālūdḥaj* (condensed puddings), which require lengthy stirring and beating.

qidr mudawwar bi thalāthat athāfi (قدرمدور بثلاثة أثافي) pot with a rounded bottom and three straight legs used for making *nātif* (nougat). The legs will prevent the pot from revolving while beating the candy away from the fire.

qidr nuḥās muraṣṣaṣ (قدر نحاس مرصص) copper pot coated with lead.

qirba (قربة) pl. *qirab* (قرب), *shann* (شن) pl. *shinān* (شنان) large leather bags for keeping liquids.

qirmīd (قرميد) *qarāmūd* (قراميد) large and flat variety of *ājūr* (أجر) bricks or tiles used to line the bottom of the *tannūr* so that food may simmer or bake in it.

qirtās (قرطاس) sheet of papyrus.

qiṭʿat qimāsh ḥarīr (مقطع قماش حرير) *maqṭaʿ ḥarīr* (مقطع حرير) silken piece of cloth used in al-Warrāq's recipes to sift ground rice and strain juice of mashed raisins prepared for making wine.

qulla (قلة) general name for a jar. It may designate *ḥubb* (big jar) entry above.

radf (رضف) heated stone, hearthstone.

rahā (رحى) *raḥḥāʾ* (رحاء) mill stone.

rashm (رشم) stamp used to make decorative impressions on confections.

raṭl (رطل) container with a *raṭl* (pint) capacity usually used in wine contexts.

rāwūq (راووق) large strainer used mostly for straining wine into smaller vessels (al-Dīnawarī *Al-Maʿānī al-Kabīr* 109).

rawwāj (رواج) *rawwāḥ* (رواح) bottom vent hole of the *tannūr*, also called *ʿayn al-tannūr* (عين التتور) (literally, its eye). It is used to manipulate fire in the *tannūr*, closed when slow cooking is required, and kept open when the baking bread or cookies need to be browned fast.

rīsh (ريش) feathers usually taken from tails of ducks, used for pricking the flattened bread before baking it (see *minsagha* above). They are also used to baste *kardanāj* (poultry grilled on a revolving spit) with marinade while it rotates.

rukḥāma (رخامة) slab of marble used for candy making and baking *qaṭāyif* (crepes).

saf (سف) mat made of woven date-palm fronds.

safaṭ (سפט) pl. *asfāt* (أسفاط) small case or casket used to keep women's cosmetics and perfumes (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. سפט).

saffūd (سَفُود) pl. *safāfūd* (سفافيد) roasting spit; roasting skewer, described as being branched (ذات شعب) with hooked ends (معقفة) (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. سَفُود).

saffūd samak (سَفُود سمك) fish skewer made to prevent the baking fish from falling into the bottom of the *tannūr*.

ṣafṣāf (صفصاف) a variety of willow trees. See *khilāf*, Section 13 below.

saḥfa (صحفة) big, wide, and shallow serving bowl, enough to feed five people. See *jafna*.

sallat quḍbān (سَلَّة قضبان) wicker basket.

sallat ṣafṣāf (سَلَّة صفصاف) basket made with willow branches.

ṣallāya (صَلَايَة) wide slab of stone used mostly for crushing spices and aromatics, using a large stone, called *fīhr* (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. صلي).

saṭl (سطل) bucket, characterized by having a handle.

sātūr (ساطور) cleaver.

sīkh (سيخ) roasting spit

sīkh manḥūt (سيخ منحوت) rounded skewer or roasting spit.

shabah (شبه) brass (yellowish alloy of copper and zinc), called so because it resembles gold with its yellowish hue (al-Bīrūnī, *Al-Jamāhīr* 112).

shann (شنّ) pl. *shinān* (شنان) large leather bags for keeping liquids, also called *qirba*.

shaqfa (شقفة) pl. *shuqaf* (شقف) potsherd.

sharīt (شريط) rope.

shawbaq (شوبق) rolling pin. A small one is used for *raghīf* (regular flat bread) and a big one like a dowel for flattening *ruqāq* bread (thin and large). The latter is also called *mirqāq* (مرقاق).

shawka (شوكة) tine or prong; eating fork is mentioned in the Istanbul manuscript (fol. 168r), where the recipe requires the finished dish to be eaten with spoon or fork (تؤكل بملعقة أو شوكة).

ṣifr/ṣufr (صفر) white copper or brass, also known as *isfaydhūra* (entry above).

sikkīn (سكين) knife, of which there are many sizes, used for different purposes. See Chapter 2.

simāt (سماط) a table, a carpet, or a piece of leather on which the dishes of the meal are spread.

ṣīniyya (صينية) pl. *ṣawānī* (صواني) serving tray.

ṣinnāra (صنّارة) hook used to take out bread which falls into the bottom of the *tannūr*.

siqā' (سقاء) pl. *asqiya* (أسقية) leather bottle used for keeping water and milk, made from the skin of two-year-old sheep (Steingass).

sirbāl (سربال) apron or shirt worn by cooks, usually black from cooking. A white cook's apron belies the host's miserly nature (al-Maydānī 35).

sufra (سفرة) a round mat of woven date fronds or a big copper tray around which people sit and eat. The best is made from leather because it is easy to clean. It is called *sufra* because it is round and spread flat when used. *Sufra* may designate a bundle of wrapped food that a traveler carries (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. سفر).

suḥayfa (صحيفة) a single serving bowl. See *jafna* above.

sukurruja (سكرجة) *uskurruja* (اسكرجة) small bowl for serving dips and condiments. Sometimes used as a measuring unit. It equals half a cup.

ṭabaq (طبق) big flat plate or tray.

ṭabaq asāl (طبق أسل) tray or plate made from woven rush stems, used when ventilation is needed such as for keeping cookies dry or draining foods.

ṭabaq al-ḥalwa (طبق الحلوى) dessert plate or tray, probably delicate and beautiful, used especially for this purpose.

ṭabaq khalanj (طبق خلنج) plate or tray made from the aromatic wood of *khalanj* (heath wood).

ṭabaq khilāf (طبق خلاف) tray or plate made from willow branches, used to drain foods.

ṭabaq *khūs* (طبق خوص) tray or plate made from woven palm fronds.

ṭabaq *mushbbak* (طبق مشبك) latticed tray woven with date palm fronds.

ṭabaq (طابق) large flat iron pan used for baking *ruqāq* (thin bread), the thin skins of *lawzīnaj* (baklawa-like pastries) and *qaṭāyif* (crepes). It is sometimes used as *miqlāt* (frying pan) to dry toast seeds and grains, for instance. In *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāh*, it is identified as *ājūr kabīr*, which is a large and flat tile, or a fired brick (*tābūq*).¹³ In this respect, it is similar to today's pizza stone.

tannūr (تنّور) domed clay oven used for baking flat breads and cookies. It is also used for roasting different kinds of meat and braising and simmering pots and potpies. The upper big opening is called *ra's al-tannūr* (رأس التنّور), the bottom vent aperture is *rawwāj* (entry above), which is closed when slow fire is required and kept open when stronger fire is needed to brown the bread or cookies. See Chapter 2 for more details on this oven.

tannūr *khabbāz al-Ruṣāfi* (تنّور خبّاز الرصافي) It may have been a famous commercial bakery in the eastern side of Baghdad. Al-Warrāq recommends it for slow-baking *basīsa* (crumbled pie) as an option for *furn* (brick oven) or a household *tannūr* (Chapter 98, first recipe).

tannūr *al-rawwās* (تنّور الروّاس) *tannūr* of venders specialized in serving simmered heads of cows and sheep,¹⁴ which are kept in the *tannūr* to slowly cook so that they are ready for customers early in the morning. Dishes that need slow and long simmering or roasting, such as whole stuffed kids, are sent to cook in such professional ovens (Chapter 87, p. 363).

tasht (طشت) large shallow basin.

ṭast (طست) copper basin mostly used for washing the hands (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. طست).

ṭayfūr (طيفور) *ṭayfūra* (طيفورة) *ṭayfūriyya* (طيفورية) big serving bowl.

ṭayfūriyya *mabsūṭa* (طيفورية مبسوطة) wide and shallow big serving bowl.

¹³ Zayn al-Dīn al-Rāzī (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) s.v. طبق.

¹⁴ In Iraq today, it is called *pācha*, and the cook specialized in selling it is *pāchachī*.

ṭinjīr (طنجير) cauldron with a rounded bottom, usually made of copper or brass. It is used for boiling food and making *khabīs* (thick puddings) and *nāṭif* (nougat).

‘ūd *nushshāb* (عود نشاب) big variety of reed used for making arrows. For the kitchen, it is hollowed and used to make holes in a cake and feed pastry with honey while baking in the *tannūr* (Chapters 93, 98). Also called *qaṣab Fārisī*, see above.

‘ukka (عكة) round skin canteen, smaller than *qirba* (قربة) used for storing *samn* (clarified butter).

‘ulba (علبة) vessel made of leather used for milking. It is also used for drinking milk (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. **علب**).

waqqāya (وقاية) silken or linen veil which does not cover the face. Women wear them at home to protect their clothes. In the kitchen, the fabric is used to sift ground rice.

waqūd (وقود) material used to make fire such as *ḥaṭab* (حطب) firewood and *fahm* (فحم) coal.

waraq (ورق) paper.

wī‘ā’ dārī (وعاء ضاري) a vessel or a jar that has previously been used in making a fermented drink. A recipe in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā’id* describes how to make the vessel *dārī* without using wine: dissolved bread dough mixed with rue, mint, and lemon juice is put in a new jar, which is then placed in a warm place for three days (152, 156).

ẓarf (ظرف) general name for container.

zubdiyya (زبدية) pl. *zabādī* (زبادي) porcelain bowls imported from China, made in different sizes.

zujāj (زجاج) glass. Transparent variety is compared to *billawr* (crystal), also called *zujāj abyad* (literally, white glass). Milk-white glass, which is not transparent, is called *zujāj abyad labanī*. Colored glass, such as green and red, was also available. The word *zujāj* is believed to be of Syriac origin, *zaghzūghṭā* or *zaghzūghīthā* (al-Bīrūnī 198; *Al-Jamāhir* 96–97).

zujāja (زجاجة) bottle made of glass.

ziq (زق) skin jar used to carry liquids, mostly wine.

10.2 *Medieval Culinary Techniques and Expressions*

(Arabic verbs are given in the past tense with the English equivalent in the infinitive)

‘**adhb** (عذب) pleasant.

‘**afiṣ** (عفص) (taste) astringent, also *qābiḍ* (قابض).

‘**afuna** (عفن) v. rot; ‘**afan** (عفن) n molding, putridity; ‘**afin** (عفن) adj. putrid.

‘**ajīn** (عجين) dough in general. It may designate cooked pasta, as in *lakḥshāt* dishes (Chapter 81).

‘**ajīn mamlūk** (عجين مملوك) (dough) thoroughly kneaded and allowed to rise fully well.

‘**alafa** (علف) add and stir dry ingredients into liquid.

‘**allaqa** (علق) (e.g. skewered meat roasting in the *tannūr*) keep it suspended.

aqalla (أقل) (fire in the stove) take it away from under the pot.

‘**arf** (عرف) sweet smell.

‘**arraka** (عرك) (dough) press and rub the dough, probably more effectively done by the heels of the hands because the stiff and elastic dough resists stretching. Working the dough in this way will result in bread chewy in texture, a sought after quality. For regular kneading, the verb is ‘*ajana*.

‘**arraqa** (عرق) v. tr. (meat) ‘let it sweat.’ It is the initial stage of cooking meat with rendered fat—usually sheep’s tail fat. The meat releases its juice, which will soon evaporate leaving behind the browned meat swimming in its fat;¹⁵ (of wine) dilute it with a small amount of water (al-Nuwayrī 418).

In another context, ‘*arraqa* means to remove meat from the bone. The bone in this case is called ‘*urāq* (عراق) i.e. a bone with meat removed from it; *ta’rīq al-laḥm* (تعريق اللحم) removing the meat from the bone.

‘**ašara** (عصر) press out juice.

¹⁵ This will be followed by adding hot water or other liquids to the meat then cooking is continued. *Ta’rīq* helps eliminate undesirable greasy odors in meat.

awqafa al-qidr (أوقف القدر) stop fueling the pot to let it simmer in the remaining heat.

bāqa (باقة) (herbs) bunch.

bakhkhara (بخر) (e.g. meat, olives, pots) fumigate by burning aloe wood to scent the items; **tabkhīr** (تبخير) fumigating and smoking. See *dakhkhana* below.

bassa (بس) mix and moisten dry ingredients such as flour with fatty substances; (bread) crumble it into fine crumbs. It is a little more intense than *latta* (لئت).

bazl (بزل) n. straining or purifying wine.

bukhār (بخار) steam.

dāfa (داف) mix dry ingredients with liquid and beat the mixture to dissolve solids; **madūf** (مدوف) adj. moistened with liquid or dissolved in liquid such as when saffron is mixed in water to bring out its color.

dafara (ضفر) braid, or twist strands into ropes. It is often mistakenly written as *zaffara* (ظفر). See entry below.

dahaka (دهك) grind and mash by pressing and pounding.

dakhkhana (دخن) v. tr. smoke food so that it acquires a delicious and desirable flavor. Sometimes walnut shells (*qishr al-jawz*) and cotton saturated in sesame oil are used to infuse food with a smoky flavor. In this sense, it is synonymous with *bakhkhara* fumigate (entry above).

dakhkhana (دخن) v. intr. (food such as rice and grains) accidentally burn.

dākibriyān (داكبريان) pot-roasting. Al-Warrāq explains it is a Persian word meaning *shawī al-qidr* (شوي القدر) i.e. grilling in a pot (Chapter 87). He describes how to manipulate a pot so that the cook can pot-roast meat in it.

dallā (دلاً) (e.g. pot in the *tannūr*) keep it suspended above the burning coals by putting it on a rack or similar objects. Skewered or hooked chunks of meat are kept suspended in a similar manner.

daqīq (دقيق) *duqāq* (دقاق) *diq* (دق) adj. thin, small, opposite of *ghalīz* (coarse, thick, dense).

daqqa (دق) (meat) v. pound; *mudaqqaqāt* (مدققات) *madqūqāt* (مدقوقات) dishes of pounded meat.

Meat is usually pounded in a stone mortar. However, there are instances where the cook is instructed to grind the meat with two knives or a cleaver to make it look like *marham* (مرهم) ointment in consistency.

ḍaraba (ضرب) whip, beat and mix one thing with another, also *khafaqa* (خفق).

daraja (درج) (e.g. flat bread, sheet of dough) v. roll up; **mudarraḡ** (مدرج) adj. rolled up.

ḍārī (ضاري) descriptive of a vessel in which wine has previously been made, used when fermentation of the drink is desired (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. ضري). A recipe in the medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id* describes how to make a new jar *ḍāriya* without using wine: A mix of a piece of yeast dissolved in water and seasoned with rue, mint, and lemon juice is put in the new jar, which is then set aside in a warm place for three days (152–53).

dāsa (داس) v. press, mostly done by the feet as when pressing grapes for wine.

dasam (دسم) n. grease of meat, animal fat. Also known as *wadak* (ودك).

dasim (دسم) adj. (meat) greasy.

dawwada (دوّد) (e.g. vinegar) become wormy and hence unusable.

ḍharra (ذّر) (e.g. salt or pounded sugar) take a small amount with the tips of the fingers and sprinkle it lightly on a dish.

dirham (درهم) literally, ‘silver coin,’ a thin round slice of a vegetable such as carrot, onion, cucumber, and the like. *Dīnār* (gold coin) is used in the same sense.

duhnī (دهني) oily.

fahm (فحم) coal; **fahm layyin** (فحم ليّن) slow burning flame-less coals.

faraka (فرك) (e.g. dry herbs) rub between fingers.

farragha al-ta‘ām (فرّغ الطعام) ladle out the cooked food into the serving vessels.

farraga (فرّق) (e.g. a platter of dainty sandwiches) pass it around for guests to nibble.

fataqa (فتق) allow the flavor of an ingredient to come out by mixing

it with a small amount of liquid or oil. The verb may be used in the general sense that the cooking dish is seasoned to enhance its flavor, as in al-Warrāq's recipe "*kushṭābiyya maftūqa* with vinegar" (Chapter 85, p. 352).

fattata (فَتَّتَ) crumble.

fawwara (فَوَّرَ) v. tr. bring the pot to a full boil; **fāra** (فَارَ) v. intr. (e.g. water) boil. The recipes sometimes instruct the cook to let the pot come to half a boil, one boil, two boils, three boils, and so on. Although the recipes do not give details on how this is conducted, we may safely assume that it serves to give a hint as to how long the pot should be kept cooking.¹⁶ One boil, you keep the pot to the point when it throws up its foam—to be skimmed—and comes to a full rolling boil. 'Two boils' indicates you keep the pot for twice as long as it took it to come to the first boil, and so on. In Ibn Waḥshiyya's entry on a strong-tasting wild onion, *'unṣul* (squill), the instruction is to boil it twenty times (2: 573), which does indeed sound like a lot of cooking. Judging from personal experience, I should assume that in boiling ingredients that tend to boil over, such as milk, the pot may need to be put away from the fire, or the heat source may need to be taken away from underneath it for a short while after which boiling is resumed. See also *ghalā* below.

fum (فَمَ) doing something once, *fummayn* (فَمَيْنَ) doing it twice, and so on; *al-fum al-awwal* (الفم الاول) first batch, first round.¹⁷

fuṣūṣ (فُصُوصَ) (e.g. meat) chunks.

ghadd (غَضَّ) (vegetables) fresh and raw, as opposed to *maṭbūkh* (مَطْبُوخَ) cooked.

ghalā (غَلَى) v. intr. (liquid) boil.

ghalayān (غَلِيَانَ) boiling; (in winemaking contexts) fermentation. See also *fawwara* above.

ghalā bi 'l-zayt (غَلَى بِالزَيْتِ) deep fry in oil, as in the *sanbūsay* recipe in Chapter 36.

ghalā ni'man (غَلَى نَعْمًا) (of a pot) simmer gently.

ghalīṣ (غَلِيْظَ) coarse, thick, dense; opposite of *daqīq* (thin, small).

ghamar (غَمَرَ) n. grease which sticks to the hand after eating meat.

¹⁶ Modern Iraqi cooks still use this vague but handy terminology.

¹⁷ In the modern Iraqi vernacular, the word is pronounced *fūm*, more commonly used in washing contexts such as laundry.

ghamara (غمر) v. submerge in liquid.

hādd (حاد) **hadīd** (حديد) adj. (taste) sharp; **hidda** (حدة) sharpness.

hadda (هدّ) (pot on fire) stop fueling the fire to let the pot simmer in the heat of the remaining smoldering coals (*jamr*) for about an hour (*sā'a*).¹⁸ It is similar to *hazza* (هزّ) which is more of an onomatopoeic sound of a pot simmering gently (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. هزر).

hammaṣa (حمّص) (nuts, seeds) toast in a frying pan; *muḥammaṣ* (محمّص) adj. toasted; *taḥmīṣ* (تحميص) toasting. The verb might be used in a different sense, which is ‘make into small balls like *ḥimmaṣ* (chickpeas).’ For instance, the Andalusian pasta *muḥammaṣ* is shaped like pepper corns (al-Tujībī 90–91).

harraka (حرّك) (food in a pot) stir.

hasā (حسا) v. sip, from which *hasāʾ* (حساء) soup derives.

hashā (حشا) v. stuff (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. حشي); **maḥshū** (محمشو) stuffed.

Cf. *maḥshū* (محمشي) below.

hawāyij (حوایج) spices, herbs, and seasonings needed for preparing a dish.

hazzaza (حزّن) make slashes with a knife.

hirrīf (حرّيف) (taste) pungent, acrid, and sharp, close in meaning to *lādhiʿ* (لاذع).

hulw (حلو) (of taste) sweet.

huzma (حزمة) bundle, also *bāqa*.

ʿidān (عیدان) (herbs) fresh or dried sprigs.

inʿaqada (إنعقد) (e.g. syrup) thicken.

inkasara (إنكسر) (dough) literally, ‘break,’ become soft and fully fermented.

jalasa (جلس) (syrup) literally, ‘sit,’ develop a thick consistency.

jamuda (جمد) solidify, congeal, set. For instance, milk turns into

¹⁸ This does not need to be taken literally. It just means ‘for a while.’ However, an important indication that the pot is ready to serve is when the fats and oils separate and rise to the surface, which indeed might take a good while. The Arabic sentence runs as follows:

(Chapter 69) ثم هدّ القدر على النار ساعة ليرتفع الدسم على وجهها ثم تغرف.

yogurt and thickens. liquid sets into gel as in aspic dishes, and eggs cook and set.

jashsha (جش) (grains) coarsely grind.

jarza (جرزة) a snip (of herbs), which is about 5 to 6 sprigs. According to thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣa ilā 'l-Ḥabīb*, 20 *jarzas* of parsley weigh a pound (Ibn al-'Adīm 2: 549).

kabāb (کباب) n. meat or vegetables, such as truffles, cut into pieces and grilled. It may be pan-grilled or skewered and grilled on open fire, as on a brazier.

kabbaba (کبب) v. grill on open fire

mukabbab (مکبب) adj. meat or vegetables grilled on open fire.

In other contexts, *mukabbab* means 'formed into balls,' as when a spicy meat mix is made into meatballs.

kammara (کمر) (e.g. pot) cover it tightly to keep in steam.

kardana (کردنه) an outdoor cooking technique according to which chicken is barbecued by constantly rotating it in a spit.

kardanāj (کردناج) poultry grilled on a revolving spit. As seen in some medieval illustrations the spit is attached to a handle used to rotate the spit manually. The name of this cooking device is a Persian loan word, possibly derived from any of these: *gardanā* 'a spit,' *gard* 'revolving,' and *gardā* 'wheeling' (meanings of words from Steingass).

karhaka (کرهک) (dough) divide it into balls like heads; *karhā* (کرهه) head.

karraja (کرّج) (e.g. bread, *murri*) mold.

kashaṭa (کشط) (foam, froth) skim it off with a slotted ladle.

khabaza (خبز) bake flat bread, since the literal meaning of the verb *khabaza* is 'flatten;,' *khūbz* is flat bread, often used as a generic name for bread.

khadkhada (خضخض) (liquid) shake to mix.

khafaqa (خفق) whip, also *ḍaraba* (ضرب).

khalata (خلط) v. mix.

khalt (خلط), *akhlāt* (أخلاط), *khilāt* (خلاط), *mukhlilaṭāt* (مخلطات), these words indicate that vegetables and herbs are used in the recipe. This usage is made more obvious in the Istanbul manuscript (e.g. fols. 135r, 197v).

khām (خام) (meat) bad smelling, putrid; (food) not fully cooked; (*dibs* date syrup) untouched by fire, i.e. extracted by pressure rather than boiling.

khannaqa al-qidr (خَنَقَ القدر) fill the pot up to the top.

khashin (خشِن) (texture) coarse.

khāṭa (خاط) (pot) stir.

labbaqa (لَبَّقَ) moisten a dish with fatty substances; fit something into something else.

lādhi (لاذع) having a burning and sharp taste, close in meaning to *ḥirṛif* (حَرِيف).

laḥaqa (لَحَقَ) (of food in a cooking pot) done cooking.

lahṣa (لَحْظَة) one second, used to mean 'briefly.'

latīf (لطيف) (of taste) mild and delicate.

latta (لَتَّ) mix to moisten dry ingredients, such as mixing flour with fatty substances.

laṭṭakha (لَطَخَ) smear, coat.

lawn (لون) literally, 'color,' sometimes used to mean 'dish variety.'

lazij (لزج) mucilaginous, viscid, slimy.

ma'aka (معك) rub.

madhāq (مذاق) taste. See Chapter 4, for kinds of taste.

maḥshī (مَحْشِي) dressed or covered with sauce, related to the words *miḥshā* 'a piece of cloth used as *mi'zar* a wrapper or a covering) and *iḥtishā* 'dressing in clothes). See, for instance, *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. حَشَأ. Medieval texts are consistent in using the term *maḥshī* to designate such dishes. See, for instance, *bādhinjān maḥshī* (dressed eggplant) in Chapter 45, and *arnab maḥshī* (dressed rabbit) in Chapter 42. For 'stuffed' the term *maḥshū* (from v. حَشَى/حَشَأ) is used, as in *samak maḥshū* (stuffed fish) in Chapter 33, and *jedī maḥshū* (stuffed kid) in Chapter 88.

maḥshū (مَحْشُو) stuffed; *hashū* (حشو) stuffing. Cf. *maḥshī* above.

malaha (ملح) (e.g. food cooking in a pot) add the needed amount of salt. Cf. *mallaha* (ملح) put too much salt.

mallā (مل) bake bread or meat in *mallā* (مَلَّة) a pit in which food is

baked in hot ashes and stones. For more details, see *malla*, Section 10:1 above.

mallasā (مَلَّسَ) wipe something with the hand to smooth it.

maqara (مَقَر) sousé meat in vinegar to preserve it.

ma'qūd (مَعْقُود) (e.g. syrup, jam, pudding) boiled until thickened.

marasa (مَرَس) press and mash; mix dry ingredients with liquid and stir until they disintegrate, dissolve and incorporate. Other similar verbs: *marathā* (مَرَث), *māthā* (مَاتَ), and *dāfa* (دَاف).

marqa (مَرَقَة) ***maraq*** (مَرَق) dish with liquid consistency such as stew; *marraqa* (مَرَق) add liquid to the cooking dish; become soupy in consistency.

masaḥa (مَسَح) rub over.

maṭbūkh (مَطْبُوخ) cooked in liquid, cf. *mashwī* (مَشْوِي) roasted and grilled, and *maqlī* (مَقْلِي) or *maqlū* (مَقْلُو) fried.

mātha (مَاتَ) (e.g. salt) mix it with water to dissolve it; (dates, raisins, grapes, etc) mix them with water in order to press out their juice; (honey and *murrī*) stir so that they integrate into one another.

mazaja (مَزَج) mix one liquid with another, also *khalāṭa* (خَلَطَ).

milḥ mashūq (مِلْح مَسْحُوق) crushed salt, otherwise it is used as lumps *fuṣūṣ*. Sometimes the verb *ṣabba* (صَب) pour is used with salt, which indicates that salt lumps are dissolved in water and then added to the pot. This may be necessary if the salt used is not pure. Dissolving it will enable the cook to get rid of any sand and other impurities.

mu'arraj (مَعْرَج) (cookies) bent or curved at both ends to make them look like crescents.

mu'awwaj (مَعْوَج) see above.

mubahrath (مُبْحَرَث) (eggs) scrambled, also *muḥabbab* (مُحَبَّب).

mubakhhkar (مُبَخَّر) adj. (e.g. olives, meat) smoked, sometimes by burning walnut shells, cotton saturated in sesame oil, and olive pits; fumigated with aromatics such as aloe wood. See *bakhhkara* and *dakhhkhana* above.

mufallaq (مِفْلَق) (e.g. chickpeas) adj. split.

mufallas (مِفْلَس) adj. (e.g. dates) stones removed.

muḥammaṣ (مَحْمَص) adj. (e.g. seeds, nuts) toasted. See *ḥammaṣa* above.

muḥabbab (مَحْبَب) adj. (e.g. eggs) scrambled, also *mubāḥraṭh* (مُبْحَرَث).

mujazzaʿ (مُجَزَّع) adj. (meat) marbled.

mukabbab (مُكَبَّب) adj. meat or vegetables, such as truffles, cut into pieces, skewered, and grilled on open fire. In other contexts, it is a spicy mix of meat shaped into balls (*kubab*).

murammal (مُرْمَل) adj. coated with sugar grains or salt, derived from *raml* (sand).

murmāl (مُرْمَل) adj. used to describe a pudding that has been stirred and cooked until it thickens, firmly holds its shape, and leaves streaks when stirred, as in *ḵhabīṣ murmāl* (خَبِيص مُرْمَل). The word derives from *ramula* (رَمَل) to weave a mat (*ḥaṣṭr*) with date palm fronds, which make embossed designs (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. رَمَل).

muṣabbaʿ (مُصَبَّع) (e.g. turnips) cut into finger-like pieces.

muzaffat (مُزَفَّت) adj. (jars) coated with *zift* pitch from the inside. Sometimes these jars are called *muqayyar*, from *qīr/qār* (pitch). Tradition has it that the prophet prohibited drinking wine made in such jars because pitch is believed to spur fermentation of liquids inside them (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, sv. زَفَّت). See Section 12.2, s.v. *qaṭīrān* and *zift*.

muzz (مُزّ) adj. (taste) sweet and sour; also describes a pleasant taste that has a slight bite to the tongue (*lādhiʿ*), but not too sour (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. مُزّز).

naddada (نَضَّد) (e.g. pieces of pastry or confection) attractively arrange in layers on a platter.

naddaḥa (نَضَّح) (liquid) sprinkle lightly, done by hand or with a piece of cloth (*ḵhirqa*) dipped in water, as al-Thaʿālibī explains in *Fīqh al-Lughā* (51). Cf. *rashsha* below.

nafakha (نَفَخ) literally ‘blow,’ squirt water by mouth.

naḥata (نَحَت) (hard cheese) grate; (carrot) scrape, shred.

najjama (نَجَّمَ) (dish) garnish.

naqqā (نَقَّى) (e.g. a bunch of parsley) pick over.

nār bi lisān qawī (نار بلسان قوي) literally, ‘fire with visible tongues,’ strong flaming fire.

nār hādiya (نار هادية) literally, ‘quiet fire,’ low heat.

nasafa (نسف) (e.g. grains) winnow.

nāshif (ناشف) adj (food cooking in a pot) dry because all liquid has evaporated; **nashafa** (نشف) v.

nashish (نشيش) sound of frying food or boiling water.

nashafa (نشف) v. (food cooking in a pot) all liquid evaporates; adj **nāshif** (ناشف).

nashsha (نش) (oil, frying food) produce a sizzling sound; (water) produce a boiling sound.

natin (نتن) adj. (food) foul-smelling, putrid; **natn** (نتن) *n* putridity, foul smell.

nay (نيء) (e.g. meat) raw, uncooked.

qabba (قب) v. (of roasting meat) crisp.

qābid (قابض) (taste) astringent, also ‘afīṣ (عفص); **qabd** (قبض) astringency.

qadhafa duhnahu (قذف دهنه) *taqayya’a duhnahu* (تقيأ دهنه) (cooking stew or pudding) literally, ‘throw up its oil.’ This happens when a pudding is beaten until it thickens and separates from its fat. The oil is skimmed and used for other things. The same expression is used when the cooked stew is left on the remaining heat of the fire until its fat separates and rises up to the surface. There is no indication that this fat is removed from the stew.

qalā (قلا) fry **maqlū** (مقلو) adj. fried. Sometimes the verb designates a more vigorous technique which involves tossing, stirring, and turning, as when dry toasting grains and seeds in a frying pan (*miqlā*). For instance, in Chapter 108 the husk of rice grains is shelled in this way.¹⁹

Dishes in which ground meat is cooked by stirring, tossing, crumbling, and turning it in oil are called **maqlawīyyāt** (مقلويات) (Chapter 78), where the verb **qalā wa ḥarraka** (قلا وحرك) ‘stir-fry’ is used. They are cooked

¹⁹ The verb is still used in the same sense, such as when toasting salted melon seeds in a pan.

in wok-like pans. Regular fried dishes of meat are called *qalāyā* فَلَايَا (Chapter 84).

All the above terms derive from the verb *qalā* ‘cook food by turning and stirring it in a pan.’ Ultimately the word is of ancient Akkadian origin. Toasted grains were called *qalû/f. qâlîtu*.²⁰

qammara (قَمَّر) (bread) toast.

qaraḍa (قَرَض) v. intr. (liquid) reduce in volume by evaporation while boiling.

qarasa (قَرَص) v. intr. (e.g. milk, beer) become sour.

qāris (قَارِس) *qāriṣ* (قَارِص) (e.g. water) extremely cold, solidified into ice; (liquid with gelatin content) set with gel, looking as if frozen.

qāriṣ (قَارِص) (e.g. yogurt) sharply sour in taste. *Lādhi* (لَاذِع) and *maḍīr* (مَضِير) carry the same meaning.

qarraḍa (قَرَّض) v. tr. (e.g. rose petals, hard candy) snip or clip into small chips using *miqrāḍ* (مِقْرَاض) clippers.

qarrasa (قَرَّص) v. tr. (dough) shape into round flat discs; **qursa** (قَرْصَة) disc of bread.

qashshara (قَشَّر) v. tr. (apple) peel, (lentil, beans) shell, (sesame seeds) hull, (almond) skin.

qaṭṭana (قَطَّن) v. intr. (e.g. vinegar, juice of sour unripe grapes) develop a white layer at the top.

qaṭṭara (قَطَّر) v. tr. drizzle liquid in drops.

qawam (قَوَام) (liquid such as soup and syrup) having a visibly thick consistency.

qīma (قِيَمَة) meat cut into very small pieces. The term is used in the Istanbul manuscript (fol. 268v). Etymologically, *qīma* is of ancient Akkadian origin (Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal* 64).²¹

rabā (رَبَا) (juice) thicken in consistency, become like *rub* (concentrated fruit juices); (bread in liquid) get saturated, moisten, and puff.

raḍḍa (رَضَّ) bruise, crush.

²⁰ Bottéro *The Oldest Cuisine* 42–45.

²¹ It carried the same sense in the late fifteenth-century cookbook *Nīmatnāma*, written in Urdu (35), as it still does in Iraq. Interestingly, the word found its way to the Greek cuisine, as in the dish *Macaronia me Kīma* (spaghetti with ground meat). See Clifford Wright *A Mediterranean Feast* 648–49.

radḍakha (رَضَخ) (carrot, bread, seeds) break and bruise, smash.

raghwa (رَغْوَة) froth, which comes up when meat first boils in the pot. It has to be skimmed off.

rā'iha (رَائِحَة) literally 'smell', used sometimes to indicate that a very small amount of spices is required.

rakhiṣ (رَخَص) (e.g. meat) moist and tender.

rakhū (رَخُو) soft, not firm.

rammada (رَمَد) sprinkle finely ground sugar or salt on food (derived from *ramād* ash).

rammala (رَمَل) sprinkle coarsely ground sugar on top of a pudding so that it forms a grainy topping (derived from *raml* sand); *murammal* (مَرَمَل) adj.

raqīq (رَقِيق) (consistency such as soup) thin, watery, opposite of *thakhūn* (thick, condensed).

rashaḥa (رَشَح) v. intr. (liquid) filter through.

rashsha (رَش) v. tr. sprinkle; cf *naḍḍaḥa* (نَضَح) sprinkle lightly.

raṭb (رَطَب) moist, succulent; (fruit, vegetables) fresh as opposed to dried.

rawwaḥa (رَوَّح) (e.g. bread) air it for a while before eating it, as it is rather doughy when first taken out of the *tannūr* or *furn*.

rawwaqa (رَوَّق) (liquid) make clear by straining or letting sediments settle down.

rayyasha (رَيْش) (bread) prick it with feathers at several places before baking it; (chicken grilling on revolving spit *kardanāj*) baste it with oil or marinade using a feather.

sā'a (سَاعَة) an hour. Depending on context, it might be an actual hour in time or 'a while.' Other expressions:

kull sā'a (كُل سَاعَة) literally, 'every single hour,' may simply translate to 'frequently.'

sā'a ṣāliḥa (سَاعَة صَالِحَة) a good full hour.

suway'a (سَوِيْعَة) less than an hour.

sabbaka (سَبَكَ) v. tr. (sugar) let it dissolve and boil until it becomes thick in consistency.

sabikh (سَبِخ) (food) briny in taste.

sādhaj (سادج) (dish) plain and simple that is not sweet, sour, or sour-sweet.

sāf (ساف) a layer.

ṣaffa (صف) arrange in layers; **ṣaff** (صف) or **sāf** (ساف) a layer.

sahik (سهك) adj. (fish) smelly but not putrid; **suhūka** (سهوكة) n. unpleasant smell of fish, but not putridity.

sajara (سجر) (*tannūr*) start a fire in it to get it heated.

sakkana al-qidr (سكن القدر) v. tr. stop the pot from boiling by removing the fire from underneath it and letting it simmer in the remaining heat. Alternatively, this may be done by adding cold water to the pot (both suggestions are mentioned in *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. **سكن**). Recipes in medieval cookbooks follow the first method only, since adding cold water to some dishes, especially meat stews, spoils their consistency or toughen the meat.

salaʿa (سلا) heat and melt sheep's tail fat. The resulting fat is called **silāʿ** (سلاء).

salaʿa al-simsim (سلا السمسم) press sesame seeds to get sesame oil, called **shayraj** (شيرج).

salakha (سلخ) (skin) strip off.

ṣalaqa (صلق) **salaqa** (سلق) v. tr. boil

ṣalqa khafīfa (صلقة خفيفة) boiling lightly

yuslaq ʿalā niṣf nuḍjihi (يسلق على نصف نضجه) half-boil

yuslaq salqatayn (يسلق سلقتين) boil vegetables twice with a change of water.

This method is recommended when boiling cauliflower and cabbage, for instance, to make them easier to digest and get rid of unpleasant odors (Ibn al-Bayṭār 586).

salla (سل) pull something out gently, such as pulling a fish bone from the meat.

samaṭa (سمط) (slaughtered animal) scald it in boiling water to remove hair, wool, or feathers.

sanikh (سنخ) (fat, food) rancid, used when foods are no longer fresh and change in smell.

ṣaʿnaba (صعنب) mound food in a domed fashion, as in *tharīd muṣaʿnab*, which is broken pieces of bread sopped in broth and mounded in a big

bowl, with meat pieces and vegetables arranged all around it. Round and thick bread with a dome in the middle is called *khūbz muṣaʿ nab* (خبز مصعنب).

saqā (سقى) add liquid to moisten food.

shābūr (شابور) pl. *shawābūr* (شوابير) (e.g. bread, dough) cut into triangles. The Arabic word is *muthallath* (مثلث).²² Possibly, *shābūr* derives from the Persian *shāhpar* (شاهپر), the longest feather in the bird's wing. During the medieval times, *shābūr* designated a hair style, according to which the frontal bang was divided in the middle and the hair was pushed to both sides, making it look like the extended wings of a bird, and hence the name.²³

shaddakha (شدخ) (e.g. garlic clove, beans) smash, crack.

sharra (شرّ) (e.g. soaked grains) spread them on a mat or a similar object in one layer to allow them to dry.

sharraḥa (شرّح) (meat) cut into thin slices.

shaṭr (شطر) one half of a thing, such as when bread is slit horizontally into halves.

shaṭṭara (شطّر) spread or smear the cut-side of bread, which has been slit into halves; *waṣṭ mashṭūr* (وسط مشطور) open face sandwich.

shawī (شوي) n. roasting big chunks of meat.

shawwara (شورّ) (dish) garnish.

shazẓā (شظّى) v. tr. split into splinters.

ṣifa (صفة) recipe.

tabakhara (تبخر) v. intr. (water) boil away, evaporate

tabkhūr (تبخير) smoking, fumigating with *bakhūr* (incense). See *mubakhkhār* above.

tafaḥa (طفح) v. intr. (e.g. boiling pot) boil over.

tafīh (تفه) (taste) insipid.

taghyyara (تغیّر) v. intr. (food) vitiate.

²² Names of other shapes: *murabbaʿ* (مربع) square, *mustaṭīl* (مستطیل) rectangular, *mustaṭīl munḥarīf* (مستطیل منحرف) rectangular trapezoid, *mudawwar* (مدور) round.

²³ Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Risāla al-Baghdādiyya* 237, n.3.

taharra'a (تَهْرَأَ) (e.g. meat) cook thoroughly until it almost falls off the bones.

ṭalā (طَلَى) coat, smear, and daub (if sticky).

ṭa'm (طعم) n. flavor.

tāqa (طَاقَة) (herbs) fresh stem or sprig.

taqayya'a duhnahu (تَقَيَّأَ دَهْنَهُ) (e.g. thick puddings) literally, throw up/vomit its oil, used when the oil separates from the thickening pudding. A similar expression is *qadhafa duhnahu* (قَذَفَ دَهْنَهُ) entry above.

taqṭīr (تَقْطِير) distillation of liquids.

tarkīb (تَرْكِيب) cooking.

tashyyaṭa (تَشَيَّطَ) (food cooking in a pot, especially grains) burn and produce an unpleasant stench.

taṣ'īd (تَصْعِيد) distilling; extracting oils and resins from semi-fluid or solid matter by applying heat, such as extracting pure camphor from the crude resin of the camphor tree. The term also designates boiling liquids to incur changes in consistency, taste, and color such as in distilling wines and vinegar. *Khall muṣa'ad* (خَلْ مَصْعَدَ), for instance, is made white (colorless) by distilling it.

tawarrada (تَوَرَّدَ) (of baked and fried pastries) develop a golden hue.

ṭayyaba (طَيَّبَ) v. **tatyīb** (تَطْيِيب) n. season a dish by adding a variety of spices, aromatics, herbs, oil, vinegar, and salt to enhance the taste (as explained in Istanbul MS, fol. 253v).

ṭayyana (طَيَّنَ) (e.g. pot) seal with mud.

thakhīn (ثَخِين) adj. (consistency, such as soup) thick, condensed, opposite of *raqīq* (thin, watery).

thufl (ثَفْل) dregs, lees, sediments.

'ufūṣa (عَفْوَصَة) astringency.

wadak (وَدَك) n. (meat) its fat and greasiness; **wadik** (وَدِك) **wadik** (وَدِيك) adj. fat and greasy meat.

waqīd layyin (وَقِيد لَيِّن) slow-burning fire, low heat.

waqīd shadīd (وَقِيد شَدِيد) strong burning fire, high heat.

yahmarr (يَحْمَر) (e.g. frying or baking foods) literally, ‘become red,’ to brown.

zabad (زَبَد) foam formed as a result of boiling or whipping.

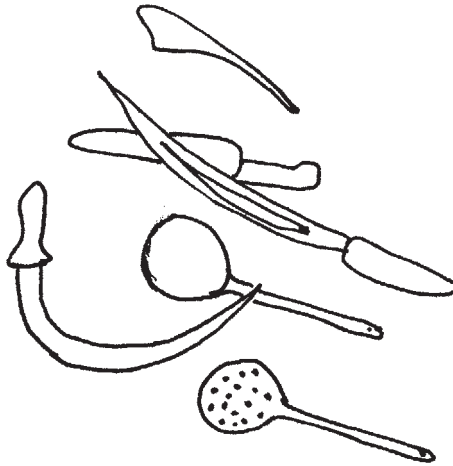
zafar (زَفَر) (meat) undesirable greasy odors.

zaffara (ظَفَر) from *zufr* (fingernail) press the edges of pastries with the fingernail to seal them and make decorative edges. It is often mistakenly written as *dafara* (ضَفَر) see above.

zaffata (زَفَّت) (jar) coat it with *zift* (pitch) from the inside to preserve wine and encourage fermentation. See *muzaflat* above.

zahim (زَهْم) adj. (food) having unpleasant greasy odors, but not putrid.

zuhūma (زُهومة) *zuhm* (زُهْم) n. undesirable greasy odors of food, but not putridity.



11. *Meat*11.1 *Red Meat*

11.1.1 Names of Meat Cuts and Innards

‘*ajz* (عجز) pl. *aʿjāz* (أعجاز) rump.

akārī (أكارع) *kawārī* (كوارع) trotters, best taken from sheep and kids. The feet of the fore legs are preferred to those of the hind legs because they are more agile (al-Isrāʿīlī 4: 50). According to al-Rāzī, they are a poor source of nutrition and generate cold and viscous blood. The recommendation is to eat them with vinegar and asafetida to cut down their viscosity (130).

alya (ألية) sheep’s tail fat.

amʿā (أمعاء) general word for intestines.

‘*aṣab* (عصب) sinews, usually discarded.

aṣl al-alya (أصل الألية) pl. *uṣūl al-alya* (أصول الألية) rump, specifically the part nearest to the tail.

aṣl al-fakhdh (أصل الفخذ) upper thigh near the hips.

aṭrāf (أطراف) lower parts of fore and hind legs, The literal meaning of *aṭrāf* is extremities, which include the trotters and shanks. However, *aṭrāf* may include ears, tongue, and lips in the head of the slaughtered animal (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, sv. طرف; al-Isrāʿīlī 4: 48).

aṭrāf al-mulḥā (أطراف الملح) meat and bones from the back bone area.

awāʾil al-aḍlā (أوائل الأضلاع) the top first few ribs.

banāt al-laban (بنات اللبن) literally ‘daughters of milk,’ the coiled small intestines with white fat adhering to them, also called *dawwāra* (دوّارة) and *ḥawīyya* (حويّة). See entries below.

bāṭin al-fakhdh (باطن الفخذ) inner part of the thigh.

bāṭina (باطنة) innards, also called *buṭūn* (بطون) entry below.

bayād al-baṭn (بياض البطن) literally, ‘white innards,’ such as kidney tallow (*shahm*) and *banāt al-laban*, entry above (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ببيض).

buṭūn (بطون) innards, organs and bowels in the abdomen.

darʿ (ضرع) udder.

dasam (دسم) animal grease present in fatty meat, also called *wadak* (ودك).

dawwāra (دوّارة) coiled small intestines, sometimes referred to as *maṣīr al-dawwāra*, *ḥawiyya*, and *banāt al-laban* (entries in this section).

dhanba (ذنبه) pl. *dhanūb* (ذنوب) meat cut from the back shoulder, may designate the sheep's tail.

dimāgh (دماغ) brain. It is cold and moist in properties. Eating it causes nausea because it smears the inner lining of the stomach.

fakhdh (فخذ) thigh.

ghudad (غدد) nodules such as glands, lymph nodes, and any stiff growths found in meat, tallow, or between the skin and the meat. They are believed to be harmful because they are susceptible to infections (al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ* 783). The cooks are required to discard them along with *ʿurūq* (عروق) blood vessels, *aʿṣāb* (أعصاب) sinews, and *daran* (درن) dirt.

humam (حمم) sediments left after solid fat is rendered, to be discarded.

ʿirq (عرق) diaphragm, skirt steak.

istīdhaj (إستيدج) *isfidhaj* (إسفيدج) membrane adhering to meat like a thin skin. It has to be removed before cooking.¹

janb (جنب) a whole side of ribs, chopped off the other side along the spine, so it should still contain some spinal cord that has to be removed. The piece includes neither the shoulders nor the legs of the side. In *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. **حصر**, the word *ḥaṣīr* (حصير) is given as a synonym for *janb* because the ribs tightly align (*maḥṣūr*) with each other; also named *milāt* (ملاط) because the meat on the ribs is thin. The side is usually marinated, rubbed with spices, and lowered into the *tannūr* to roast to succulence. See *janb mubazzar*, Section 6 above.

jild (جلد) skin.

kabd (كبد) liver.

karish (كرش) tripe, the ruminant stomach with its four compartments: (1) rumen, the largest part; (2) reticulum, the 'honeycomb;' (3)

¹ This is solely based on al-Warrāq's explanation in his first chapter. Otherwise, the word, to my knowledge, is not mentioned in other sources.

omasum, called *qibba* (قبة) literally, ‘dome’ or *rummāna* (رمانة) literally, ‘pomegranate,’ because it looks like a ball; (4) abomasum, the true stomach where the final digestion takes place. It is also the most active compartment in young animals, from which the milk-curdling enzyme, rennet, is taken. See *qibba* below.

katif (كتف) shoulder.

khāṣira (خاصرة) loin.

kilya (كلية) *kilwa* (كلوة) kidney.

kishtamāzija (كشتمازجة) *kishtamāzika* (كشتمازكة) *bishtamāzak* (كشتمازك) tenderloin, which al-Isrāʾīlī describes as pure meat (1: 237).²

koshṭ (كوشط) shoulder cut, also called *matn* (متن); *koshṭābiyya* (كشتمازية) simple dish made with this meat (recipes in Chapter 85). *Koshṭ* may designate meat in general (Ibn al-Nadīm 7).

lahm ‘*adil* (لحم عضل) tough fibrous meat.

lahm aḥmar (لحم أحمر) literally, ‘red meat,’ lean meat.

lahm ḥār (لحم حار) literally, ‘hot meat,’ just slaughtered meat.

lahm al-jazūr (لحم الجوزر) meat of slaughtered camel, may apply to any animal of slaughter such as sheep, goat, and ram.

lahm mujazza (لحم مجزّع) marbled meat, white and red.³

lahm samīn (لحم سمين) fatty meat.

lahm ṣulb (لحم صلب) dense lean meat.

lahm ṭhanī (لحم ثاني) meat of an animal that reaches the age when its two upper and two lower front milk teeth fall. For camels, when six years old, and for sheep and goats, when they enter their third year (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ثني).

lahyayn (لحيين) cheek meat, meat from the lower jaws, deemed the most nutritious part of the head (al-Rāzī 128).

luhūm al-waḥṣh (لحوم الوحش) game meat such as *ẓabī* (ظبي) antelope, *ghazāl* (غزال) gazelle, *baqar al-waḥṣh* (بقر الوحش) wild cow,

² In Iraq today, it is called *ḥabil* (حبل), literally ‘rope.’

³ *Mujazza* may describe any item with two colors such as *tamr mujazza* (تمر مجزّع) fresh dates, which are half soft-and-brown, and half still firm-and-yellow.

ḥimār al-waḥsh (حمار الوحش) wild ass, *waʿl* (وعل) mountain goat, and *ayyal* (أيّل) stag. They are all believed to be difficult to digest with the exception of gazelle meat.

maḥāshī (محاشي) lowest part of the large intestines.

maqādīm (مقاديم) fore legs of an animal.

marārat al-kabad (مرارة الكبد) gall bladder.

maṣīr al-dawwāra (مصير الدوّارة) also called *banāt al-laban* and *ḥawīyya* (entries above), the coiled small intestines of sheep or cow.

matn (متن) shoulder.

mawākhīr (مواخير) hind legs of an animal.

mibʿar (مبعر) pl. *mabāʿir* (مباعر) large intestines where *baʿar* (globular dung) forms and accumulates.

miʿlāq (معلق) liver with the windpipe and lungs attached to it.

muḥ (مح) *mukḥ* (منخ) bone marrow, described as richer, smoother, sweeter, and much more delicious than brain (al-Isrāʾīlī 4: 53).

mulḥāʾ (ملحاء) *mulḥāt* (ملحاة) middle section of the back.

muṣrān (مصران) and *maṣārīn* (مصارين) plural of *maṣīr* (مصير) small intestines used as sausage casings for making *laqāniq* (لقانق) small sausages.

namaksūd (نمكسود) cured meat made by salting the whole animal or half of it with crushed salt. Sometimes before curing, it is marinated in vinegar and spices such as thyme, ajowan, black pepper, and coriander seeds. It is different from *qadīd* (قديد), which is first sliced into long very thin strips and then cured. Also unlike *qadīd*, *namaksūd* meat is not completely dried. When touched, it leaves traces of grease on the fingers because it is still soft and slightly moist. The knife cuts through it as if it were fresh meat, as al-Tujībī observes in his thirteenth-century cookbook *Fiqālat al-Khiwān* (273).

Ibn al-Bayṭār cautions against overindulgence when eating it because it produces undesirable humors. He recommends prolonged soaking in water before cooking it to get rid of the extra salt. He also suggests cooking it with vegetables such as spinach and chard, with mild fats and oils (718).

nukhāʾ (نخاع) spinal cord, also called *mukḥ al-fiqār*. There is an indication that it is eaten as food (al-Isrāʾīlī 4: 53).

qadīd (قديد) jerked meat made by slicing the meat into long and very thin strips and then marinating it in sour vinegar mixed with pure salt and spices such as black pepper, coriander, caraway, and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce). It is left in this marinade for a day and then dried in the sun (al-Tujībī 273).

It has hot and dry properties, and is slow to digest. According to al-Rāzī, having it with drinks along with *ka'k* (dry cookies) and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) will satisfy the drinkers' false feeling of hunger (*jū' kādhīb*) without having to overindulge in other foods. It is also useful to nibble on when the intention is to serve dinner at a late hour (114).

qalb (قلب) heart, a hard to digest muscle.

qaṣṣ (قص) 'azm al-qaṣṣ (عظم القص) breastbone.

qibba (قبة) also known as *rummāna* (رمانة), *dhāt al-aṭbāq* (ذات الاطباق) literally, 'having many folds,' *qitna* (قطنة), and *fahṭh* (فحث). It is the omasum, the third compartment in the stomach of ruminants.⁴ This part of tripe is used to make the festive dish *qibbāyāt* (قبايات), prepared by stuffing it with a spicy mix of meat and rice (Chapter 48).⁵ The whole stomach with its four compartments is called *karish* (كرش). See *karish* above.

quṣayrā (قصيرا) lower neck.

ra's (رأس) pl. *ru'ūs* (رؤوس) head, believed to be highly nutritious, recommended to invigorate weak bodies and coitus. However, it needs a strong stomach to digest it. The best time to have it is a cold day, on an empty stomach. The lightest part in it is the tongue. The eyes are fatty and digest fast (al-Rāzī 127).

riyya (ريّة) *ri'a* (رئة) lung, the fastest to digest and least nourishing of all parts.

sanām (سنام) camel's hump or hunch, may refer to the top back of other animals.

⁴ It is a ball-like folded structure, also called 'manypplies.' Its function is to trap particles within its folds and press them to remove all moisture before delivering food to the fourth compartment, the abomasums.

⁵ In later centuries this dish was more commonly known as *kibbāyāt* (كبايات) or *sukhtūr* (سخنور). Besides, smaller pieces of tripe were stuffed and sewn, instead of making a large filled ball of tripe. For a recipe, see al-Baghdādī's thirteenth-century cookbook (Arberry 199).

shahm (شحم) tallow, solid animal fat, especially around the kidneys and caul fat.⁶ It is rendered by cutting it into very small pieces and then melting it in a pan on fire. Some of the yeast pastry recipes use it pounded into paste and smeared on the inside of the baking pans (Chapter 98). Al-Isrāʾīlī mentions three types of fat: solid and dense tallow, which is not attached to any meat or bone, is forbidden to Jews. Soft tallow (*shahm layyin*) attached to meat and bones such as next to the ribs, shoulders and sides, and which melts and disintegrates quickly, is permissible *halāl* for Jews. The third variety is *dasam*, which is the grease present within the fatty meat (1: 221–32, 4: 54).

sharasīf (شراسيف) tips of the lower ribs.

sharha (شرحة) *sharīha* (شريحة) chunk of red meat cut from a larger piece such as the thigh; butterflied and flattened piece of meat; *sharraha al-laḥm* (شرح اللحم) cut the meat into thin slices.

ṣifāq (صفاق) peritoneum, the thin inner skin beneath the outer skin layer on which hair grows. Some sources say it is the inner skin of the belly-area, others say it is the area around the navel (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. صفق).

surra (سرة) navel.

tharb (ثرب) pl. *thurūb* (ثروب) caul fat, the thin transparent sheet of fat covering the stomach and intestines of the animal.

ṭihāl (طحال) spleen, eating it is not recommended because of the bad blood generated in it (al-Isrāʾīlī 4: 60).

ʿurāq (عراق) bone from which most of the meat has been scraped off. Such bones are cooked and their meat is described as quite delicious;

ʿarq (عرق) is the bone that still has its meat on it (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. عرق).

ʿurūq (عروق) blood vessels, which need to be removed before cooking, especially arteries because they are muscular and elastic in texture. Besides, they might still contain blood, which is prohibited in Islam.

ʿuṣbān (عصبان) intestines of kids and sheep, cleaned and cooked as meat (Chapter 83). *ʿUṣbān* may be strips of meat, tied with intestines, and roasted in the *tannūr* (recipe in Chapter 87).

⁶ *Shahm* may designate the white tough pith or flesh inside the pomegranate, citron, and gourd.

wadak (ودك) grease of meat, also called *dasam* (دسم).

1.1.2 Names of Quadrupeds (domesticated *ahlyya* and wild *wahṣhiyya*)

‘anz (عنز) *mā’iza* (ماعزة) *mīzāt* (معزاة) female goat more than one year old (see *mā’iz* below).

arnab (أرنب) rabbit (game meat). According to Ibn al-Bayṭār eating rabbit meat cures bed-wetting (19).

atān (أتان) female wild ass.

ayyil (أيل) f. *iyala* (إيالة) mountain goat. Also called *wa’l* (stag).

ba’ir (بعير) m./f. camel; *ibl* (إبل) camels (generic plural). Camel’s meat is called *jazūr*, it is dense, and extremely hot. It can be improved by cooking it with vinegar and *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) (al-Rāzī 100).

baqara (بقرة) cow, its meat is dense (*ghalīḍ*) and is only good for physically active people. The best way to cook it is *sikbāj* (stew soured with vinegar). Honey, garlic, watercress, and rue go very well with it (al-Rāzī 99).

baqar al-wahṣh (بقر الوحش) wild cow.

ḍa’n (ضأن) fully-grown sheep; *laḥm ḍa’n* (لحم ضأن) mutton.

ḍa’n ḥawlī (ضأن حولي) a yearling sheep.

faṣīl (فصيل) weaned camel.

ghanam (غنم) generic name for sheep.

ghazāl (غزال) f. *ghazāla* (غزالة) gazelle, deer, a small and swift antelope. It is the best of game meat, light and digests fast, but not very nourishing (al-Rāzī 101). Delicate and young people are compared to this animal.

ḥamal (حمل) pl. *ḥamlān* (حملان) lamb, young sheep, especially one that is not weaned yet. It is also called *ḥarūf* (entry below).

ḥawlī (حولي) a yearling animal; *laḥm ḥawlī* (لحم حولي) meat of a yearling such as that of a young sheep or kid.

ḥimār wahṣhī (حمار وحشي) wild ass, onager.

ibl (إبل) camels (generic plural). See *ba’ir* above.

‘ijl (عجل) calf; *laḥm ‘ijl* (لحم عجل) veal.

jahsh (جش) wild and domesticated young donkey.

jamal (جمل) male camel.

jawdhar (جودر) wild calf.

jazūr (جزور) slaughtered camel; may designate any animal destined for slaughter. The name derives from *jazara* (جزر) cut, *jazzār* (جزّار) butcher.

jedī (جدي) young goat, kid, male son of *mā'iz* less than one year old. Its meat is touted as the most balanced, and as such it better fits people leading leisurely life styles (al-Rāzī 99).

jedī raḍī (جدي رضيع) suckling kid.

kabsh (كبش) grown male sheep.

kabsh thanī (كبش ثني) male sheep in its third year.

kharūf (خروف) f. *kharūfa* (خروفة) lamb, about 6 months old sheep, also called *hamal* (حمل).

khishf (خشف) f. *khishfa* (خشفة) fawn, a very young antelope when it first starts to walk.

lahm da'n (لحم ضأن) mutton.

lahm hawlī (لحم حولي) meat of a yearling animal such as that of a young sheep or kid.

lahm 'ijl (لحم عجل) veal.

laqūh (لقوح) *liqāh* (لقاح) lactating camel.

mā'iz (ماعز) generic name for goat, pl. *mā'iz* (معز) and *mā'iz* (معيّز).

mā'iz hawlīyya (ماعز حولية) a yearling goat.

mahā (مها) wild cow.

na'ja (نعجة) ewe, also used for female mountain goat and wild cow (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. نعج).

nāqa (ناقة) female camel.

shādin (شادن) male young antelope with sprouting horns. It is strong enough to walk and be independent of its mother *zabya*.

shāt (شاة) female grown sheep, fattened and destined for slaughter.

tays (تيس) male goat more than one year old.

tays al-jabal (تيس الجبل) mountain goat, ibex.

thanī (ثني) f. *thinīya* (ثنية) animals when their two upper front and two lower front milk teeth fall. For camels, when they are six years old; and for sheep and goats, when they enter their third year (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ثني).

wahsh (وحش) game meat.

waʿl (وعلة) f. *waʿila* (وعلة) ibex or mountain goat, also called *tays al-jabal* (تيس الجبل).

zabī (ظبي) f. *zabya* (ظبية) pl. *zibāʾ* (ظباء) antelope. See *ghazāl* (غزال), *khishf* (خشف), and *shādin* (شادن).

11.2 Poultry

baṭṭ (بط) duck.

bayḍ (بيض) eggs

bayḍ al-bayḍ (بياض البيض) egg white, also called *zanbaq* (زنبق) because it is as white as lily.

ṣafār al-bayḍ (صفار البيض) *muḥ al-bayḍ* (مح البيض) egg yolk, believed to be more nutritious and easier to digest than egg white.

The most healthful way to cook the eggs is **nīmbarisht** (نيمبرشت) soft-cooked eggs. According to al-Isrāʾīlī, Galen called eggs cooked this way *al-murtaʿish* (المرتعش) the jiggly (1: 392). Al-Khuwārizmī calls it *al-rʿād* (الرعد), which carries the same meaning (31).

According to Ibn Jazla, the best way to cook eggs is by whipping them with a small amount of *murri* (liquid fermented sauce), olive oil, and *muthallath* (non-alcoholic grape wine). The egg mix is put in a container, which is put in another pot containing hot water. Moderate fire is lit under the pot until eggs are done (fol. 49v). See also *nīmbarisht* in Section 6 above.

bayḍat al-baqīla (بيضة البقيلة) an egg placed in the midst of a platter of herbs and vegetables as a garnish. It is a breach of good table manners to help oneself to it.

bāz (باز) falcon.

dajāj (دجاج) chicken. Their meat is drier, denser, and harder to digest than that of pullets, but it is more nourishing (al-Isrāʾīlī 4: 115).

dajāj Kaskarānī (دجاج كسكراني) top quality fat and large chicken

from Kaskar, a district between Tigris and Euphrates, north of Basra (see Appendix). A chicken of this sort might be as heavy as a goat or a sheep (al-Tha‘ālībī *Thimār al-Qulūb* 162).

durrāj (دُرَّاج) francolin, black partridge.

fākhita (فاخته) undomesticated ringdove (*ḥamām muṭawwaq*). It is said that snakes scare away from its cooing, and it is believed to be a lucky bird (*mubāraka*). Its name derives from *fakht* ‘moon’s shadow.’⁷

farārīj kaskariyya (فراريج كسكرية) excellent-quality pullets brought from Kaskar, a district between Tigris and Euphrates, north of Basra (al-Tha‘ālībī *Thimār al-Qulūb* 162).

farrūj (فَرَّوَج) pullets. According to al-Isrā‘īlī their meat is the best of all domesticated birds. It suits all temperaments, digests fast, and generates good humors (4: 114).

firākh (فَرَاخ) young domesticated fowls.

ḥajal (حجل) partridge, also called *qabaj* (قَبَج).

ḥamāma (حمامة) pl. *ḥamām* generic name for pigeon. See also *shifūn* (شفنين), *fākhita* (فاخته), and *qumrī* (قمري).

ḥubārā (حبارى) sing./pl. bustard, a large and long-legged bird.

ḥubaysh (حبيش) guinea fowl.

iwazza (إوزة) pl. *iwazz* (اوز) goose.

kurkī (كركي) crane, known for having an amazing trait: it takes care of its parents when they grow old. See Chapter 8, for verses on this bird.

nāhiḍ (ناهض) pl. *nawāhiḍ* (نواهض) young fowl, old enough to spread its wings and fly.

nī āma (نعامة) pl. *nī ām* (نعام) ostrich. Its meat is said to be hot, fatty, and coarse; difficult to digest but highly nourishing and aphrodisiac (Ibn Sīnā 321).

qabaj (قَبَج) partridge.

⁷ al-Qalqashandī 223; *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. فاخت. The meaning of the dove’s name, ‘moon’s shadow,’ is interesting because in ancient Mesopotamian mythology, the ringdove was the bird of Innana/Ishtar (daughter of the moon god). On religious occasions, worshippers of the goddess used to crumble sacred cookies to her doves. The medieval sources say the doves were called so because of their grey color (*Lisān al-‘Arab*).

qanbar (قنبر) pl. *qanābir* (قنابر) lark.

qāniṣa (قانصة) gizzard.

qaṭā (قطا) sand grouse.

qumrī (قمري) pl. *qumr* (قمر) a variety of white pigeons

ṣafār al-bayḍ (صفار البيض) egg yolk, also called *muḥ al-bayḍ* (مح البيض).

sammān (سمان) quail.

shifnūn (شفنين) undomesticated turtledove; also called *yamāma* (يمامة).

tadruj (تدرج) pheasant.

ṭayhūj (طيهورج) grouse.

ṭayr (طير) pl. *ṭayūr* (طيور) general name for birds.

ṭayr jabalī (طير جبلي) mountain bird.

ṭayr al-mā' (طير الماء) aquatic bird.

ʿuṣfūr (عصفور) pl. *ʿaṣāfir* (عصافير) sparrow, believed to be highly aphrodisiac, especially when cooked with onion and ginger (al-Dīnawarī *ʿUyūn al-Akḥbār* 371).

yahbūr (يحبور) bustard chick.

yamāma (يمامة) undomesticated turtledove.

zamikkā (زمكى) bird rump.

11.3 *Fish*

balṭī (بلطي) round fish. The big ones weigh about 5 pounds, with few bones and tasty meat (al-Idrīsī 92).

biz (بز) huge fish of the river Tigris (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī *Al-Risāla al-Baghdādiyya* 155).⁸

bunnī (بني) highly esteemed river fish, comes next in excellence to *shabbūt* (see below).

būrī (بوري) striped mullet.

fulūs (فلوس) fish scales, called so because they look like small coins.

⁸ In modern Iraq, it is cut up into pieces and sold by the *kilo*. In English, it is sometimes called 'Tobias fish,' also known as 'the monster of Tigris.'

ghalāṣim (غلاصم) gills, also called *ādhān al-samak* (اذان السمك) literally, ‘ears of fish.’

halazūn (حلزون) a kind of conch, the spiral seashell with edible flesh inside. Al-Bīrūnī says the elephant keepers in India use the shell as a horn (161).

hāzbī (هازبي) *hāzibā* (هازبا) prickly little river fish (Steingass).

jirrīth (جريت) also known as *jirrī* (جري), *sillawr* (سلور), and *marmāhī* (مرماهي). It is catfish and eel, a scaleless fresh water fish, which lives in riverbeds. The Jews prohibited eating it (*Lisān al-‘Arab*. s.v. جرث). Al-Jāhīz describes it as an ugly brainless fish of which only the tail can be eaten. It is described as *udm al-‘imyān* (appetizer for the blind).⁹

lūtīs (لوطيس) tasty and fatty river fish. Egyptians call it *farkh* (فرخ) (al-Idrīsī 8).

mayyāh (مياح) river fish, comes third in excellence to *shabbūt* and *bunnī* (al-Dīnawarī ‘*Uyūn al-Akhbār* 374).

mishfar (مشفر) *mashāfir* (مشافير) fish’s lips.

rabīthā (ربيثاء) shrimp, also called *rūbyān* (روبيان) entry below. Al-Warrāq says they are similar in shape to *dhar* (ذر) small ants and as big as *jarād* (جراد) locusts.

The name may designate a condiment made by crushing shrimp kept in brine and mixing it with seasonings and herbs (Chapter 40). Ibn al-Bayṭār says the condiment is popular in Iraq. Of its qualities, he says it is aphrodisiac and is beneficial to the stomach, especially when taken with thyme, nigella seeds, parsley, and rue (313).

rāy (راي) large red fish of the Nile.

rūbyān (روبيان) shrimp, also called *arbiyān* (أربيان), *jarād baḥrī* (جراد بحري) sea locusts, and *rabīthā* (ربيثاء) entry above.

Shrimp is deemed bad for the stomach and hard to digest. The recommendation is to have it with vinegar, *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), and caraway seeds. Eaten as such, it is believed to be the best aid for coitus. Having boiled shrimp without any seasonings can help women get pregnant fast (al-Bayṭār 324)

⁹ *Al-Ḥayawān* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 72.

ṣadaf (صدف) shellfish, the best is the fresh water white variety (Ibn Jazla 138v).

samak (سمك) fish, sometimes called *ḥītān* sing *ḥūt*, more commonly used in the western Islamic region even today. Nowadays *ḥūt* mostly designates ‘whale.’

In medieval sources, fish is categorized according to its habitat:

samak nahrī (سمك نهري) river fish.

samak buḥayrī (سمك بحيري) fish of lakes and ponds.

samak ṣakhrī (سمك صخري) or **samak baḥrī** (سمك بحري) deep-sea fish that lives in rocky sea-beds.

samak luḥjī (سمك لحي) deep-sea fish that inhabits sandy and muddy sea beds.

samak shaṭṭī (سمك شطي) fish that inhabits sea-shore areas (al-Isrāʾīlī 1: 324-34).

The best fish is not too big and its meat is not too firm, too lean, or too fatty. It should not feel slimy to the touch, or have an unpleasant smell. Good fish tastes delicious and does not rot soon after it is taken out of water. Fish with firm lean meat should be chosen small, whereas fatty varieties, big. Firm fish is at its best when consumed salted and dried rather than fresh, and vice versa.

Of fish species, the best are *shabbūt* and *bunnī* (entries in this section). The most beneficial way for eating fish is to have it cooked as *isfīdbāj* (white stew). Next, is having it pan-grilled (*mashwī* ‘alā al-ṭābaq) and soured in vinegar (*mamqūr*). As for fried fish, only people with strong stomachs can handle it (Ibn Sīnā 333). Because fish is cold and moist in properties, it is better eaten hot with mustard; and during the hot season, with vinegar and spices (al-Dīnawarī ‘*Uyūn al-Akhār* 374). According to Ibn al-Bayṭār, fish grilled on the brazier is easier to digest than fish coated with flour and fried (393-94).

samak Kaskarī (سمك كسكري) highly esteemed river fish caught in the river Tigris in Kaskar, a district north of Basra in southern Iraq (see Appendix).

samak māliḥ (سمك مالح) *mamlūḥ* (مملوح) *mumallāḥ* (مملّح) or *matīḥ* (مليح) salted and dried fish.

samak ṭarī (سمك طري) fresh fish.

saraṭān baḥrī (سرطان بحري) crab.

saraṭān nahrī (سرطان نهري) crayfish, the best of which is the large

variety that dwells in fresh waters. It is described as hard to digest but very nourishing (Ibn al-Bayṭār 369).

shabbūt (شَبُّوط) river fish of the carp family, highly esteemed because it inhabits clean running streams and feeds on river plants only. It is described as having a slender and soft body, with a wide middle and small head and tail. It is also said to be the most expensive. Al-Jāḥiẓ in his book on animals (*Al-Ḥayawān* 46, 72.) says it is delicious eaten fresh and salted, and is the most suitable fish for cooking *qarīs* (fish aspic, recipe in Chapter 33). Al-Bīrūnī says its name in Syriac is *shabbūtā* (شَبُّوطَا) and *shībūtā* (شَيْبُوطَا) (396).

shawk (شوك) literally, ‘thorns,’ small fish bones.

ṣīr (صير) small river fish (Ibn Sīnā 333). It is used in making fish-based fermented sauces and condiments such as *ṣiḥnāt* and *murrī* (see Section 3 above).

tirriḵh (طَرِيخ) a span long fish, caught in Arjīsh (Lake Van) in Armenia, brought to Baghdad already salted and dried. It is hot and dry in properties. The recommended way to cook it is to fry it in lots of fat (Ibn al-Bayṭār 463).

zaʿānif (زَعَانِف) fins.

zajr (زَجْر) *zajūr* (زَجُور) big river fish with small scales.

11.3.1 Fishing tools

hirba (حَرْبَة) pl. *hirāb* (حَرَاب) lance.

shabaka (شَبَكَة) pl. *shibāk* (شَبَاك) net.

shuṣ (شَصَص) hook.

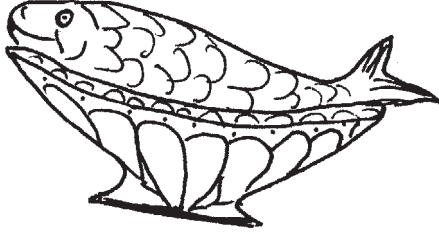
ziq (زِق) skin receptacle.

11.4 Insects

jarād (جَرَاد) locusts, categorized as flying creatures. The male locust, called ***jundub***, is smaller and slimmer than the female. Based on al-Warrāq’s recipes, *jarād* is consumed pickled and made into a condiment, called *ṣiḥnāt al-jarād* (Chapter 40). According to the Muslim dietary laws, they are acceptable *ḥalāl* as food only if they are caught alive. According to al-Warrāq’s recipe, the dead ones are discarded and the live ones are put in brine to suffocate.

Locusts attack the lands in devastatingly huge numbers, and one of the ways of eliminating them is to eat them. A cautionary adage al-Tha‘alibī gives is based on this fact: Do not be like locusts that eat whatever they find, and are eaten by whoever finds them.¹⁰

jundub (جندب) pl. *janādib* (جنادب) male locust, smaller and slimmer than the female (s.v. جندب in *Al-Muḥīṭ* and *Lisān al-‘Arab*).



¹⁰ لا تكن كالجراد يأكل ما وجدته، ويأكله ما وجدته. *Al-Tamḥīl wa 'l-Muḥāḍra* 79. Locusts are still eaten in parts of Africa, where they are called shrimp of the desert. They are dipped in batter and fried,

12. *Medical Terms, Sicknesses, Medicines, Chemicals, Minerals, and Food Colors*

12.1 *Medical Terms and Sicknesses*

(Arabic verbs are given in the present tense, beginning with *y*-, and the English equivalent in the infinitive)

‘*afiṣ* (عَفَص) astringent.

aghḏhiya radiyya (أَغْذِيَة رَدِيَّة) foods that generate poor quality humors *kaymūs* (entry below).

aḥlām radiyya (أَحْلَام رَدِيَّة) bad dreams.

aḥrāq (أَحْرَق) physical disorders caused by excessive heat.

aḥshā (أَحْشَاء) contents of the belly.

ajsām bārīda (أَجْسَام بَارِدَة) bodies naturally prone to cold properties.

ajsām ḥārira (أَجْسَام حَارَة) bodies naturally prone to hot properties.

akhlāt (أَخْلَاط) sing. *khalt* (خَلْط) *amshāj* (أَمْشَاج) the four humors: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile (see Introduction, Section IX, points 4 and 5, for more details).

akhlāt radiyya (أَخْلَاط رَدِيَّة) harmful humors.

‘*alīl* (عَلِيل) ailing person.

amrād sawdāwiyya (أَمْرَاضُ سَوْدَاوِيَّة) sicknesses related to black-bile disorders.

amzija (أَمْزِجَة) sing. *mizāj* (مِزَاج) elemental properties or temperaments (see Introduction, Section IX, points 1 and 2, for more details).

‘*anāṣir* (عَنْصَر) sing. ‘*unṣur* (عَنْصَر) elements. See *arkān*.

arkān (أَرْكَان) sing. *rukn* (رُكْن) According to the medieval theory of humors, they are the four basic elements—fire, air, water, and earth—from which everything in this world is composed (see Introduction, Section IX, point 1, for more details).

‘*ashā* (عَشَى) ‘*ashū* (عَشُو) nocturnal blindness.

aṣḥāb al-burūdāt (أَصْحَابُ الْبُرُودَات) people whose bodies have excess in cold properties.

aṣḥāb al-ḥarārāt (أصحاب الحرارة) people whose bodies have excess in hot properties.

aṣḥāb al-istiṭlāq (أصحاب الاستطلاق) people in need of laxatives.

aṣḥāb al-ṣafrā' (أصحاب الصفراء) people whose dominant humor is yellow bile.

aṣḥāb al-sawdā' (أصحاب السوداء) people whose dominant humor is black bile.

aṭīma bārīda bi 'l-fīl (اطعمة باردة بالفعل) foods cold in temperature.

aṭīma bārīda bi 'l-quwwa (اطعمة باردة بالقوة) foods which have cold humoral properties such as barley, gourd, melon, cucumber, and lettuce.

aṭīma baṭī'at al-inhiḍām (اطعمة بطيئة الانهضام) slow-digesting foods. They can be dry and dense such as beef, camel's meat, cheese, and cold eggs. Of the dry and dense grains and pulses are rice, lupine beans, lentil, millet, acorn, and chestnut. They may generate excessive excretions such as mutton, livers, and geese. They may be too oily such as sesame, or too cold such as sour cheese. Boiled wheat does not digest fast because it is dense and glutinous. Food eaten without having an appetite for it is slow to digest.¹

aṭīma ghalīza (اطعمة غليظة) dense foods which may be dry or viscous in consistency. They can be dry in nature such as lentil, rabbit meat, acorn, chestnut, truffles, and fried fava beans. They can be dry due to the way they are cooked (too much heat applied) such as liver, eggs (boiled, baked or fried), over-cooked yogurt, and condensed grape juice. Besides, foods can be dense because they are tough (*ṣulb*) such as meat of camel and male goats (*ṭiyūs*), beef, tripe, intestines, pine nuts, turnip, and beans.

They can be viscous in nature. For instance, bread baked in the brick oven (*furn*) is dense because the inside does not bake well and stays glutinous (*lazīy*). This applies to any bread that is not baked well and unleavened bread, with or without oil. Some foods are naturally viscous such as honey with its wax (*shahd*).

The general rule is that all coarse foods digest well in cold weather because heat concentrates in the abdomen. They digest well when

¹ Information in this entry and the following ones, starting with *aṭīma*, is based on Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (1010–17).

people perform physical activities before having them because this will generate heat in the stomach. Eating coarse foods sparingly and sleeping after eating them will also help. When they are eventually digested, they nourish the body immensely.

aṭ'ima ḥārra bi 'l-fi'l (اطعمة حارة بالفعل) foods hot in temperature.

aṭ'ima ḥārra bi 'l-quwwa (اطعمة حارة بالقوة) foods which have hot humoral properties such as wheat bread, chickpeas, fenugreek, sesame, hemp seeds (*shāhdānā*), sweet grapes, parsley, turnip, mustard, garlic, onion, leeks, and aged wine.

aṭ'ima kathīrat al-ighdhā' (اطعمة كثيرة الاغذاء) highly nutritious foods. All dense foods are highly nourishing if digested fully well, even when taken in small amounts. Travelers going light on the road and convalescents who cannot eat a lot of food need to have such foods. Instances on nourishing foods: beef, brains, hearts, gizzards of all birds, fish with thick flesh, fine white flour (*samūd*), fava beans, chickpeas, beans, lentils, dates, acorn, chestnut, turnip, milk, and red sweet wine.

aṭ'ima laṭīfa (اطعمة لطيفة) light foods that are low in density (rare) and hence generate thin blood (*damm laṭīf*) such as wheat starch, shelled grains and seeds, pullets, bird wings, small fish with tender meat, and gourd. These foods are good for sedentary people with low bodily heat, and thereby are in danger of developing dense humors (*kaymūs ghalīz*), which leads to blockages (*sudud*) in liver, spleen, chest, or brain. They also generate phlegm in their joints.

Some of the light and rare foods have the power to thin down dense and mucilaginous humors that contain black bile and phlegm (*kaymūs laẓīj ghalīz*). They can be any of the following:

1. Sweet and rarefying foods (*ḥilū, laṭīf*) have the power to cleanse and purge excretions (*quwwat jalā'*) such as barley broth, melon, dried figs, walnut, chestnut, and honey nougat (*nāṭīf*).

2. Hot and piquant foods such as garlic, leeks, parsley, cabbage, thyme, mint, and thin yellow aged wine. These are all good for people who need to open up blockages in liver, spleen, chest, and brain. They can break up (*yufaṭṭi*) phlegm and thin it down (to make expelling it easier).² However, such foods should be taken sparingly because they

² Ibn Sīnā compares dense humors to mud, and viscous humors (phlegm) to dissolved glue. The first needs something to thin it down and dissolve it (*taḥlīl*), the other needs something to break up its particles to facilitate purging it (*taqṭī*) (193).

thin the blood and make it watery in consistency, which makes it less nourishing, resulting in a weaker body. The other reason is that they heat up the body immensely, which causes most of the digested food to turn into yellow bile. If the person overindulges in such dishes and they become part of his regular food, the thin part in the blood will disintegrate leaving behind the sediments and dense residues (black bile), which will lead to kidney stones. Therefore, this food is to be avoided by people whose tempers are dominated by yellow bile.

3. Salty foods, which can dissolve (*yudhīb*) and thin down (*yulattīf*) coarse humors (*kaymūs ghalīz*) such as *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), salted lean fish, chard, and cheese whey (*mā' al-jubn*). Any foods containing salt, *murrī*, and borax have rarefying effects. They also have the advantage of purging the stomach, cleansing the bowels, and softening bowel movements.³

4. Sour foods, which can break up (*yugattī*) and lower density and coarseness in foods (*yulattīf*) such as *sakanjabīn* (drink of honey and vinegar), citrus juice, sour pomegranate, and all foods cooked with them. They are good for people with hot stomachs and bodies with hot properties. They also help people who develop phlegmatic humors due to overindulgence in coarse foods.⁴

Besides the above, there are foods that have the power to lower density of other coarse foods despite their dense nature (*aḥ'ima ghalīza*) such as onion, carrots, radish, and turnip because of their sharp and pungent properties (*hidda* and *harāfa*). To get rid of their density and coarseness, they can be cooked, as is done with onion; their juices may be extracted and used; or they can be boiled to extract their broth. Eating them raw will help in breaking down (*taqtī*) phlegm.

aḥ'ima mulayyina musahhila li 'l-baṭn (اطعمة ملينة مسهلة للبطن) laxative foods such as sweet, acrid, or viscous foods: e.g. broth of lentil and cabbage, stew of old cocks, and whole-wheat bread. Having olives pickled in brine or vinegar at the beginning of the meal helps soften the bowels. The olives may be eaten after the meal, in which case they will urge the stomach with their astringency to push down its contents. All other astringent foods will act the same way. Milk and cheese whey

³ This gives the rationale for incorporating salty fermented sauces into the cooked dishes or serving the sauce with them, especially the coarse ones such as *harīsa* (wheat porridge). It also accounts for baking bread with borax.

⁴ This also explains the popularity of sour and sweet and sour dishes in the medieval menu, as well as the medieval habit of drinking sweet and sour sherbets and *sakanjabīn* after the meals.

are laxative, especially when mixed with salt. Meat of young animals, chard, orach (*qaṭaṭf*), gourd, melon, figs, sweet raisins, sweet mulberry, fresh walnut, fresh plum, *sakanjabīn* (sweet and sour drink of honey and vinegar), and sweet wine, they all have the same effect.

aṭ'ima mutawassīṭa (اطعمة متوسطة) foods of medium consistency. Foods that are neither too light and rarefying nor too dense and coarse are good for healthy people whose bodies generate balanced humors. They will not weaken their bodies as with rare foods (low in density), nor will they generate unripe humors (*khām*) or blockages.

Of these foods, one may have whatever is cooked right of bread, beef, chicken, less than one year old goat (*jeḏī*), yearling goat (*mā'iz hawlīyya*), soft-cooked eggs (*nimbarīsh*), and fish that is not tough or slimy, smells fishy, or dwells in tainted waters. Of fruits, figs and grapes that have ripened on the trees and vines. Of vegetables, endive (*hindibā'*), lettuce, and asparagus. Of drinks, red and clear wines which are not left to age for too long.

aṭ'ima nāfīkha (اطعمة نافخة) bloating foods, the most gaseous of which are chickpeas and fava beans, especially when cooked with skin on. Cooking them skinned or crushed will make them less bloating. Frying them will help in this respect, too. Next in the list are beans, mung beans, lentil, and barley if they are not cooked thoroughly until smooth and mushy. Mint, asafetida leaves (*anjūdḥān*), asafetida root (*ḥilīl*), and fresh figs are gaseous. However, the gases they produce will disintegrate quickly since they go through the digestive system very fast. Other bloating foods are milk, yogurt, sweet and astringent wine (*'afīṣ*), and raw honey. The latter can be remedied (*yusallāh*) by boiling it with water, skimming its froth, and letting it cook until it is back to its original consistency.⁵

Foods can be made less gaseous if these measures are followed: Bloating foods need to be cooked well and long. Frying them will also help rid them of the gases. Mixing them with spices and herbs such as cumin, rue, aniseed, and lovage seeds (*kāshām*) will break up winds in them. A drink of vinegar mixed with honey (such as *sakanjabīn*) will break up winds they generate, make them less dense, and cure bloating. Al-Rāzī recommends using a good amount of garlic in sour stews

⁵ This explains a culinary practice we encounter in al-Warrāq's sweet dishes: honey in the recipes is always cooked and skimmed before using it.

cooked with yogurt such as *kishkiyya* and *maḍīra*. Garlic in his opinion is the best food taken to dispel winds in the digestive system (15).⁶

aṭʿima qalīlat al-ighdhā (اطعمة قليلة الاغذاء) foods with poor nutrition. This includes all foods low in density (*aṭʿima laṭīfa*, entry above), excessively dry foods such as salted meat, and foods that produce too much excretions (*fudūl*) such as trotters, tripe, intestines, tallow, ears, lungs, poultry, barley bread, bread with bran, and all vegetables.

Astringent foods (*ʿafīs*) also offer poor nourishment such as olives, pistachio, walnut, and almonds. Fish, gourd, pomegranate, mulberry, plums, and apricot are poor sources of nutrition because they are very moist, and their nutrients dissolve and go through the system very quickly.

aṭʿima raṭba (اطعمة رطبة) foods with moist properties such as barley, gourd, melon, cucumber, fresh walnut, grapes, prunes, mulberry, lettuce, whatever is boiled in water, and meat of young animals.

aṭʿima sarīʿat al-inhiḍām (اطعمة سريعة الانهضام) fast-digesting foods. Foods digest fast if they are not too dry like lentil, too solid like lupine beans (*turmus*), too glutinous like wheat, too coarse like sesame, or odious-tasting like rue. Food digests fast if it does not produce excessive excretions like rice, is not cold like sour yogurt, or too hot in properties like honey.

In the case of animals with dry meat such as cows and goats, the meat of their young ones is faster to digest because it is moister, relatively speaking. In the case of animals with moist properties such as sheep, meat of the relatively older ones, such as a yearling sheep (*daʿn ḥawlī*), is faster to digest than that of lamb (*kharīf*) because it is drier in properties, relatively speaking.

Food that is not very dense such as walnut, is faster to digest than dense food such as hazelnut. Warm eggs are faster to digest than cold eggs, and sweet wine digests faster than the acrid variety. Food digests fast if the person is not sick, or he has an appetite for what he is eating.

aṭʿima taftaḥ al-sudud (أطعمة تفتح السدد) foods that have the power to unblock obstructions. See below, s.v. *aṭʿima tajlū al-maʿida*.

aṭʿima taḥbus al-baṭn (اطعمة تحبس البطن) constipating foods. Of the astringent foods: quince, pears, lentil, acorn, chestnut, and

⁶ Although garlic is generally used sparingly in al-Warrāq's recipes, in such dishes it is added more liberally.

astringent wine. Of the coarse foods: cooked yogurt and cheese. Of the sour foods: sour apples, sour pomegranate.

If such foods are eaten on an empty stomach, they will constipate it with their astringency. Such foods are needed if the consumed food leaves the stomach before it is fully digested.

aṭima tajlū al-ma'ida (اطعمة تجلو المعدة) foods that purge the stomach and unblock obstructions *taftah al-sudud* (تفتح السدد).

Of the cooked foods, barley broth is very effective. Fenugreek, melon, sweet raisins, and fava beans purify the kidneys and break up the stones in them. If honey or capers pickled in vinegar are eaten on an empty stomach, they will purge and cleanse stomach and intestines, and unblock obstructions. Chard can purge the liver and unblock obstructions in it, especially when eaten with mustard. Onion, garlic, leeks, and radish, break up dense humors and make them less dense. Figs, fresh and dry, purge and cleanse the kidneys. All kinds of almonds, especially bitter ones, have the power to purge, lower density, open up blockages in liver and spleen, and help expectorate moisture from lungs. Pistachio strengthens the liver and open up its blockage. Diluted honey helps thin down dense sputum, and makes purging it easier. *Sakanjabīn* (sweet and sour drink of honey and vinegar) has a rarefying power that helps thin down dense moisture. It opens up blockages in liver and spleen, and cleanses chest and lungs. Thin wine (*nabīdh laṭīf*), which has a little sharpness in its properties, cleanses the veins of dense humors lodging in them. Diluted wine (*nabīdh raqīq*) and sweet wine help expectorate moisture from lungs, strengthen the organs, and lower any dense excretions in them.

aṭima tuwallid al-sudud (اطعمة تولد السدد) foods that generate obstructions. Overindulging in cheese and dense varieties of milk such as cow's milk, causes obstructions in liver and stones in kidneys. This happens to people who are especially susceptible to such diseases. All sweet foods are bad for the liver and spleen. However, having them with *fūdhanaj jabālī* (a variety of mint), *ṣa'tar* (thyme), and black pepper will help avert their harmful effects.⁷ Fresh ripe dates (*ruṭab*), fully ripe and dried dates (*tamr*), all kinds of foods cooked with wheat (except for the well-made and fully baked bread), and sweet drinks, all these

⁷ This might explain the rationale behind giving a rich pastry, such as *shahmiyya* baked with tallow, a final sprinkle of ground black pepper before serving it (Chapter 98).

generate blockages in the liver, kidney stones, and hardening of the spleen.

aṭ'ima yābisa (اطعمة يابسة) foods with dry properties such as lentil, cabbage, grilled and fried foods, and meat of old animals.

awjā' al-ḥalq (أوجاع الحلق) soreness of the throat.

awjā' al-mafāṣil (أوجاع المفاصل) joint pains.

bāh (باه) coitus *bāhī* (باهي) adj. Also called *jimā'* (entry below).

bahḥa (بحّة) hoarseness of the voice.

bakhar (بخر) having a bad breath. A mix of ground raisins kneaded with thyme is recommended as a cure (al-Dīnawarī, 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār 369).

balgham (بلغم) phlegm; *balghamī* (بلغمي) phlegmatic.

bard (برد) pl. *abrida* (أبردة) cold related sicknesses.

barsām (برسام) pleurisy, nowadays called *dhāt al-janb*.

basham (بشم) satiety, surfeit.

bāsūrā (باسور) pl. *bawāsīr* (بواسير) hemorrhoid.

baṭan (بطن) indigestion, gluttony, overeating, gastric ailments.

bawl (بول) urine. Urine of animals and humans, taken by itself or mixed with other ingredients, has medicinal benefits such as to treat wounds and stop bleeding. Aged urine is used to cure infected tonsils and mouth. It is used as drops for infected ears. Young boys' urine boiled down in a copper pot is used to remove impurities in one's complexion (Ibn Sīnā 244–45; Ibn al-Bayṭār 128–29).

buhr (بهر) shortness of breath.

bukhārāt (بخارات) vapors, said to be generated by bad humors.

burūda (برودة) coldness.

buthūr (بثور) pimples, blisters.

dā' al-tha'lab (داء الثعلب) alopecia, losing hair in patches.

ḍa'f (ضعف) debility.

dam aswad (دم اسود) blood high in black bile.

dam balghamī (دم بلغمي) blood high in phlegm.

ḍaras (ضرس) sensitivity of teeth to sour food. Ibn Sīnā recommends eating purslane to cure it (241).

dawarān (دوران) dizziness.

diqq (دقّ) hectic fever, persistent but not severe fever (al-Khuwārizmī 31).

fālaḥ (فالج) hemiplegia.

fam al-ma'ida (فم المعدة) *fu'ād* (فؤاد) top gate of the stomach.

fāsād al-ma'ida (فساد المعدة) indigestion. This happens when the consumed food goes bad in the stomach (*tafsud fi 'l-ma'ida*) before it is fully digested, which will generate bad humors. Fast digesting food like fish needs to be eaten first while the stomach is still empty so that it may leave it undeterred. Having such food with slower digesting varieties will trap it in the stomach and cause it to spoil along with everything else in the stomach.

fāsād al-mizāj (فساد المزاج) degeneration of the humors due to bad digestion.

faṣḍ al-dam (فصد الدم) phlebotomy, bloodletting to get rid of bad humors or humors that are in excess, thus bringing the body back to balance.

fawāq (فواق) hiccups.

fu'ād (فؤاد) literally, 'heart,' top gate of the stomach.

fuḍūl (فضول) *faḍalāt* (فضلات) excretions which need to be expelled from the body.

ghalīẓ (غليظ) dense, thick, coarse, opposite of *latīf* (rarefying).

ghashī (غشي) fainting fits, swooning.

ghathī (غثي) *ghathayān* (غثيان) nausea.

gidhā' (غذاء) nutrient, nutriment, foodstuff.

habs al-baṭn (حبس البطن) constipation.

ḥadīd (حديد) (taste) sharp, pungent.

ḥaḍm (هضم) digestion, referred to sometimes as *ṭabkh* (cooking). The first cooking takes place in the stomach, and the second cooking, in the liver.

ḥakka (حكة) itch.

ḥālibayn (حالبين) ureters.

ḥarāfa (حرافة) pungency, sharpness, acidity; *ḥirṭif* adj. (حريّف).

ḥaṣar (حصر) tightness of the chest.

ḥashā (حشى) abdomen. In another context, it may mean shortness of breath caused by having asthma, exhaustion, or being overweight.

hayḍa (هَيْضَة) acute diarrhea and vomiting caused by badly digested food (Ibn Sīnā 761). Nowadays the word designates cholera.

ḥijāma (حِجَامَة) cupping. It is letting out blood by making an incision or drawing it towards the skin surface without an incision, using *ṭās* (طاس) cupping glass. Sometimes 'alaq (علق) leech is used to draw the blood. This is done to cure disorders caused by excess of blood.

ḥirrif adj. (حَرِيف) pungent, sharp, acrid; *ḥarāfa* (حَرَافَة) n.

ḥulqūm (حَلْقَوْم) wind pipe.

ḥummā (حُمَّى) fever.

ḥumma nāfiḍ (حُمَّى نَافِض) ague fit, malaria.

ḥumma ṣafrāwiyya (حُمَّى صَفْرَاوِيَة) literally, 'yellow fever.' It is fever caused by surfeit in yellow bile (*mirra ṣafrā*).

ḥummiyyāt (حُمِّيَّات) fevers.

ḥummiyāt muḥriqa (حُمِّيَّات مُحْرِقَة) intense fevers.

ḥurqa (حُرْقَة) *ihraq* (احراق) burning of humors.

idmān (إِدْمَان) addiction, used in the general sense of falling into the habit of having something more than one ought to.

ikhtilāf al-aghrās (إِخْتِلَاف الْأَغْرَاس) frequent bowel movements due to taking laxatives. What comes out of the system in this case is called *gharās* (غَرَّاس), as al-Azharī explains (*Tahdhīb* 1053).

ikhtilāf al-baṭn (إِخْتِلَاف الْبَطْن) diarrhea. Al-Khuwārizmī explains it as the condition when the digestive system discharges the food quickly without digesting it, accompanied with gripes (31).

ikhtilāf al-mashī (إِخْتِلَاف الْمَشْي) acute diarrhea.

'ilāj (عِلَاج) literally, 'treatment,' getting rid of excretions (*fuḍūl*) by resorting to induced means such as cupping, taking laxatives, and vomiting. However, it is more commonly used as a metonymy for induced vomiting (al-Khuwārizmī 34).

iltihāb (إِلْتِهَاب) inflammation.

imsāk (إِمْسَاك) constipation; *mumsik li 'l-ṭabī'a* (مُمْسِك لِلطَّبِيعَة) *mumsik li 'l-baṭn* (مُمْسِك لِلْبَطْن) food or medication that causes constipation or helps control diarrhea.

imtilā' (إمْتَلَاء) having a cold, also called *zūkām*; (stomach) having indigestion due to surfeit (al-Rāzī 13).

ishāl (إِسْهَال) diarrhea

ishāl al-balgham (إِسْهَالِ الْبَلْغَمِ) phlegmatic diarrhea.

iṣlāḥ al-aṭ'ima (إِصْلَاحُ الْأَطْعِمَةِ) remedying foods by adjusting their ingredients until they attain the desired proportions of properties to complement or counterbalance those of the eater, aiming at harmony and balance.

istifrāgh (إِسْتِفْرَاقٌ) purging bodily excretions (*fuḍūl*) through natural means (uninduced), such as hemorrhage (*ru'āf*), diarrhea (*khilfa*), vomiting (*qay'*), or perspiration (*'araq*) (al-Khuwārizmī 34).

istifrāgh al-dam (إِسْتِفْرَاقُ الدَّمِ) losing blood.

istihāla (إِسْتِحَالَةٌ) change from one state to another.

istisqā' (إِسْتِسْقَاءٌ) ascites, accumulation of *siqī* (سَقِي) serum (fluids) in abdominal cavities.

istiṭlāq (إِسْتِطْلَاقٌ) diarrhea, also called *ishāl* and *mashū*; *yutliq al-baṭn* (يُطْلِقُ الْبَطْنَ) loosen the bowels.

i'tidāl (إِعْتِدَالٌ) temperance of properties.

jallā' (جَلَاءٌ) (food or medicine) having the power to cleanse and purge.

jarab (جَرَب) mange, scabies.

jimā' (جِمَاعٌ) sexual intercourse, coitus, also called *bāh*.

kalaf (كَلَف) melasma, pigmented spots on the face.

kaylūs (كَيْلُوسٌ) chime. It is thick, semi fluid, and partially digested food and drink in the stomach. It looks like *kishk* (barley soup) before it gets fully 'cooked' (*yanṭabikh*) in the liver.⁸

kaymūs (كَيْمُوسٌ) humoral substances that food generates after it is 'cooked' or digested in the stomach and liver. Depending on the nature of the digested food, *kaymūs* may be *mu'tadil* (مُعْتَدِلٌ) balanced, which generates pure blood. It can be *ghayr mu'tadil* (غَيْرُ مُعْتَدِلٍ) unbalanced, or *kaymūs radī'* (كَيْمُوسٌ رَدِيءٌ) noxious substance, which generates

⁸ al-Khuwārizmī 34; Ibn Sīnā 15; Ibn al-Nafīs, *Sharḥ Tashrīḥ al-Qanūn li Ibn-Sīnā* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 102.

balgham (بلغم) phlegm, *mirra ṣafrāʾ* (مرّة صفراء) yellow bile, *mirra sawdāʾ* (مرّة سوداء) black bile, and *riyāḥ ḡhalīẓa* (رياح غليظة) dense winds. Moreover, *kaymūs* can be *latīf* (لطيف) thin in consistency, or *ḡhalīẓ* (غليظ) dense in consistency. It may be *kaymūs lajiz* (كيموس لزج) moist and viscous, and *ḡhayr laẓij* (غير لزج) dry. *Kaymūs khām* (كيموس خام) is cold and phlegmatic because it is not fully ‘cooked’ in the stomach and liver (Ibn Sīnā 11–17).

Of the foods that generate good humors (*kaymūs jayyid*) are well-baked bread eaten the same day, chicken, kids, yearling goats (*ḥawliyyāt al-māʾiz*), and fish that is not tough, slimy, fishy in smell, or too fatty, or lives in contaminated water. Fragrant red wine is said to produce good humors. Milk is good, albeit coarse and might curdle in the stomach. To avert this, it should be mixed with honey, salt, or water. The best is goat milk because it is the most balanced. It is thinner than sheep and cow’s milk and denser than camel milk or wild ass milk.

Of the foods that generate bad humors (*kaymūs radīʾ*) are mutton (*daʾn*) because it increases phlegm; meat of old goats, especially the uncastrated ones; and beef, rabbits, and antelope because they increase black bile. The most harmful is camel’s meat. Bread high in bran, lentil, and dried and salted fish increase black bile. Tough and slimy fresh fish generate phlegm. Kidneys are to be avoided because of the urine in them and their unpleasant odor. Fried eggs and cheese, especially the aged varieties, generate dense and bad humors. If dried figs are consumed in excess they generate putrid excretions that breed lice. Cucumbers and unripe pears and apples generate cold bad humors. If melon and gourd get digested, fine and well. However, if their digestion is delayed due to already bad excretions in the stomach, they will spoil and generate bad humors.

All vegetables generate harmful humors because they produce excessive excretions. Onion, garlic, leeks, radish, carrot, and turnip are all bad because they are hot and pungent, and hence increase yellow bile, and even black bile at times. However, they can be improved by boiling them in two changes of water to get rid of their heat and harmful effects. Cabbage generates black bile, and basil (*bādharij*) heats up the blood and dries it immensely.

khalt (خلط) humor. See *akhlāt* above.

khilfa (خلفة) severe diarrhea, which al-Kḥuwārizmī describes as being accompanied with pussy discharge and gripes (31).

khulūf al-fam (خُلُوف الفم) having a bad breath.

khumār (خمار) hangover.

khushūnat al-ṣadr (خَشُونَةُ الصِّدْرِ) having a raw chest.

lādhi (لَذِي) *ladhdhā* (لَذَاع) sharp, acrid, burning to the tongue.

laqwa (لَقْوَة) facial paralysis.

laṭīf (لَطِيف) (of humor or consistency of food) rare, low in density; (of quantity) not much; (of size) small; **mulattif** (مَلَطَف) (of food or medicine) rarefying, having the power to lessen density.

lazij (لَزَج) (wheat) glutinous; (fish) slimy, mucilaginous; viscous, viscid, moist and sticky.

mā' aṣfar (مَاء أَصْفَر) yellow liquid accumulating in the belly because of ascites. See *ṣafar* below.

mabrūd (مَبْرُود) a person with excess in cold properties.

mabtūn (مَبْطُون) a person having gastric ailments.

maghṣ (مَغْص) gripes.

maḥrūr (مَحْرُور) a person having excess in hot properties.

manī (مَنِي) semen.

al-marār (الْمَرَار) bile.

marāra (مَرَارَة) gall bladder.

marī (مَرِي) adj. easy to digest food.

marī' (مَرِيء) n. esophagus.

marṭūb (مَرْطُوب) having excess in humid properties.

mashī (مَشِي) diarrhea.

maṣl (مَصْل) clear yellowish fluid in abdominal cavities, serum.

mizāj (مَزَاج) elemental property. See *amzija* above.

mu'affin (مُعْفَن) putrefying.

mudirr (مُدِّر) diuretic.

muḥallil (مُحَلِّل) having the power to thin down densities and facilitate their purging.

mukhātī (مُخَاطِي) mucilaginous, mucous.

mulattif (مَلَطَف) (of food or medicine) rarefying, having the power to lessen density.

mulattifāt (ملطِّفات) rarefying medicines that help reduce density.

mulattikh (ملطخ) causing to smear; **lattakha** (لطخ) smear, coat. It is used to describe smooth and dense foods like brain and ripe fresh dates. When eaten they smear the inner lining of the stomach and prevent the rest of the eaten foods from contacting the stomach, thus hindering digestion.

mulayyin (ملين) laxative; **yulayyin al-baṭn** (يلين البطن) (medication or food) help soften the bowels.

mulayyin li 'l-ḥalq (ملين للحلق) soothing to the throat.

mumtali' (ممتليء) having a cold, or experiencing heaviness in the head (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. مملأ); having indigestion due to surfeit.

muqattī' (مقطع) **qāṭi'** (قاطع) (of medicine and food) having the power to break down dense digesting food into smaller segments.

muqawwī (مقوي) fortifying, having restorative powers.

musakkin (مسكن) anodyne, pain reliever.

mushil (مسهل) laxative medicine.

naḥḍ (نفض) purging body excretions (*fudūl*) by resorting to induced means (*ilāq*), such as blood-letting (*faṣḍ*) and cupping (*ḥijāma*), taking laxatives, and provoked vomiting (*qay'*) using an oiled feather or a finger (Ibn al-Bayṭār 283; al-Kḥuwārizmī 34).

naḥkh (نخخ) flatulence.

naḥṭh (نفت) expectoration, clearing out chest and lungs by coughing up and spitting out matter.

naḥṭh al-dam (نفت الدم) hemoptysis, expectoration of blood or blood-stained sputum from the chest.

nakha (نكهة) bad breath, which can be remedied by having a mix of ground raisins kneaded with thyme for two or three weeks. To improve one's breath after eating garlic and onion, doctors recommend chewing roasted carrots or bread fried in oil or clarified butter. They also recommend chewing fresh leaves of the olive tree followed by a mouthwash of vinegar. To mask wine breath, cyperus (*su'd*) is used (al-Dīnawarī, *ʿUyūn al-Aḥbār* 369). Special pills, called **ḥabb al-nakha** (حب النكهة), are kept in the mouth for a while to sweeten the breath. They are made from a combination of aromatic spices, kneaded with

rose water and juice of quince and apple, and shaped into large flat discs (Ibn Jazla, fol. 71r). See also *bakḥar* above.

namash (نمش) freckles.

naqris (نقرس) gout.

natn (نتن) **natāna** (نتانة) n. foul smell; **munṭin** (منتن) adj. having a foul odor

nazla (نزلة) catarrh. In *Tāj al-ʿArūs* it is said to be similar to *zūkām* (cold), both are cold-related maladies. Ibn al-Nafīs explains that catarrhs are caused by vapors (*abkḥira*) that come up to the head (*Sharḥ* 111).

qābiḍ (قابض) astringent, constipating; **qabḍ** (قبض) astringency, constipation.

qaṭil al-ighdhāʾ (قليل الاغذاء) food lacking in nutritive value.

qarāqir (قراقر) rumbling stomach noises.

qawbāʾ (قوباء) eczema.

qawlanj (قولنج) colic.

qiwā (قوى) sing. *quwra* (قوة) the inherent humoral powers or abilities of foods and medicines, and their actions on the operations of the human body. For instance, dry food has *quwra qābiḍa* (قوة قابضة) constipating action; certain foods might have *qiwā mutaḍāda* (قوى متضادة) contradictory humoral properties and actions such as having the power to cause diarrhea and constipation, or having cold and hot properties. Al-Warrāq includes three chapters (7–9) dealing with such humoral powers (*qiwā*), which I translate as ‘humoral powers.’ Food may be described as strong (*qawī*) and weak (*daʿīf*). Meat for instance is deemed the strongest of foods because it has energy enough to nourish the body and strengthen it.

rabū (ربو) asthma.

radīʾ al-ghidhāʾ (رديء الغذاء) adj. food generating poor quality humors *kaymūs* (entry above).

raqīq (رقيق) *latīf* (consistency) thin.

raʿsha (رعشة) tremors.

rīḥ (ريح) pl. *riyāḥ* (رياح) winds in the body that cause pain and ailments. Winds in the head, for instance, cause headaches.

riyāḥ ghalīza (رياح غليظة) harmful dense winds that need to be made less dense to facilitate purging them out of the body.

ruṭūbāt (رطوبات) sing. **ruṭūba** (رطوبة) body fluids.

ruṭūbāt khaltīyya (رطوبات خلطية) sing. **ruṭūba khaltīyya** (رطوبة خلطية) humoral fluids: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. See Introduction, Section IX for details.

sadar (سدر) giddiness.

sa'fa (سفعة) ringworm, alopecia, an infection in the scalp and head caused by fungi, characterized by itches and scaly patches. Al-Khuwārizmī says it can be dry or pussy (29).

ṣafar (صفر) collection of yellowish liquid in the belly, also called **siqī** (سقي), **istisqā'** (إستسقاء), and **ḥaban** (حبّ). It may designate a belly disease causing the face to turn yellow; or refer to worms said to gnaw at the bowels of a starving person, sometimes used as a metonymy for 'hunger' (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. صفر).

ṣafariyya (صفرية) ascaris, parasitic roundworms in human intestines.

ṣafariyyāt (صفریات) diseases caused by parasitic worms.

saḥj al-am'ā' (سحج الأمعاء) abrading of the bowels.

shahwa (شهوة) appetite:

shahwa kādhiba (شهوة كاذبة) false appetite.

shahwa kalbiyya (شهوة كلبية) strong and uncontrollable appetite.

yusqiṭ al-shahwa (يسقط الشهوة) cause the appetite to decline.

yuthīr al-shahwa (يثير الشهوة) excite and stimulate the appetite.

siqī (سقي) clear yellowish fluid in abdominal cavities, serum, also called **istisqā'** (see above).

su'āl (سعال) coughing.

subāt (سبات) lethargy, drowsiness, sleepiness.

sudd (سدّ) pl. **sudud** (سدد) **asḍād** (أسداد) obstruction, any blockage in the body that occurs because of thick and dense humors, mucilaginous humors, or excess in humors of any kind (Ibn Sīnā 193).

sudd (سَدّ) eye disease resulting in weakening of eye-sight. Although the eyes are open they cannot see much (*Tāj-al-ʿArūs*, s.v. سَدّ).

sudda (سُدّة) *sudād* (سَدَاد) having nasal blockage with a headache and sneezing.

ṣufār (صَفَار) wheezing.

ṣufra (صَفْرَة) jaundice, also called *yaraqān* (يَرَقَان) (al-Khuwārizmī 31).

sull (سَلّ) tuberculosis.

tabʿ (طَبْع) pl. **ṭabāyīʿ** (طَبَايِع) humoral qualities or properties, which are hot, cold, moist, and dry. Also called *mizāj* (مِزَاج). See Introduction, Section IX, points 1 and 2, for more details.

ṭabīʿa (طَبِيعَة) literally, ‘nature,’ metonymy for the condition of the digestive system such as *ṭabīʿa yābisa* (طَبِيعَة يَابِسَة) constipated and *ṭabīʿa layyina* (طَبِيعَة لَيِّنَة) loose.

ṭadbīr ghalīdh (تَدْبِير غَلِيظ) taking dense viscous foods to combat lack of density in the digesting food.

ṭadbīr mulattif (تَدْبِير مُلَطَّف) eating rarefying foods that lack density and digest fast to break up dense foods in the stomach and facilitate their absorption and excretion.

taghdhiya (تَغْذِيَة) nourishment.

taḥallul (تَحَلُّل) dissolution.

taqṭīʿ (تَقْطِيع) (of food or medicine) power to break down food into smaller particles.

tasʿīt (تَسْعِيط) inducing sneezing by applying medicinal snuff in the form of drops, powder, or oil.

taskīn (تَسْكِين) allaying pain.

tatyīb al-nakha (تَطْيِيب النَكْهَة) eliminating bad breath, sweetening the breath.

thāʿirat al-dam (ثَائِرَة الدَّم) state of blood when hot and roaring, in modern terms having high blood pressure.

tukhama (تُخْمَة) pl. *tukham* (تُخْم) eating to surfeit. According to *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. وَخَم, the commoners pronounce the word as *tukhma*. The lexicon explains that *tukhama* is a variation on *wukhama*.

‘*ufūna* (عفونة) ‘*afan* (عفن) putridity (of humors, blood); rotting (of food); molding (of bread); adj. ‘*afin* (عفن) putrid, molded.

‘*ufūṣa* (عفوصة) astringency; ‘*afīṣ* (عفص) astringent.

‘*unṣur* (عنصر) pl. ‘*anāṣir* (عناصر) element. See *arkān* above.

waja’ al-fu’ād (وجع الفؤاد) feeling pain and pressure in the upper part of the stomach, *fu’ād* (فؤاد) is the top gate of the stomach.

wakham (وخم) indigestion; *wakhim* adj. indigestible food, too heavy for the stomach; *wukhama* (وخمة) and *tukhama* (تُخمة), also pronounced as *tukhma*, is eating to the point of surfeit (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. تخم).

yadbugh (يدبغ) (food) having a tannic effect on the stomach.

yajlū (يجلو) (of excretions) oust, remove, expel, purge; (of teeth and complexion) polish and cleanse.

ya’qil al-baṭn (يعقل البطن) medication or food that controls bowel movements; having the power to stop diarrhea.

yaqma’ (يقمع) curb.

yaraqān (يرقان) jaundice; *yaraqān ‘atīq* (يرقان عتيق) chronic jaundice.

yulayyin al-baṭn (يلين البطن) (medication or food) help soften the bowels.

yumsik al-baṭn (يمسك البطن) constipate.

yurakhkhī al-ma’ida (يرخي المعدة) slacken the stomach.

yusakkin al-maghṣ (يسكن المغص) alleviate colic gripes.

yusqiṭ al-shahwa (يسقط الشهوة) cause the appetite to decline.

yutfi’ (يطفيء) (thirst) quench, abate, allay.

yutliq al-baṭn (يطلق البطن) (food or medicine) loosen the bowels, have a laxative effect

yuzīd fī ‘l-bāh (يزيد في الباه) *yuzīd fī ‘l-jīmā’* (يزيد في الجماع) *yuzīd fī quzwat al-jīmā’* (يزيد في قوة الجماع) invigorate coitus.

zahīr (زحير) dysentery.

zūkām (زكام) *imtilā’* (إمْتِلَاءٌ) having a cold.

ẓulmat al-baṣar (ظلمة البصر) dimming of eye vision.

12.2 *Medicinal Ingredients and Preparations*

afyūn (أفيون) opium, the milky narcotic substance extracted from black poppy capsules. The plant is cultivated in orchards (*bustānī*). Ibn al-Bayṭār says it grows abundantly in Upper Egypt in Asyūt, and from there opium is exported to other countries. It is used medicinally to allay pain, help induce sleep, and cure chronic coughs. However, overdosing causes deep sleep, which may lead to death due to its cold and dry properties. Ibn Sīnā says it dulls the mind and causes persistent itch. The fatal dose is 2 *dirhams* (6 grams/1 teaspoon) and more. As substitutes, three times its amount of henbane seeds (*bazr al-biṭṭ*) or twice its amount of mandrake seeds (*bazr al-luffāḥ*) may be used (Ibn Sīnā 228; Ibn al-Bayṭār 42). Ibn al-Bīrūnī tells how people in Mecca accustom their bodies to opium by starting with small amounts and gradually increasing it until they can take the supposedly lethal amount without dire consequences. He says they do this everyday to pleasure themselves, allay harmful effects of heat on the body, and to be able to sleep soundly (56). See *khashkhāsh aswad* below.⁹

anbijāt (أنبجات) honey-based fruit jams, enjoyed as food but also medicinally beneficial when mixed with the proper blend of spices. Originally, the name is related to the Indian practice of preserving ‘*anbā* (عنبا) mango by cooking it in honey (al-Khuwārizmī 33).

ās (أس) myrtle, a sweet-smelling evergreen shrub. It has fragrant white blossoms that grow into bitterish-sweet black berries, called **ḥabb al-ās** (حب الأس). The leaves and the berries are used medicinally both internally and externally such as to control diarrhea and coughs, stop hair loss and cure dandruff. The juice of the berries is also boiled down to syrup, called *rub al-ās* (رب الأس). See also Section 13, below.

ashriba (أشربة) sing. *sharāb* (شراب) drinks of diluted syrups (mostly medicinal) made by boiling down juices with sugar or honey (Ibn Sīnā 1227). See also *rub* below.

bābūnaj (بابونج) mountain wild variety of chamomile; *uḡhuwān* (أقحوان) is the cultivated variety (see below).

balasān (بلسان) balsam of Gilead tree. See *duhn al-balasān* below.

⁹ For a detailed description of opium and its history, see Selma Tibi, *The Medieval Use of Opium in Ninth-Century Baghdad* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

bān (بان) sing. *bāna* (بانة) moringa tree, also known as ben oil tree, and horseradish tree. It grows abundantly in Egypt, Abyssinia, and Morocco. As described in Ibn al-Bayṭār's entry (77), it is an intensely green tree that looks like *athal* (tamarisk tree) with feathery branches. The fruit is similar to beans in the pod, but much greener, and when the beans inside ripen, they are scattered out of the pod. They are dusty white and look like hazelnuts or big chickpeas.

The oil of the moringa tree is called **duhn al-bān** (دهن البان) benzoin. It is extracted by first bruising the highly oily beans on a marble slab to remove the husk. Then, they are crushed and their oil extracted. The aromatic oil is used in perfume compounds but also internally for medicinal purposes to induce vomit and diarrhea.

banafsaj (بنفسج) violets, used medicinally to treat coughs by cooking it into syrup with water and sugar. It is also deemed good for the stomach. Jam made with violets and sugar is used to induce sleep, although it is rather unpleasant in taste. **Duhn al-banafsaj** (دهن البنفسج) oil of violet is good for stiff muscles. It is effective in treating headaches when taken as a sneeze inducer (Ibn al-Bayṭār 287).

bawl (بول) urine. See 12.1 above.

binj (بنج) henbane, *shaykarān* (شيكران) is the Arabic name for the plant (Ibn al-Bayṭār 117). The flowers are described as being similar to those of the wild pomegranate, with too many seeds inside them, said to be similar to those of poppy. Three kinds of the seeds are mentioned: black, red, and white. The white is the safest to use, and the black and red are condemned as highly narcotic and dangerous to use. They are to be avoided at all times because they might lead to madness and lethargy. The fatal dose of the black seeds is given in Ibn al-Bayṭār's book as 2 *dirhams* (6 grams/1 teaspoon) (118). Some sources consider providing this kind of information irresponsible and abstain from mentioning it. In al-Bīrūnī's book, it is left a blank space (100).

The plant has cold and dry properties. Its white variety is used medicinally to induce sleep, and as an anesthetic in operations. The seeds are mixed with *qaṭirān* (resin of conifers) and used as a dental filling. It also helps people gain weight (Ibn Sīnā 240; Ibn al-Bayṭār 1178; al-Bīrūnī 99–100).

dhurrāh (ذراح) pl. *dharārah* (ذرايح) Spanish fly, cantharides (Steingass). It is a poisonous flying insect, a little larger than a fly, striped and dotted with red, yellow, and black. To allay its poison, it

is mixed with lentil and used as a cure for the bite of a rabid dog (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ذرَح). It is also used as a cure for scabies. When cooked in oil, it cures alopecia—losing hair in patches (al-Dumayrī 364). Mixed with other medicinal ingredients it helps remove corns (*masāmūr*), and treat cancer (Ibn al-Bayṭār 302). Ibn Jazla says a very small amount of *dhurrāḥ* mixed with other ingredients helps ease urine flow and menstruation, but he cautions against overdosing since this causes genital inflammation (*yūrim al-qadīb*),¹⁰ and makes passing urine extremely painful (fol. 103v).

diḥlā (دِفْلَا) oleander, an extremely bitter plant, poisonous in all its parts. Medicinally, it is used externally to relieve aches and pains in back and knees of old people and to drive away flees and termite (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, sv. دِفْل).

duhn (دَهْن) pl. *adhān* (أَدْهَان) oil. For medicinal preparations, olive oil or sesame oil is mixed with various spices. Herbs and flowers are also steeped in such oils.

duhn balasān (دَهْن بَلْسَان) balsam oil, extracted from the resin of a small tree called balsam of Gilead. Ibn al-Bayṭār says the tree grows in Egypt only (107). Legend has it that Queen of Sheba took the tree from Arabia to Judea as a present for King Solomon (Grieve 1: 78). The resin exudes naturally in the summer, but the process is also helped by slashing the bark with a lance (*mishrāt*).

The oil is sweet smelling and combustible, with hot and dry properties. It is an expensive kind of oil due to its scarcity, which explains why there are so many ways for adulterating it. The most beneficial part of the tree is its oil, and next is its fruit (*ḥabb al-balasān*), which is reddish grey, size of a small pea (Grieve 1: 78).

It is used in perfume compounds and medicinal preparations to relieve indigestion and help women conceive. Ibn al-Bayṭār says it can be a wonderful cure *ʿaḡb* for erectile dysfunction if the male part is massaged with it (107).

duhn al-bān (دَهْن الْبَان) benzoin, ben oil, extracted from beans of moringa tree. See *bān* above.

duhn al-banafsaj (دَهْن الْبَنْفَسَج) oil of violets. See *banafsaj* above.

duhn al-rāziqī (دَهْن الرَّازِقِي) also called *duhn al-sawsan* (دَهْن السَّوسَن)

¹⁰ This is usually followed by priapism, a painful medical condition, which causes the male organ to remain erect for hours.

oil infused with white lilies. It is used to treat womb-related disorders. It has the power to abort and cure gripes. However, it is deemed bad for the stomach and causes nausea (Ibn al-Bayṭār 281; al-Nuwayrī 1224, 1231). The flower *sawsan* is also called *rayḥān al-kāfur* (ريحان الكافور).

duhn al-utruj (دهن الاترج) citron oil, highly aromatic valued for its medicinal power, especially with cold related ailments. It is used as a component in perfumes and hand-washing compounds. See Section 13 below.

duhn al-zanbaq (دهن الزنبق) jasmine oil. According to *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. زنبق, this is its name in Iraq, in other regions it is *duhn al-yāsāmīn* (دهن الياسمين). It is made by first mixing sesame seeds with the white flowers of jasmine. Then, the oil is extracted by crushing the sesame seeds and mixing them with hot water to allow the oil to separate. It is recommended for migraine headaches by massaging the temples with it. Another way for applying it is as nose drops. Massaging the joints with it is believed to ease their pain (Ibn al-Bayṭār 288, 349).

duhn ward Fārisī (دهن ورد فارسي) oil of Persian roses, especially of *ward jūr* (grown in the Persian city of Jūr), valued as the most fragrant of all roses. In properties, it is moderately cold, dry, and astringent. It is used to treat stomach and liver ailments (al-Bīrūnī 371).

farzaja (فرزجة) suppository.

fulāfuli (فلاقلي) a variety of *juwārishun* جوارشن electuary, used as a digestive. Its principal ingredient is pepper *fulful* (Ibn Sīnā 1218).

ghārīqūn (غاريقون) agaricum, a polyporus fungus which grows on larix trees. Quoting Dioscorides, Ibn al-Bayṭār is not sure whether it is a root similar to asafetida or fungus, brought from Ghārqa (Agaria, region of Samartia). Al-Bīrūnī says it can be found on the land of Mecca (280).

It is sweet when first tasted and then turns bitter. Medicinally it is used to cure all sorts of stomachaches and diarrhea, among other things (Ibn al-Bayṭār 504).

ḥabb (حب) pills, medicinal tablets made from herbs and seeds, pulverized, kneaded into paste with some liquid, shaped into pills, and left to dry in a shaded place.

hādīmāt (هاضمات) digestive drinks such as *sakanjabīn* (entry below).

halīlaj (هليلج) ***ihlīlaj*** (هليلج) myrobalan, cherry plum. The fruit looks

like olive and is usually consumed as *murabba* (conserve) or made into drinks, mostly for medicinal purposes. However, it is exemplary for its unpleasant, bitter, and dry taste. According to al-Tha‘alibī, one of the most vexing facts of life is that *halīlaj* is good for you, but *lawzīnaj* (almond confection) is bad for you (*Al-Tamthīl wa ’l-Muḥāḍara* 12).

Of its varieties, the yellow is unripe; the Indian, black and small, is fully ripe and is fleshier than the yellow; and the Chinese variety is small and light in weight. The red and heavy *Kābulī* (کابلی), brought from Kabul (in Afghanistan), is the largest of them all.

Myrobalan is valued for its medicinal merits such as reducing excess yellow bile. It is good for headaches, palpitations, and improving memory (Ibn Sīnā 258–59). Because it benefits the entire digestive system, it is called the stomach’s *kadhībānūna* ‘good house manager’ (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. هَلَج).

inbīq (إنبيق) alembic, one of the two vessels comprising a distilling apparatus. *Al-qarʿ* (القرع) literally, ‘gourd,’ is the lower vessel. The upper vessel, which looks like a cupping glass (*mihjama*) is called *al-inbīq* (al-Kḥuwārizmī 48).

‘iqār (عقار) pl. ‘aqāqīr (عقاقير) medicinal drug.

itrīfal (اطريفل) myrobalan-electuary (Steingass). The word derives from Hindi *tara abhal*, which is a mix of three kinds of myrobalan:

ihlīlaj/halīlaj asfar (إهليلج/هليلج أصفر) yellow unripe myrobalan

balīlaj (بليلج) belleric, has sweet-tasting kernels, similar to hazelnut

amlaj (أملج) a variety dried when the fruit is still green, unripe, and sour¹¹

Variants on the name occur as *tirāfal* (طرافل) (Steingass), *tarfal* (ترفل) (*Lisan al-‘Arab*), and *ṭaraṇfal* (طرنفل) (al-Warraḡ, 458).

itrīfal ṣaghīr (اطريفل صغير) electuary composed of equal amounts of three kinds of myrobalan: *halīlaj Kābulī* (هليلج کابلي) which is the largest (see *halīlaj* above), *balīlaj* (بليلج) belleric, and *shūr amlaj* (شیر أملج)¹².

¹¹ al-Kḥuwārizmī 33; Ibn Sīnā 223, 239; al-Bīrūnī 65. See also note below.

¹² According to Steingass it is a kind of myrobalan. In medieval sources, *amlaj* is a black fruit that looks like a cow’s eye, bitter and astringent in taste. It is usually imported dried from India. If this fruit is steeped in milk before drying it to get rid of some of its astringency, it is called *shūr amlaj* (Ibn al-Bayṭar 52, 436; Ibn Sīnā 223).

According to Ibn Sīnā it invigorates a lax stomach and helps with hemorrhoidal winds (258–59, 1220).

iyāraj (إيارج) sing. *iyārja* (إيارجة) laxative medicinal paste compound. It is the Arabized form of *iyāra* ‘divine medicine’ (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. إيارج).

jalanjabīn (جلنجبين) rose petal conserve or syrup, believed to strengthen the stomach and aid digestion (*Khawārizmī* 330; al-Nuwayrī 1209). See recipe in Chapter 125.

jullāb (جلاب) rose water syrup, believed to be good for the stomach, chest, and lungs. However, it has to be avoided by people who have diarrhea-related ailments (al-Rāzī 90–91). See also Section 5 above.

jullanār (جلنار) blossoms of wild pomegranate. The Egyptian variety is the best. Ibn al-Bayṭār explains that the blossoms of cultivated pomegranate are called *junbudh al-ummān* (جنبذ الرمان) (249). *Jullanār* is used medicinally for its astringent qualities such as to stop bleeding gums and diarrhea.

juwārishun (جوارشن) pl. *juwārishnāt* (جوارشنات) electuary, a medicinal preparation taken mostly as a digestive. Some of them have the consistency of paste. Others are thick syrups. Varieties containing some alcohol are similar to today’s liqueurs (Chapter 125).

jawshīr (جوشير) gum resin of opoponax plant, of myrrh family, used as incense. Its odor is strong and heavy, and its taste is bitter and acrid. The resin is extracted by slashing the stem of the plant at the base. The liquid that exudes solidifies with the heat of the sun.

It is used to treat deep wounds, abort fetuses, promote menstruation, and treat all womb-related illnesses. It is also effective in dispelling gases and easing toothache (Ibn al-Bayṭār 157; Ibn Sīnā 247).

kammūnī (كموني) a variety of *juwārishun* جوارشن electuary used as a digestive. Its principal ingredient is cumin *kammūn* (Ibn Sīnā 1218).

kathīrā (كثيراء) gum of tragacanth tree (Hanz Wehr *Dictionary*). Ibn al-Bayṭār says it grows abundantly on the mountains of al-Shām (Levant). Mixed with honey, it is widely used in cough medicines. It is recommended for sore throats and bronchitis. When dissolved in water, it is used to treat split hair and straighten it (581).

kawthal (كوثل) also called *aqrās al-malik* (أقراص الملك) literally, ‘the king’s pills,’ sometimes called *jawz al-qay* (جوز القيء) vomit-inducing

nuts. It is the nut of an Indian palm, which looks like a yellow somewhat flat ball. It had a thin shell, furry from the inside like chestnut skin. It tastes like fava beans. It is hot and dry, and is mainly used as a vomitive (Ibn al-Bayṭār 181).

khashkhāsh aswad (خشخاش أسود) *khashkhāsh al-afyūn* (خشخاش الافيون) black poppy from the capsules of which *afyūn* (opium) is extracted. The plant is grown in the fields (*bustān*), and its narcotic properties have long been recognized. The ancient Mesopotamian botanists, for instance, called it ‘lion fat’ and ‘enemy of the muscle,’ (Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 227). There is also a wild variety (*barrī*), which is said to be extremely strong and harmful. Opium is extracted by making shallow incisions in the walls of the poppy capsules (*ruʿūs*). The exuded juice is collected by scraping it with the finger and collecting it in shells. Then, it is made into discs and dried in the sun.¹³

For medicinal purposes, the poppy capsules are pounded while still fresh, pressed into discs then dried and used as needed. Black poppy is cold and dry in properties. It is used as a sedative, pain reliever, and a cure for coughs and humidity in the stomach. With its astringency, it helps stop diarrhea and treat dysentery (Ibn Sīnā 378–79; Ibn al-Bayṭār 42). See also *afyūn* above.

khuzāmā (خزامی) lavender, valued for its fragrance as a fumigant. It is taken internally to cure liver and spleen and aid pregnancy. With its hot properties it has the power to heat up a cold brain (Ibn al-Bayṭār 237).

laʿūq (لعوق) any syrupy compound medicine licked with a spoon *miʿaqa* (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. لعوق). It is kept in the mouth and swallowed bit by bit so that it does not get into the stomach in one gulp (Ibn Sīnā 1226).

luk (لك) gum-lac, resinous secretion of female lac insects deposited on trees. According to al-Bīrūnī, it is the aromatic resin of a plant similar to myrrh, used in making incense. The resin covers the whole plant like a bark. *Luk* is also used to dye leather shoes red (333). Medicinally, it is used to help people lose weight considerably when taken as a drink with vinegar for several days (Ibn al-Bayṭār 640).

¹³ Al-Isrāʾīlī describes in detail how opium is extracted from the capsules (2: 127–28). See also Ibn Sīnā 379.

maḥmūda (محمودة) see *saqmūnyā* below.

maʿjūn (معجون) pl. *maʿājīn* (معاجين) generic name for medicinal preparations that have a paste-like consistency.

maʿkūlāt muqawwiya (ماكولات مقوية) nutritious foods that strengthen the body.

marham (مرهم) cream, salve.

mashrūbāt mulattifa (مشروبات ملطفة) digestive rarefying drinks that have the power to break down dense foods in the stomach and facilitate their digestion and purging, such as *sakanjabīn* (drink made with honey and vinegar syrup).

mayba (ميبة) quince drink (*sharāb al-safarjal*) (Ibn Sīnā 1230). According to al-Kḥuwārizmī, it is a combination of quince jam and wine (33). However, as al-Warrāq's recipes show, it is also made with other fruits, and it is taken diluted in liquid (Chapter 124).

murabba (مرتبّ) pl. *murabbayāt* (مربيات) conserve, honey-based conserved fruits enjoyed as food but also taken for medicinal purposes when mixed with spices and herbs. Also called *anbijāt* (entry above). Foods preserved by pickling them in vinegar are also called *murabbā*. To differentiate them from foods kept in syrup, they are sometimes described as *murabbā bi 'l-khall* (مرتبّى بالخل) preserved in vinegar.

murr (مر) myrrh, called so because of its bitter taste (*murr*). It is resin extracted from the bark of an Arabian tree, which grows in the semi-desert region of North Africa. Ibn al-Bayṭār, on the authority of Dioscorides, says it is similar to what the Greeks call *al-shawka al-Miṣriyya* (Egyptian thorn).

It is mostly used for medicinal purposes to kill worms in the bowels and abort fetuses. It is also effective as a breath-freshener and a deodorant. Ibn al-Bayṭār adds, if a man mixes it with olive oil and smears his right big toe with it, he can keep on having sex so long as it stays on his toe (679–80). It is used in embalming corpses due to its hot and dry properties, which have the power to prevent putridity (al-Nuwayrī 1239).

naylūfar (نيلوفر) *nawfar* (نوفر) *nanūfar* (ننوفر) water lily, a Persian name meaning 'navy wings' or from Syriac, 'water cabbage.' The plant is used medicinally to cure headaches, fevers, colds, chronic diarrhea, and ulcer. It can pacify *ihtilām* (erotic dreams) during puberty, which Steingass translates as 'nocturnal pollution' (Ibn al-Bayṭār 720).

nisrīn (نسرین) musk rose, also called *ward Šīnī* (Chinese rose). A rose of this variety is so large it almost fills the hand that holds it. It is valued for its fragrance, used as powder to scent the body and clothes. The flowers are strong enough to stimulate menstrual flow and abort fetuses. They may help slow down whitening of the hair. Sneezing induced by sniffing the flower clears the head (Ibn al-Bayṭār 713).

qār (قار) *qār* (قير) also called *zift* (زفت) bitumen, asphalt. It is black, glossy, and brittle mineral pitch that seeps naturally from the ground. It is also the residue from petroleum distillation. Medieval sources refer to it as *qār Bābīlī*, i.e. obtained from Babylon. The distilled product is called *nift* (نفط) kerosene, of which there are two kinds, white *abyaḍ* (colorless) and black. It is said to have the power to ignite even when at a distance from the fire source. Medicinally *nift* is used to purge intestinal worms, unblock obstructions, and allay gripes (Ibn al-Bayṭār 716). See also *zift* below.¹⁴

qaṣab al-dharīra (قصب الذريرة) chiretta, an Indian plant, which is reed-like at the base, red in color and very brittle. The yellowish pith inside the reeds looks like a cobweb and is sticky when chewed. Ground chiretta is fragrant and looks yellowish white. It is astringent and sharp in taste. It is sometimes added to fumigating compounds. Medicinally, it is used to treat respiratory disorders when its smoke is inhaled through a tube. It is also used as a diuretic and recommended for relieving pain in the womb (Ibn Sīnā 352; Ibn al-Bayṭār 553).

qaṭirān (قطران) resin obtained from conifers. In the Levant, the best is exuded from *sharbīn* (شربين) larch tree. Therefore, the resin is sometimes called *qaṭirān al-sharbīn*. In Arabia, the best comes from ‘*ar‘ar* (juniper tree) and ‘*utm* (wild olive tree). From these trees the best and thinnest *qaṭirān*, called *khadkhād* (خضخاض), is obtained.¹⁵

Ẓayt al-qaṭirān (زيت القطران) oil of turpentine is extracted from the exuded resin by boiling it with water and skimming off the surfacing oil with a piece of wool. It is also obtained by distillation using large special kilns where the pine wood is piled after splitting it with an ax, and a strong fire is lit from the outside. The first product to flow from

¹⁴ For a historical account of bitumen in Mesopotamia, see Zayn Bilkadi, “Bitumen: A History,” *Saudi Aramco World*, 2-9.

¹⁵ The pine rods themselves, with the sap still inside, are also used as candles and torches. They are called *dādhi* (Ibn al-Bayṭār 447, 677; al-Bṛūnī 190). See above, Section 1, s.v. *dādhi* (the ingredient).

a hole in the bottom of the kiln is turpentine oil, thin in consistency, light scented, and light colored. In properties, it is milder than the residue itself. Then *qaṭirān* resin follows. It is viscid, clear, with a strong unpleasant odor. After a while and with more heat *zift* (pitch, tar) starts flowing out. It is black, thick, and viscid. It is called *zift al-qaṭirān* (زفت القطران) because, essentially, it is thickened *qaṭirān*. For other varieties, see *zift* below.

Qaṭirān is very hot and dry in properties. It is valued for its ability to preserve dead bodies and fight putridity with its astringency. This explains why it is called *ḥayāt al-mawtā* (حياة الموتى) 'life of the dead.' It is used to cure scabies in camels, and kill lice and their eggs in humans. It also kills intestinal worms and worms in ears.

Other medicinal uses: it is the best cure for cold headaches, it is believed to sharpen eyesight, cure chronic coughs, induce menstrual flow, abort fetuses, and make semen ineffective if the male organ is smeared with it before intercourse. Used like this, it is claimed to be the most effective of all contraceptives.¹⁶

As for *zift* (pitch), wine makers coat wine jars with it from the inside to help preserve wine and let it ferment and age without getting sour. Jars used in making aged vinegar are treated the same way (Chapter 21). Such a vessel is called *inā' muzaffat* (إناء مزفت), and sometimes *inā' muqayyar* (إناء مقير). Tradition has it that the Prophet Muḥammad prohibited using pitched jars for making non-alcoholic wines, or even drinking from them (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. زفت). It is also used as a sealant in boat making, as it is not affected by salt water (al-Bīrūnī 310). See also *zift* below.

qurṣ (قرص) pl. *aqrās* (أقراص) medicinal tablets.

quṣṭ (قسط) costus plant, used mainly for its root which looks like licorice but is much more fragrant. See Section 13 below.

rātīnaj (راتينج) *rātyānaj* (راتيانج) gum of the pine tree (*ṣamgh al-ṣanawbar*). The best is yellowish white and smells like pine. The black variety is taken from the male cedar (*arz*). It is hot and dry in properties, used in ointments to heal wounds.¹⁷

rub (رب) pl. *arbāb* (أرباب) *rubūb* (روب) condensed syrups made from

¹⁶ al-Bīrūnī 310-11; al-Nuwayrī 1241; Ibn Sīnā 369; Ibn al-Bayṭār 421-22.

¹⁷ Ibn Jazla, fol. 104v; al-Isrāʾīlī 2: 251; Ibn al-Bayṭār 313; al-Nuwayrī 1242.

juices of fruits and vegetables boiled down to thick consistency without adding sugar to them. They are used mostly for medicinal purposes (Ibn Sīnā 1227). For recipes, see Chapter 126.

sādhaj (ساذج) *sādhaj Hindī* (ساذج هندي) Indian leaf. Al-Isrāʿīlī, on the authority of Galen, argues that it is not spikenard, as some people might think, although they smell almost the same. He describes it as a plant that grows in India on marsh surfaces, with no roots. To gather them, they are bundled in linen threads and set aside to dry. The best quality is characterized by having blackish green whole leaves with a strong aroma.

The leaves are put in trunks of clothes to protect them from decay and moths. They are put on the tongue to sweeten the breath and used internally to benefit the stomach and combat flatulence (3: 224–26).

safūf (سفوف) compound medicine ground into powder.

sakanjabīn (سكنجبين) syrup made with vinegar and honey. However, the name may designate all kinds of sweet and sour syrups, even though they are made with sugar rather than honey, or quince conserve instead of vinegar (al-Khuwārizmī 33). Medicinally, the drink is valued for its cold properties. It is recommended for hot-tempered people who indulge in hot foods because it helps bring their humors back to equilibrium.

sandal (صندل) sandalwood, valued for its fragrance and medicinal benefits such as curing headaches and relieving symptoms of fever. See Section 13 below.

saqmūnya (سقمونيا) also known as *maḥmūda* (محمودة) exudation from the scammony tree collected by slashing the white root of the tree to let the milky sap ooze. Exposure to air causes the ooze to slowly solidify, ferment, and develop a heavy smell in the process. Its potency is tempered by baking it in a cored apple or quince. Ibn Sīnā describes it as an enemy to the stomach and liver; it hurts the heart, and is nauseating. Taken as a suppository in a piece of wool, it can abort fetuses. It is deemed effective in cases of chronic headaches and in healing wounds (Ibn Sīnā 327; Ibn al-Bayṭār 378–79).

shiyāf (شيفاف) medicinal eye lotions.

turbud (تربد) a purgative Indian root (scientific name ‘*convolvulus turpethum*,’ Steingass). It is available in the form of dried roots imported from *Khurāsān*, a region in Persia. The root is mainly used

as a laxative. However, due to its terrible taste, it is mixed with oil of sweet almond before taking it (Ibn al-Bayṭār 138).

uḡhuwān (اقحوان) chamomile, the name for the cultivated (*bustānī*) variety. The mountain wild variety is *bābūnaj* (بابونج). It has hot and dry properties that have the power to open up blockages. It is good for asthma and inducing perspiration. Smelling the fresh flower is believed to induce sleep (al-Nuwayrī 1234).

ward (ورد) roses. See Sections 9 and 13, s.v. *ward* and *mā' ward* (rose water).

ward dhakar (ورد ذكر) literally, 'male rose.' Also known as *julnisrīn* (جلنسرین) eglantine, wild rose. It has a delicate refreshing scent. With its hot and dry properties, it is deemed good for coughs. Inhaling it benefits the cold brain. It is also good for a cold stomach or liver (Ibn al-Bayṭār 167). Ibn Waḥshiyya says *julnisrīn* is the big brother of the two little brothers, *yāsāmīn* 'jasmine' and *nīsrīn* 'musk rose' (1: 136–37).

zayt al-qaṭīrān (زيت القطران) or *duhn al-qaṭīrān* (دهن القطران) turpentine oil, extracted from *qaṭīrān*, the exuded resin of certain conifers and trees. In properties, it is milder than the residue itself. It is thin in consistency and light in scent and color. See *qaṭīrān* above.

zift (زفت) pitch, sometimes called *qīr* or *qār* (entry above). Here are the varieties of *zift*:

1. **qaṭīrān ṣanawbarī** (قطران صنوبري) resin of conifers such as fir trees (*tannūb*) and *arz* (ارز), which is the male cedar (*dhakar al-ṣanawbar*). This variety is called so to differentiate it from a better quality resin called *qaṭīrān al-sharbīn* (see *qaṭīrān* above). It is black, thick, and viscid.

When first exuded and still fresh and moist, *qaṭīrān ṣanawbarī* is referred to as **zift raṭb** (زفت رطب) fresh pitch. **Zift yābis** (زفت يابس) dry pitch is made by boiling the fresh pitch until it thickens and becomes quite sticky. At room temperature, it is brittle but when needed, it is melted by heating it.¹⁸ Its oil, **duhn al-zift** (دهن الزفت) is extracted like *zayt al-qaṭīrān* (turpentine oil). See *qaṭīrān* above.

Its medicinal benefits are more or less similar to those of *qaṭīrān*. Wine makers coat wine jars with it to help the beverage ferment and age without getting sour. Aged vinegar is also kept in similar jars. A

¹⁸ Ibn Sīnā 265; Ibn al-Bayṭār 345–46; al-Bīrūnī 311.

vessel treated this way is called *inā' muzaffat* (إناء مزفت) and sometimes *inā' muḡayyar* (إناء مقيّر). It is also used to waterproof ships.

2. ***zift al-qaṭirān*** (زفت القطران) pitch obtained by boiling down *qaṭirān*, which is resin of trees such as *sharbīn* (larch), juniper, and wild olive. It is used in coating wine jars from the inside to preserve wine and aged vinegar. It is also used to heal skin diseases in cattle and camels. See *qaṭirān* above.

3. ***qār*** (قار) *qār* (قير) sometimes called *zift* (زفت) bitumen, asphalt, which is black, glossy, and brittle. It is mineral pitch which seeps naturally from the ground, or the residue from petroleum distillation. See *qār* above.

zift al-qaṭirān (زفت القطران) pitch obtained by boiling down *qaṭirān* (resin of trees such as larch, juniper, and wild olive). See *zift* and *qaṭirān* above.

12.3 Minerals and Chemicals

būraq (بورق) borax, sodium borate, of which there are two major types:

būraq Afrīqī (بورق أفريقي) African borax. It is the true borax, called *naṭrūn* (نطرون) natron, formed naturally in the soda lakes in Egypt and other parts of Africa. It looks like solid rocks, reddish and pinkish in hue, which is why it is sometimes called *būraq aḥmar* (بورق أحمر) red borax.

būraq Armanī (بورق أرمني) Armenian borax, also called *būraq al-khubz* (بورق الخبز) bakers' borax. It looks like white ground flour. Bakers dissolve it in water and brush the bread with it before baking to give it a lustrous gloss. In al-Warrāq's recipes it is incorporated into the dough itself such as in *barāzīdhaj* bread (Chapter 13) and *zalābiya* (Chapter 100) to give pastries a brittle and nicely dry texture. It is much gentler in powers than the African variety.

Physicians do not recommend taking borax internally in any of its varieties unless for medical reasons. It is deemed bad for the stomach, especially natron, which induces vomiting. Medicinally it is used to ease constipation. Mixed with honey it is believed to help treat deafness. Due to natron's cleansing qualities, people use it to wash their bodies and clothes. Sprinkling it on the hair helps soften it. Additionally, borax is believed to be effective in cases of erectile dysfunction. On the authority of an anonymous source *majhūl*, Ibn al-Bayṭār recommends

rubbing the entire sexual area with finely crushed borax mixed with honey. He says it will be up to the task to the point of tediousness.¹⁹

būraq al-jīr (بورق الجير) lime borax, it is used in one of al-Warrāq's recipes to bleach vinegar without distilling it (Chapter 21).

jaṣ (جص) plaster, gypsum.

jīr (جير) lime. See *nūra* below.

kils (كلس) lime. See *nūra* below.

milh (ملح) salt. See Section 3 above.

naṭrūn (نطرون) natron, sodium carbonate. See *būraq* above.

nawshādir (نوشادر) *nashādir* (نشادر) ammonia, a type of salt, the best variety is as clear as crystal obtained from springs that boil with water at the mountains of *Khurāsān*, a region in Persia. The manmade variety is obtained from the smoke of public baths fueled with garbage. One of al-Warrāq's recipes calls for ammonia mixed with crumbled hot bread to bleach vinegar without distilling it (Chapter 21).

Medicinally, it is used to treat some eye ailments and leprosy. Diluted with water it has the power to keep snakes and scorpions away from the house (Ibn al-Bayṭār 719). Interestingly, al-Bīrūnī mentions the ability of ammonia to cool water and freeze it (365). Therefore, we can safely say that their supply of ice during the hot summer season was mostly manmade.

nūrā (نور) lime, also called *jīr* and *kils*. It is produced in a process that involves burning seashells. Alternatively, it is made from low-quality alabaster.

nūrā ghayr mutfa'a (نورا غير مطفأة) quick lime or hot lime, used mostly to remove unwanted hair by adding arsenic to it.

nūrā mutfa'a (نورا مطفأة) slaked lime, which is lime hydrated (literally extinguished) with water, generating a good deal of heat in the process. It is used to treat burns and stop bleeding during operations (Ibn al-Bayṭār 605).

12.4 Food Colors

Also see the last section in al-Warrāq's Chapter 3 for ingredients used as food colors. Some colors did not have specific names during

¹⁹ al-Isrā'īlī 3: 256–58; Ibn al-Bayṭār 124–25; Ibn Sīnā 236.

medieval times such as brown, which was usually called *aḥmar* (literally red). Brown sugar, for instance, was called *sukkar aḥmar*. Color of oranges (*nāraṅ*), nowadays called *burtuqālī*, was compared to red gold and copper.²⁰ *Abyaḍ* (white) was used the same way used nowadays, such as calling colorless vinegar white vinegar (*khall abyad*). The color milk-white was called *abyaḍ labanī* (al-Bīrūnī *Al-Jamāhir* 96).

‘*akar* (عكر)’, ‘*akam* (عكم) wine lees, used to color foods red such as *zalābiya* (fried fritters).

bustān abrawīz (بستان ابرويز) *bustān afrūz* (بستان افروز) *bustān abrūz* (بستان ابرون) also known as *ḥayy al-‘ālam* (حي العالم) houseleek.²¹ Steingass says *bustān afrūz* means ‘inflaming the garden’ but he is not sure what it is. He says the epithet applies to “the anemone, the purple amaranth, and other flowers.” Ibn al-Bayṭār says the name *ḥayy al-‘ālam* means ‘living for ever’ because the plant is a hardy perennial (222).²²

According to Ibn Jazla *bustān abrūz* is a blossom (*nawr*), the best of which is dried in the shade (fol. 44r). Based on this, *bustān abrūz* is not exactly a synonym for *ḥayy al-‘ālam* but the blossom of this plant.

Many varieties of this plant are available, distinguished by their fleshy succulent rosettes of leaves. The summer blooms grow in clusters on stems.²³ Because it is high in moisture content, it does not taste much of anything. The whole plant has cold, dry, and astringent properties, which makes it medicinally useful. Juice extracted from it is used in treating inflammations and headaches and soothing insect bites, among other things. (Ibn al-Bayṭār 222; al-Isrā’īlī 3: 76–77).

²⁰ The earliest reference to orange *burtuqāl* (برتقال) I found in al-Jabartī (d. 1822) ‘*Ajā’ib al-Āthār*’ (<http://www.alwaraq.net>)1007. The modern name derives from *bilād al-burtuqāl* (Portugal). Cf. the southern Italian name for orange, *portogallo* ‘the Portuguese one.’

²¹ Steingass and Levey, in his study, “Toxicology”(118), identify *ḥayy al-‘ālam* as houseleek but they do not link it to *bustān abrawīz*. The only source that clearly does so is al-Khuwārizmī (33). Besides, Ibn Jazla (fol. 44r) and Ibn Sīnā (241) do so indirectly when in their entries they say *bustān abrūz* is also called *barṭānīqī* (برطانيقي). Ibn al-Bayṭār’s description of *barṭānīqī* confirms the identification of the plant as houseleek (86).

²² Cf. today’s scientific name for houseleek, ‘sempervivum,’ of Latin origin, meaning ‘always living.’ Evidently, the medieval Arabic name is a translation of the Latin original.

²³ Of the blossoms, medieval Arab sources mention only the small variety that grows bright yellow and white ones. However, the plant, as we know it today, is also known to grow other colors such as crimson red and pink. Even the rosettes of leaves in some varieties come out in many colorful shades.

In al-Warrāq's recipes, liquid color extracted from it is called *mā'* *bustān abrawīz* (ماء بستان أبرويز), used to make different shades of colors. For instance, it is added to food to give it a pinkish hue (*aḥmar fāqir* or *muwarrad*). To create bright yellow (*aṣḥar fāqir*), it is mixed with saffron. It is also used as a substitute for saffron.

fuwwa (فوة) madder, valued primarily for its red root from which orange-red dye is extracted. Al-Bīrūnī says wine makers use its sweetish red berries to color the wine. They put the berries in a small cloth bundle and throw it into the wine jar. He also says its dye is used as ink (295-96). The root is bitter. Medicinally, it is used to purify the liver and spleen (Ibn al-Bayṭār 528).

ḥayy al-‘ālam (حي العالم) also known as *bustān abrawīz* (بستان البرويز) houseleek (see entry above).

isfīdhāj (إسفيداج) *isbīdāj* (إسبيداج) *isfīdāj* (إسفيداج) ceruse, white lead pigment obtained by exposing *ānuk* (also called *usrub* (أسرب) lead to vinegar, and letting it build on the metal sheets the way rust accumulates on copper sheets. It is then gathered and mixed with a sour agent to bleach it. Women use it as a whitening agent for facial make up.²⁴ Al-Warrāq mentions it as a food color. In Arabic it is called **rithnīn** (رثنين) (al-Bīrūnī 41–42; *Al-Jamāhir* 110).

lāzāward (لازورد) lapis lazuli, a deep blue-green color produced by grinding the stone and mixing it with oil. Al-Warrāq mentions it as a food color. It is also used in medicinal preparations for eyes (Ibn Sīnā 300; Ibn al-Bayṭār 621).

luk (لك) gum-lac, used to dye leather shoes red. Al-Warrāq mentions it in his section on food colors (Chapter 3). See Section 12.2 above.

nīl (نيل) **nīl Hindī** (نيل هندي) indigo plant of various varieties, some of which are used for dyeing food and clothes blue. Other varieties are used medicinally such as to heal wounds and cure spleen-related ailments (Ibn al-Bayṭār 721).

ṣaryūq (صريوق) crimson red dye, called *qirmiz* (قرمز) in Arabic. *Qirmiz* also designates *dūd al-qirmiz* (دود القرمز) cochineal worm from which this dye is obtained.²⁵ The crimson dye used to color silk,

²⁴ Women still use it for the same cosmetic purpose in rural Iraq.

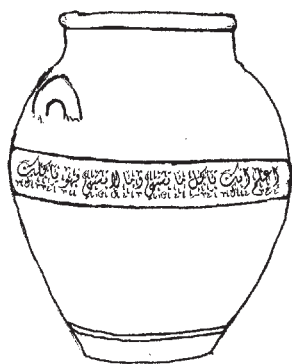
²⁵ al-Bīrūnī 246; English translation, 205, 209, n. 20

wool, and food is made from dried and pulverized bodies of female cochineal insects that usually live and feed on cochineal oak trees (*American Heritage Dictionary*).

sayraqūn (سیرقون) *sārqan* (سارقن), its Syriac name is **isrinj** (إسرينج) cinnabar, vermillion. It is a vivid red to reddish-orange dye, sometimes used to color food, obtained by burning *ānak* (lead) and reddening it with *kibrīt* (sulfur) (al-Bīrūnī 42)

zinjār (زنجار) verdigris, blue or green powder obtained by rusting copper. One of the ways of extracting it is by soaking sheets of copper in sour vinegar for ten days. Al-Warrāq includes it in his list of food colors. Medicinally, it is used to cure the eyes and to treat mouth blisters and the gums, among other things. It is also used for dyeing iron and protecting it from rusting (al-Bīrūnī 207; Ibn al-Bayṭār 350–51).

zunjufr (زنجر) intensely dark red pigment said to come from two sources: a natural mineral called *ḥajar al-zi'baq* (حجر الزئبق) mercury stone. The second is a manmade variety, hard to get and quite expensive. It is obtained by mixing and burning sulfur and mercury. *Zunjufr* is used by painters to get truly rich colors. Al-Warrāq mentions it as a food color, and physicians prescribe it as a component in medicinal preparations to heal eyes and wounds and prevent tooth-decay (Ibn Sīnā 264; Ibn al-Bayṭār 352).



13. *Personal Hygiene and Perfumes*

‘**abīr** (عَبِير) perfume composed of musk, sandalwood, rose water, and ambergris (Steingass). It is not synonymous with saffron, but perfume compounds using saffron are called so (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. عَبِر).

‘**anbar** (عَنْبَر) ambergris. See Section 9 above.

ās (آس) myrtle, a sweet-smelling evergreen shrub, it has fragrant white blossoms, which grow into bitterish-sweet black berries, called *ḥabb al-ās* (حَبَّ الْأَس). The leaves and the berries are used medicinally internally and externally such as to control diarrhea and coughs, stop hair loss, and cure dandruff. Myrtle is also used as a deodorant. Like apples, it is spread around the place as an air freshener, and for good luck.¹ Drinking a concoction made with myrtle before having alcohol is believed to prevent hangovers (al-Nuwayrī 1222).

azfār al-tīb (أَظْفَار الطَّيِّب) aromatic shell shards, mostly black and look like fingernails.² The Latin name is onkhos (أُونْخُوس) onux ‘nail’ (al-Bīrūnī 50). These shells are taken from a variety of shell sea-creatures found on the shores of Basra, Yemen, Baḥrayn, Judda, and India. The Indian variety smells like *nārdīn* (spikenard) because the seashells feed on this plant. They are gathered when the water levels recede in the summer, leaving behind these shell creatures to die and dry out (Ibn al-Bayṭār 37).

They are mostly used for fumigating and in perfume compounds. Their fumes are also used to eliminate female odors and to alert people going through an epileptic seizure (*sarāʿ*). One of al-Warrāq’s recipes calls for *zifr dhakar* (ظَفَر ذَكَر) literally, ‘male nail,’ pl. *azfār dhikrān*, also called *azfār thaʿlabiyya* (أَظْفَار ثَعْلَبِيَّة) literally, ‘like fox nails,’ used to fumigate hand-washing compounds (Chapter 129). They are rated as medium-quality aromatic shell shards.

These shards are also included in medicinal concoctions taken internally as laxatives and for aches in the stomach, liver, and womb (Ibn al-Bayṭār 37). In one of al-Warrāq’s medicinal *mayba* drinks, these shell shards are tied in a bundle with other spices and left in the drink to steep (Chapter 124).

¹ Ibn al-Bayṭār 267; Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Risāla al-Baghḍādiyya* 109, 145.

² Martin Levey identifies it as ‘ungues odorati,’ “Ibn Māswaih,” 407.

balasān (بلسان) balsam of Gilead tree from whose resin the fragrant balsam oil is extracted. See *duhn balasān* in Section 12.2 above.

bunk (بنك) coffee beans and husk, known later as *bunn* (بن). In al-Warraḡ's recipes, it is used not as a drink, as we might expect, but toasted and crushed as a component in hand-washing preparations and fumigating blends (Chapter 129).³ Given the fact it is only by toasting that coffee beans release their enticing aroma, it is significant that in al-Warraḡ's recipes the terms *taḥmīṣ* (toasting) and *muḥammaṣ* (toasted) is consistently mentioned in association with *bunk*.

The medieval dictionaries describe *bunk* as a well-known aromatic ingredient (*tīb ma'rūf*), and say that the word is of Arabic roots.⁴ Luckily, books on medicine and dietetics give us more details. The first to mention the medicinal merits of these beans is attributed to the famous ninth/tenth-century physician Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 923) in his book *al-Ḥāwī*. I have not had direct access to this source, but according to William Ukers, it is entered as *bunchum*,⁵ which can be بنجم or بنكم. Ibn Sīnā (d.1037) in *Al-Qānūn fi 'l-Ṭib* calls it *bunk* (238), and his entry mostly derives from al-Rāzī. He is not sure of what it really is, for he calls it *shay*' (شيء) 'something' imported from India and Yemen, and that some say it is the root shavings of *um ghaylān* tree (acacia Arabica).⁶ However, he is quite knowledgeable regarding its uses and effects. He says the best quality *bunk* should look yellow, light in weight, and smell good. The heavy pale varieties are bad. In properties, it is hot and dry. As for its benefits, he says it fortifies the organs and is good for the stomach. It purifies the skin and dries up moisture underneath it. It scents the body and checks odors of the depilatory *nūrā* (lime). As for its effects on the brain, he gives symptoms with which modern caffeine-addicts are quite familiar. He says it over stimulates the mind *yushawwīsh*. In modern terms, it causes the jitters (238).

³ The only other cookbook that mentions *bunk* is al-Tujībī's Andalusian thirteenth-century *Fidālat al-Khiwān*. It occurs in four of his recipes for *uṣḥnān* 'hand washing compounds' (277–79). It is to be noted that the editor misreads it as *nabak* (نابك) meaningless in the given context.

⁴ For instance, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, s.v. بنك. It seems nobody is absolutely sure of what it really is. In the same entry, this ingredient is said to be the Arabized form of *binj* (بنج) henbane.

⁵ *All about Coffee* (New York: The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1935) 8.

⁶ The rest of the details and descriptions Ibn Sīnā gives definitely point to coffee and not to this tree.

Ibn Sīnā's contemporary, al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048), repeats more or less the same information, with more details. He says it is called *nasqafthan* (نسقفثن) in Latin, which is undoubtedly the same as the nepenthe drink mentioned in Homer's epic used to ease pain and grief.⁷ He also says that the best quality should be brittle in texture (99). Al-Majūsī, the physician (d. 994), adds that it fortifies the stomach and liver when taken externally as bandages or internally (qtd. Ibn al-Bayṭār 120). Ibn al-Bayṭār identifies it as *sa'qftan* (سعفتن), another Arabized variation of nepenthe. He says it looks like husk or shavings (*qushūr*) of the mulberry tree. He adds that it is included in fumigating compounds because of its wonderful fragrance (120).

The above citations of *bunk* clearly reveal that the botanists and physicians do not have first hand information on the coffee tree and the state of the berries themselves when fresh or dried and still whole. Referring to *bunk* as brittle flakes, husks, and shavings indicates that the beans with their husk (*qishr*) were imported already coarsely crushed.

The whole beans might have passed under another name. It could be *mansham* (منشم) c.f. al-Rāzī's *bunchum* (بنجم), which derives from the Persian *panjankisht* (پنجنکشت) 'having five fingers,' descriptive of the way the leaves are arranged on the branches. In Arabic, the seed itself is called *ḥabb al-faql* (حب الفقد) and possibly *ḥabb al-maysam* (حب الميسم).

The tree is described as having leaves similar to those of the olive tree but softer, with white or pinkish blossoms, which come out in long clusters. The leaves, blossoms, and the seeds are the parts used. The berries have hot and dry properties. In taste, they are slightly sharp and astringent. Ibn Sīnā says, having it as a drink causes headaches. Toasting the seeds is believed to improve it in this respect. Ibn al-Bayṭār mentions having the toasted seeds as *naql* with drinks.⁸ The plant—leaves, blossoms, and seeds—is said to inhibit sexual desires and dry up semen. Sexually aroused women are fumigated with it, and monks sleep on beds spread with its branches. As Ibn al-Bayṭār explains, the

⁷ It is still uncertain what this drink was. However, it is significant that it is being associated here with *bunk* rather than the drink of wine laced with hemp or opium, which some scholars conjecture it to be. See Ukers 8.

⁸ *Naql* are foods eaten during drinking sessions. Apparently toasted coffee beans were eaten like pistachio and salted toasted almonds.

Greeks called it *a'īs* (أعيس) 'chastity' for this reason.⁹ The seed is said to stimulate menstruation, and even cause abortion, and hence the name *ḥabb al-faql* (حب الفقد) i.e. the seed that causes the woman to lose her unborn child (115–16, 185).

Al-Bīrūnī mentions that *mansham* (منشم) is brought from Yemen, where it is used in aromatic compounds. He says it is well known in al-Ḥijāz, but people in Iraq are not familiar with it. He compares the seed to *buṭm* (a big variety of terebinth seeds) and says it is brittle, yellowish, and fragrant (352). *Ḥabb al-maysam* (حب الميسم) is described in similar terms (Ibn al-Bayṭār 184).

From the aforementioned medieval sources, we know that coffee was used medicinally, it was an ingredient in aromatic fumigating compounds, it was enjoyed as a toasted seed, and there is a vague mention that it was used as a drink.

The beginnings of the custom of consuming coffee beans (*bunn*) as a hot brewed beverage (*qahwa*) are not certain. The coffee beans themselves have been growing in Ethiopia ever since times immemorial, but they spread to Yemen around the middle of the sixth century A.D. during the Abyssinian invasion of Southern Arabia. Then there is the story that around the middle of the thirteenth-century, the legendary founder of the export city of al-Mukḥa, Shaykh Abū Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, discovered the bean on the Yemeni terraced mountains, and that the villagers introduced him to the beverage. He admired its stimulating properties and began spreading the word about it as the best aid for religious thoughts and meditations.¹⁰

However, that *qahwa* beverage was known and circulated at least on a limited level before the middle of the fifteenth century, the time most agree on as the beginnings of the spread of the beverage in the Middle East, is evident in a verse composed around the sixth century. During the time of Khosrau (d. 579), 'Uday bin Zayd, his scribe, was given a tour in Damascus, with which he was apparently not impressed. This was what he said on the drinks offered to him:

قد سقيت الشمول في دار بشر قهوة مرة بماء سخين

⁹ This might also explain why coffee was a popular drink among Sufis, that is, besides keeping them awake for longer hours.

¹⁰ Ukers 7–19; Ralph Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985) 12–26,

He said the wine (*ṣhamūl*) he was given was no more than bitter *qahwa* boiled in water (al-Aṣbahānī 144). This is a clear indication that as early as the sixth century, the word *qahwa* already designated both drinks, the strong and dark intoxicating *qahwa* of grapes, and the dark sobering *qahwa* brew of *bunk*.¹¹

dharīra (ذريرة) ***dharā'ir*** (ذرائر) perfumed powder compound, sprinkled on body and clothes. It is imported from India; ***dharāyir al-niswān*** (ذراير النسوان) a blend of this perfumed powder exclusively for women.

dhukūr al-ṭīb (ذكور الطيب) literally 'male fragrances.' They are perfumes exclusively for men such as musk *misk*, 'anbar ambergris, and camphor *kāfir* (entries in Section 9 above). Other varieties men use are aloe wood *ūd*, and perfume compounds such as *ghāliya* and *dharīra* (entries in this section). They are not colored like women's perfumes *ṭīb al-nisā'* (see below). Therefore, they do not stain skin or clothes.¹²

duhn al-balasān (دهن البلسان) fragrant balsam oil, extracted from the resin of a small tree called balsam of Gilead. See entry in Section 12.2 above.

duhn al-bān (دهن البان) oil of seeds of moringa tree, also called benzoin, used in perfume compounds and medicines. See entry in Section 12.2 above.

duhn al-khīrī (دهن الخيري) oil of gillyflower. See *khīrī* below.

duhn al-utruj (دهن الأترج) citron oil, highly aromatic and valued for its medicinal power, especially with cold related ailments. It is also used as a deodorant and a component in perfumes and hand-washing compounds, as in al-Warrāq's recipe (Chapter 129). The oil is made in different ways, such as steeping the rind in oils (Ibn al-Bayṭār 294).

duhn al-zanbaq (دهن الزنبق) oil of jasmine, made by infusing sesame oil with white jasmine flowers. According to *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s. v. زنبق, this is its name in Iraq. In other regions it is ***duhn al-yāsāmīn*** (دهن الياسمين) It is valued for its pleasant aroma and is used in perfumes and hand-washing compounds. Medicinally, it is beneficial in treating cold

¹¹ Etymologically, *qahwa* has its central Semitic roots, meaning 'dark and dim' (*American Heritage Dictionary*).

¹² *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ذكر; al-Azharī 2112; Ibn Durayd, *Jamharat al-Lughā* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 376.

headaches, epilepsy, and arthritis, due to its dry and hot qualities (Ibn al-Bayṭār 387).

fāghira (فاغرة) *fagara*, also known as Schuan pepper, after the province in China. In *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. فغر, it is identified as *kabāba Šīnī* (كبابة صيني) Chinese cubeb. Ibn al-Bayṭār describes it as a round, chickpea-like berry, with a black seed inside. The name *fāghira* possibly comes from the fact that the berry is half-open, revealing the seed inside, which makes it look like a partly open mouth. Evidently, the English ‘*fagara*’ is an Arabic loan name.

The berry is mildly hot with a pleasant aroma, but it is not related to the peppercorn family. It is used as an aromatic spice and a breath freshener. Medicinally, it is beneficial for liver and stomach ailments (509).

falanja (فلنجة) a small variety of cubeb used mainly in perfume compounds. It is hot and dry in properties, and medicinally it is effective in relieving head blockages (Ibn al-Bayṭār 524, 577).

ghāliya (غالية) men’s perfume compound of which there are many types. The basic components are musk, ambergris, and balsam oil (al-Nuwayrī 1255).

ghassūl (غسول) **ghisla** (غسلة) any type of soapy substances used to wash the hands, hair, and clothes such as *uṣḥnān* (alkali), *khūṭmī* (marsh mallow, section 14.1), and clay. *Ghisla* also designates substances such as myrtle oil enhanced with aromatics, similar in effect to hair conditioners, women apply to their hair while combing to help untangle it, (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. غسل).

ḥarmal (حرمل) wild rue (scientific name ‘*peganum harmala*’) of which there are two types, *ḥarmal ʿArabī* with white flowers, and *isfindh* (إسفند) with red flowers. The seeds of this plant are used for fumigating, and medicinally, they help ease arthritis pain. The plant is also used as a vomitive and a cure for epileptic seizures. It is said to have an intoxicating effect similar to that of wine. Therefore, it is recommended for agonized lovers to help them sleep (Ibn al-Bayṭār 197; Ibn Sīnā 272).

idhkhir (إذخر) a variety of esparto grass, also known as halfa grass, from the Arabic *ḥalfāʾ* (حلفاء). It is a sweet smelling reed-like rush with

stems much smaller and thinner than those of the regular reed. The flowers look like fluffed cotton, and smell pleasantly like roses.

According to habitat, two major types are described: the sweet-smelling variety that grows in the dessert (*A'rābī*) characterized by its reddish-brown color, stiffness and thinness of stems, and its tongue-biting taste when chewed. The other kind grows in bogs (*ājām*).

The parts used of this plant are the flowers and stems. The flowers are incorporated into perfume compounds and medicines. They have astringent and hot properties that work as a diuretic and help stop bleeding. They may induce sleep if overdosed. The sweet-smelling fine stems are used in feminine fumigants. Besides, they are used as toothpicks, called *khlāl māmūnī* (خلال ماموني).¹³ The stems are also useful in making brooms and baskets (Ibn al-Bayṭār 13–14; al-Bīrūnī 27–28).

jullasān (جلسان) sweet smelling white flowers usually scattered on the floor in assemblies so that the whole place is infused with their aroma. The name is the Arabized form of the Persian *gul-shān* 'white flower' (*Tāj al-Anūs*, s.v. جلس).

khalūq (خلوق) women's perfume (*ṭīb al-nisā'*) made of a combination of aromatics including saffron, which gives it its characteristic reddish hue (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. خلق). Recipes for making it can be found in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Irab* (1272–73).

khlāf (خلاف) willow or common osier tree (*salix viminalis*) of which there are many varieties such as **ṣafṣāf** (صفصاف) *salix safsaf*. The name of the tree *khlāf*, meaning 'contrary to whatever is normal,' stems from the fact that though bitter, it has cold properties, contrary to the common belief that all bitter objects have to be hot in properties. The other version as to why the tree is called so is because water streams carry its seeds where it grows in places other than its natural habitat (Ibn al-Bayṭār 248; al-Bīrūnī 183–84). The branches of willow trees are used in making basketry and kitchen utensils, and the twigs are used in making *khlāl* (toothpicks).

khlāl (خلال) toothpicks made mostly from willow tree twigs (*ʿidān al-khlāf* (عيدان الخلاف). See *khlāf* above. See Chapter 128, for details on toothpicks.

¹³ According to Ibn Jazla (fol. 20r).

khilāl ma‘mūl (خلال معمول) toothpicks, cut and trimmed from twigs.

khilāl māmūnī (خلال ماموني) toothpicks made from sweet-smelling *idhkhīr* stems, a variety of esparto grass. It is also known as halfa grass, from the Arabic *ḥalfā*.¹⁴ The toothpicks are called *māmūnī* because they are safe to use and do very little harm to teeth and gums.

The stems of the dessert variety (*A‘rābī*) are thin and hot and dry in properties. Al-Warrāq says they are used by commoners (Chapter 128), apparently due to the fact that they are cheaper than varieties with the recommended properties of dry and cold such as the ones grown in bogs (*ājām*).

khīrī (خيري) wallflower or gillyflower (Hans Wehr *Dictionary*), which are old names for various extremely fragrant flowers, of which the carnation is a cultivated variety. The scientific name of the flower, ‘*cheiranthus cheiri*,’ is an Arabic loan word. Possibly, all these names—back to the Greek ‘*karuophullon*’—derive from *qaranful* (قرنفل) ‘clove’ because of the similarity of the flower fragrance to this spice. The carnation flower is still called *qaranful* in Arabic.

The Arabic medieval sources describe the flower as well known, and as having a wide range of colors such as white, purple, and yellow. The yellow variety is deemed the strongest in properties and thereby used for medicinal purposes. The flower’s heat is believed to promote menstruation. When taken internally it has the power to kill fetuses. It is also used to purge phlegm from the head, and relieve toothache.

Duhn al-khīrī (دهن الخيري) is made by boiling the flowers in almond oil and straining it. It is promoted as being particularly effective in strengthening the hair and thickening it (Ibn al-Bayṭār 262, 287). The flower is also known as ***manthūr*** (منثور) literally ‘scattered,’ because it is strewn all over the place where a social assembly is held.

lakhlakha (لخلخة) a kind of potpourri. Based on a recipe in the anonymous Egyptian medieval cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā’id*, a combination of aromatic spices and minced peels are mixed with fragrant waters. They are put in a long-necked container set on a very slow fire. The emitting vapors scent the air (237). Apparently, it is also used for its medicinal benefits. Ibn Sīnā, for instance, gives a combination of infused waters and aromatics to strengthen the stomach (1276).

¹⁴ Ibn Jazla identifies it as *idhkhīr* (fol. 20r). See entry above.

lubān (لبان) frankincense, the Persian name is *kundur* (کندر). See *lubān* in Section 9 above.

mahlab (محلّب) aromatic kernel of the pit of a variety of small black cherry. See Section 9 above.

mahlūl al-qilī (محلول القلي) lye, dissolved *ushnān* (alkali powder). See *ushnān* below.

mā al-kāfur (ماء الكافور) oily liquid of camphor. The best quality looks like *duhn al-balasān* (balsam oil). It is said to be the liquid obtained by boiling and straining the barks of the camphor tree. It is used in hand-washing compounds because it can remove greasiness (*zafar*) from the hands. It is said that flies keep away from foods containing camphor liquid (Ibn Jazla, fol. 190v). See also, *kāfur*, Section 9.

mā' al-ward (ماء الورد) distilled rose water (see entry in Section 9 above). See also *ward* below.

manthūr (منثور) wallflower or gillyflower, also called *khīn* (entry above).

may'a (ميعة) exceedingly fragrant resin of a tree called *lubnā* (لبنى) storax tree. The two varieties of the resin are:

may'a sā'ila (ميعة سائلة) also called '*asal al-lubnā* (عسل اللبنى) honey of storax tree. It is a fluid resin, which looks like honey. This is hard-to-find, top-quality yellow resin that naturally oozes out of the branches of the tree, and as it ages it darkens in hue but retains its honey-like consistency. This honey-like resin is also extracted by boiling the tree barks, and pressing them to extract the resin.

may'a yābisa (ميعة يابسة) dry storax resin. It is the rest of the resin that stays in the barks after boiling them to get the honey-like resin. It is too thick to separate from the barks. Other names for this dry variety are *lubnā* (لبنى) and *iṣṭarak* (إصطرك), derived from Syriac *iṣṭarkabīthā*.

This aromatic resin is used in perfumes, incense, and fumigating compounds. Medicinally it is effective in treating cold-related illnesses.¹⁵

misk (مسك) musk. See entry in Section 9 above.

murr (مر) myrrh. See Section 12.2 above.

¹⁵ al-Bīrūnī 329, 356; Ibn Sīna 233, 300, 314; Ibn al-Bayṭār 705.

muṭayyab (مطيب) adj. scented; **tīb** (طيب) n. scent, perfume.

narjis (نرجس) narcissus, valued for its fragrance. Medicinally it is used to cure headaches and colds. Its boiled root is used to provoke vomiting (Ibn al-Bayṭār 712).

nidd (ند) perfume compound made by combining and kneading ground and sifted aloe wood, musk, and melted ambergris. The mixture is spread on a marble slab, cut into shapes, and then dried and stored. These fragrant pieces are used mainly to add to the fire for fumigation. The pieces are also carried in pockets or put between layers of clothes to sweeten their smell (al-Nuwayrī 1257–58).

nistrin (نسرین) musk rose, used dried, ground, and sprinkled on clothes and body to freshen them up. The flower powder is also used by rubbing it on the body after having a bath to sweeten bodily odors. Medicinally, it is used to warm up the head, and dispel winds in it by inducing sneezing (Ibn al-Bayṭār 713).

qāqullā (قاقلی) *qāqullī* (قاقلي) salt plant of the sorrel family (*hummaḍ*) saltwort used to make alkali for *uṣḥnān* (entry below). It is also consumed as a vegetable (see Section 14.1 below).

qilī (قلي) alkali (soda ash). See *uṣḥnān* below.

quṣṭ (قسط) costus plant used mainly for its root, which looks like licorice but much more fragrant. The two major varieties are:

quṣṭ baḥrī (قسط بحري) sea costus, white, light in weight, and strongly fragrant. It looks like peeled and dried carrot, brought by sea from Abyssinia, and hence the name. The best quality is white and thick, and when still fresh, it is eaten raw. It is also called *quṣṭ ḥilī* (قسط حلو) sweet costus, and *quṣṭ ‘Arabī* (قسط عربي) Arabian costus.

quṣṭ Hindī (قسط هندي) Indian costus is white and bitter. A lesser variety is described as blackish, used mostly in medicines.

Costus is used in fumigating for its fragrance. Medicinally, it is used as a diuretic. It is also rendered effective in womb-related ailments. When fumigated through a funnel, it can destroy the fetus and induce menstruation. When mixed with wine and honey, it can be aphrodisiac. Its heat has the power to heal colds (Ibn al-Bayṭār 549; al-Bīrūnī 307–08).

rātīnaj (راتينج) *rāṭiyānaj* (راتيانج) *rāṭyān* (راتيان), and *raḡīna* (رجينة) in al-Andalus. It is gum of pine tree (*ṣamgh al-ṣanawbar*). The best is

yellowish white and smells like pine. The black variety is taken from the male cedar (*arz*). It is hot and dry in properties, used mainly as incense. Medicinally, it is applied to heal wounds.¹⁶

ṣafṣāf (صفصاف) a variety of willow tree. See *khilāf* above.

salīkha (سليخة) varieties of barks of trees closely related to the cassia family, imported from China. Ibn al-Bayṭār mentions it as *aqsiyā* (أقسيا), given by Dioscorides as a synonym. The best kind looks like thick long tubes, red in color. It is smooth and aromatic, with a wine-like note. In taste, it is slightly biting and acrid. The bark is valued for its aroma. Medicinally, it is used to dispel winds and soothe cold symptoms. It is deemed good for liver and stomach. With regard to properties and aroma, it is a little weaker than cassia (Ibn al-Bayṭār 386; Ibn Sīnā 332).

ṣandal (صندل) sandalwood, highly aromatic wood used as incense, perfume, and medicine. It is imported from China. All its varieties, the white, the yellow, and the red, are good to use. Because of its cold properties, it has the power to sooth headaches caused by heat. It is also used in the bathroom as a rub to get rid of the odors of the depilatory *nūrā* (Ibn al-Bayṭār 449).

ṣandal aṣfar maqāṣirī (صندل أصفر مقاصيري) top-quality yellow sandalwood, brought from *Arḍ al-Dhahab* (أرض الذهب) 'land of gold'—Ceylon. It is soft and smooth, heavy and moist, and exceedingly fragrant (al-Bīrūnī 248; Ibn Sīnā 349).

shammāma (شَمَامَة) pl. *shammāmāt* (شَمَامَات) pellets of perfume scented with aromatics such as musk, ambergris, and narcissus; and shaped into attractive forms such as fruits. They are used mostly in social gatherings and drinking sessions as decorations and sniffs that gladden the eyes, senses, and souls. They are also used for medicinal purposes. Ibn al-Bayṭār, for instance, suggests forming ambergris into pellets in the shape of apples to be sniffed by people suffering from hemiplegia and facial paralysis (492).

siwāk (سواك) *miswāk* (مسواك) the traditional toothbrush known to have been used ever since ancient Mesopotamian times. Wood commonly used for making these sticks is taken from *arāk* tree (أراك)

¹⁶ Ibn Jazla, fol. 104v; al-Isrā'īlī 2: 251; Ibn al-Bayṭār 313; Ibn Sīnā 361; al-Nuwayrī 1242.

sing. *arāka* (أراكاة). It is described as a green sweet-smelling bushy tree with lots of branches and leaves. It is defined as a variety of *shajar al-ḥamd* (salt bush), whose fibrous twigs and roots are used as *siwāk*.¹⁷ Al-Ghazālī's recommendation is to brush the teeth before praying, after waking up from sleep, and whenever one gets an unpleasant odor in the mouth.¹⁸ *Siwāk* is used by rubbing the teeth and gums with it vertically and horizontally, or it can be chewed.

When *arāk* wood is not available, it is substituted with other kinds of wood, or by rubbing the teeth with cyperus (*su'd*) or alkali powder (*ushnān*). In extreme cases, a coarse piece of cloth is used to rub the teeth and gums, or just with the bare fingers, mostly done by toothless people.¹⁹

su'd (سعد) *ṣughd* (صغد) cyperus (cyperus ferrugineus), a rhizomatous plant with grassy leaves, somewhat similar to leeks but longer. It usually grows in moist places. The plant has been growing in the Mesopotamian region ever since ancient times (Thompson *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 11). In Syriac, it is called *su'dā* (al-Bīrūnī 220).

The root rhizomes are the parts used of the plant. They are entangled with each other, and are similar to black olives, some round, and some oval. They are sweet smelling and somewhat bitter. Cyperus is used for oral hygiene as a healer for mouth sores and gums, and a breath freshener when chewed. It benefits the teeth in general. As one of the components used to wash the hands after eating, it helps get rid of greasy odors. Internally it is recommended for urinary tract disorders and promoting menstruation.

Other varieties of cyperus are ***khūlanjān*** galangal 'cyperus longus' (entry Section 9), and ***ḥabb al-zalam*** (حب الزلم), also known as ***ḥabb al-Azīz*** (حب العزيز) earth almond 'cyperus esculentus' (Thompson *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 11). Ibn Sīna describes earth almond as delicious, and recommends it for helping people gain weight and increase sperm (277).

sukk (سك) aromatic compound formed into pastilles, used to flavor

¹⁷ *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. سوك. Scientifically the tree is known as 'salvadora persic.' The wood stems, with their pleasant scent, antibacterial properties, and fibrous texture help clean the teeth and mouth. *Siwāk* is still used throughout most of the Islamic world.

¹⁸ *Ihyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 143.

¹⁹ al-Haythamī, *Majmaʾ al-Zawāʿid wa Manbaʾ al-Fawāʿid* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 289–91; al-Iṣṣḥīḥ 7; Ibn Sīnā 553.

foods and drinks such as non-alcoholic beer *fuqqā* (Chapter 113). It is also used as a deodorant and aphrodisiac. Medicinally it has the power to curb bowel movements, fortify internal organs, and open up any blockages in them. When fumigated, it is believed to help narrow a woman's female passage (Ibn al-Bayṭār 384; Ibn Sīnā 323).

The basic and indispensable component in making *sukk* is ***rāmak*** (رامك), which is as black as pitch, made from 'afṣ (عفص) gall and fresh dates. Ibn Sīnā says genuine Chinese *sukk* used to be made with *amlaj* (أملج) a variety of myrobalan, which is a kind of cherry plum, sour and a little acrid when still unripe. He says it is not easily available at his time (qtd. Ibn al-Bayṭār 384; al-Bīrūnī 65).

Making *rāmak* is a time consuming and labor intensive operation. The resulting product is like dough shaped into small discs, threaded, set aside to dry out, and used as needed to make *sukk* (al-Nuwayrī 1259).

sukk misk (سك مسك) *sukk mumassak* (سك ممسك) made by pounding *rāmak*, kneading it with some water, and setting it aside overnight. It is then mixed with crushed musk, kneaded well, and made into discs, which are left in a sieve to dry out for a year or so (Ibn al-Bayṭār 384).

thumām (ثمام) sweet grassy wild plant of many varieties, described as small and short. Some are said to grow in the desert and others at riverbanks, similar to salt grass (a kind of *ḥimḍ*). The plant is said to be similar to *asal* (rush), and some say it is a kind of *asal*.

It is described as having spikes similar in shape to those of wild millet. Its sweet oozing sap is collected and made into thick syrup, or mixed with water and consumed as a sweet drink. When the dried plant is chewed, it smells like camphor. The stems themselves are crushed and used in hand-washing compounds. They are also made into brooms, and used in thatching roofs and building shades to keep water in leather containers cold (al-Bīrūnī 125; Ibn al-Bayṭār 153; *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. **ثمم**).

ṭīb al-nisā (طيب النساء) women perfume compounds, such as *ḫalūq* (entry above). Unlike men's perfumes *dhukūr al-ṭīb* (entry above), women's varieties are usually colored. They are mostly reddish and yellowish in hue because of saffron *zaʿfarān* used in making them. They stain clothes and skin (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. **أنث**, ذكر; al-Azharī 2112).

ṭīn abyad (طين أبيض) white clay, a variety of *ṭīn ḥurr* (طين حرّ) which is pure clay free of any sand. Some varieties are used for medicinal

purposes such as healing wounds and treating burns and preventing them from blistering. Others are used for cleaning purposes, exfoliating the skin, and conditioning the hair. Some kinds of white clay such as *ṭīn Nīsābūrī* (طين نيسابوري) are even taken as food, especially with drinks as *naql* ‘mazza.’ In this case, they are eaten to sweeten the breath and fool the appetite. It is also taken to stop vomiting (Ibn al-Bayṭār 465–72).

‘*ūd* (عود) aloe wood, agar wood. Highly fragrant and soft resinous wood chips brought from Arabia, China, and India. The wood chips are used mainly for fumigating. See ‘*ūd* in Section 9 above.

ushnān (أشنان) is ***qilī*** (قلي) alkali powder used as soap for washing clothes and hands. The best quality is produced from alkali plant (salsola soda), called *ushhnān*. It is a bushy and leafless salty plant of the *himḍ* family (salt plants) with slender juicy branches. It is also called *hurḍ* (حرض). When used as firewood, it gives off extreme heat and unpleasant-smelling smoke.

To make ***qilī*** (قلي) alkali (soda ash), fresh branches are burnt into ashes then sprinkled with water. This will cause the ashes to clump together and become *qilī* (al-Bīrūnī 46; Ibn al-Bayṭār 35).

Ushnān can polish the teeth and remove grease (*zafar*) from hands and mouth. Mixing it with ground melon seeds and applying oil of violet after using it may reduce its harmful effect on teeth and gums (Ibn Jazla, fol. 25v). For hand-washing purposes, *ushnān* (alkali) is enhanced by adding other ingredients to it to make it more aromatic and more effective in removing unpleasant greasy odors from the hands (recipes in Chapter 129).

Varieties of *ushnān* (alkali powder):

1. ***ushnān abyad*** (أشنان أبيض) white alkali, deemed the most delicate and gentle. It is used for washing the hands. Also called *ushnān ‘aṣāfirī* (entry below).
2. ***ushnān akḥḍar*** (أشنان أخضر) green alkali, the sharpest in taste. Ibn al-Bayṣār describes it as purgative. Less than one tablespoon of this variety can abort a live or a dead fetus (35).
3. ***ushnān Bāriqī*** (أشنان بارقي) alkali brought from Bāriq, a place near the city of Kufa in Iraq. It is the purest and the best.

ushnān ‘aṣāfirī (أشنان عصفيري) literally, ‘alkali of sparrows,’ called so because it looks like sparrows’ droppings, as al-Bīrūnī

explains (46). Ibn al-Bayṭār describes it as white, and calls it *khur* *al-‘aṣāfir* (خرء العصفير) sparrows’ droppings (35).

ushnāndān (اشناندان) also called *majma‘ al-ushnān* (مجمع الشنان) tray-like vessel with concave sections to hold selections of *ushnān* (alkali compounds). The container is described in poems in Chapter 129.

ward (ورد) sing. *warda* (وردة) rose, from which *mā‘ al-ward* (rose water) is distilled (see Section 9 above). *Ward* may be used as a generic name for flowers. The color pink/pinkness is *wurda* (وردة), named after the popular pink roses. The adjective ‘pink,’ is *ward/warda* f. (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. ورد).

Pink roses, called ***ward Jūrī*** (ورد جورى) after the Persian city of Jūr, and white roses are mostly used for distillation. They are intensely fragrant and are valuable in kitchen preparations and medicine. Jam made with rose petals and honey, called *jalanjabīn* (جلنجبين), is used as a digestive (recipe in Chapter 125).

Besides these traditional colors, medieval books mention other kinds of roses, mostly enjoyed aesthetically such as:

1. Intensely red roses, described as *shadīd al-ḥumra*. Al-Bīrūnī says they are highly fragrant and hardly ever open up fully. Oil extracted from them is a valuable commodity among kings. He further comments that this variety is called *junbad* (جنبب) in Baghdad (372).
2. Yellow roses *ward asfar*.
3. Fragrant black roses *ward aswad*.
4. Roses with petals that are half dark-red and half white.
5. Roses with petals that are dark-red on one side and yellow on the other.
6. Blue roses, said not be naturally so, but are colored thus by watering white roses with water mixed with indigo *nīl*.²⁰

To preserve roses and enjoy them when not in season, a new earthenware jar is filled with unopened rose buds. The jar is then sealed tightly with mud and buried in earth. When needed, the rose buds

²⁰ al-Suyūfī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādḍara* 353; al-Nuwayrī 1208-09.

are taken out, sprinkled with water, and left aside for a while. They will open up looking like fresh roses.²¹

zir al-ward (زر الورد) rose bud.

qim' al-ward (قمع الورد) rose hip.

zanbaq (زنبق) oil of jasmine. See *duhn al-zanbaq* above.



²¹ al-Ghazzālī, *Maṭālī' al-Budūr fī Manāzil al-Surūr* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 42.

14. *Vegetables and Legumes*14.1 *Vegetables*

Vegetables and herbs usually used as seasonings and do not make the principal ingredient of the dish are entered in Section 9 above.

anjura (أنجرة) nettle, also known as **qurrīṣ** (قَرِيص) and **ḥirrīq** (حَرِيق) ‘the stinging plant,’ because of its bristly stems. Its leaves are incorporated into dishes, and these, with the seeds, are used medicinally such as for laxative and aphrodisiac purposes (Ibn al-Bayṭār 58–59; al-Isrāʾīlī 3: 138–39).

aṣl al-silq (أصل السلق) root of chard. See *silq* below.

bādhinjān (باذنجان) eggplant. Al-Bīrūnī says it is called *yabrūḥa* (يبروحا) in Syriac (88). This vegetable has been growing in the Mesopotamian region since ancient times. It was mentioned in Akkadian cuneiform tablets on herbal medicines. Its name was given as ‘pillū,’ which also designated ‘egg,’ and *luffāḥ* (لَفَاح) ‘mandrake fruit,’ which itself is a species of eggplant.¹ The name *bādhinjān* is said to mean demons’ eggs. In Persian, it is called *ibdhānj* (ابذنج) demons’ beaks (*Anwāʾ al-Ṣaydala* 250).

Eggplant is a controversial vegetable. It is the least favorite among physicians, who unanimously proclaim it a harmful plant due to its bitterness. It is said to generate black bile, cancer, melasma (*kalaf*), and blockages. Some even consider it poison (Ibn Zuhr 57). Indeed, one of its Arabic names is *al-wagḥd* (الوغد) ‘the scoundrel.’ On the other hand, to gastronomes it is the most acclaimed and inspiring vegetable. The Abbasid prince Ibrāhīm bin al-Mahdī has many sumptuous dishes for eggplant, and Būrān, wife of the Abbasid Caliph al-Maʾmūn, was famous for her eggplant dishes *Būrāniyyāt*. To its lovers, eggplant is as delicious as saliva exchanged between kissing lovers (verses and recipes in Chapter 45).

Small and young eggplants are preferred to large and fully-grown ones (al-Isrāʾīlī 3: 147). For best results, it has to be treated before

¹ Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 331. In Syriac, the word for *luffāḥ* (mandrake fruit) survived as *yabrūḥa* (يبروحا), which may designate eggplant. In Arabic, *yabrūḥ* and *bayrūḥ* designate the mandrake root whose fruit is called *luffāḥ* (al-Bīrūnī 88).

using it in dishes. Al-Rāzī, for instance, recommends boiling it and then frying it with light oils such as oil of almond or sesame. Grilling the eggplant will not rid it of its bitter, hot, and sharp taste. He also recommends peeling and slashing the eggplant then stuffing it with salt and soaking it in cold water. Only then can eggplant be incorporated into dishes with meat and vinegar (187). Ibn al-Bayṭār suggests a way for preserving it so that it can be used year round: Small eggplants are first pierced crosswise at two places then they are boiled in salted water and left in it. He says this will keep them good for the whole year (78).

Poetically, eggplant is pictured as a black pigeon nesting in a vibrantly green orchard. With its emerald beak, it picks up sesame seeds and entrusts them in its ambergris gizzard (al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍara* 363). Other verses describe the different shapes of eggplant: The round ones are compared to balls of leather, filled with sesame seeds, and capped with *kaymakht* (shagreen, untanned granular leather, dyed green). The heart-shaped variety is compared to goats' hearts clasped by claws of eagles. The oval ones are compared to pigeons (al-Nuwayrī 1174).

bāmya (بامية) okra. Of all the extant Arabic medieval cookbooks only the anonymous Egyptian *Kanz al-Fawā'id* includes an okra recipe, *ṣifat al-bāmya*. It calls for cooking meat and then adding to it diced onion, pepper, cilantro, garlic, chopped okra, and lime juice *laymūn akhdhar* (273). Besides, Ibn al-Bayṭār dedicates an entry for okra in which he describes it as an Egyptian vegetable with pointed tips and hairy skins. He says people of Egypt cook it with meat, while it is still small and tender.

Okra has been growing in the Mesopotamian region ever since ancient times. *Bāmya* 'hibiscus esculentus' was mentioned in ancient Assyrian cuneiform tablets on herbal medicines. It was called 'ubānu' (literally 'finger').² In properties, it is classified as the coldest and moistest of all vegetables. It is believed to generate bad blood and is said to be lacking in nutritious value. To drive away its harmful effects, Ibn al-Bayṭār recommends cooking it with *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) and lots of spices (79). Probably such a low opinion of the

² Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal* 39. Thompson suggests the possibility that it may refer to small cucumbers that look like fingers. However, the fact that okra has always been compared to fingers—cf. the British 'lady's fingers'—and the closeness of the Akkadian and the Arabic words in sound, especially when pronounced in the Iraqi vernacular, *bāmya*, indicate that 'ubānu' is *bāmya*.

vegetable coupled with its copiously mucilaginous nature explain its absence from the menus of the elegant tables of the affluent.

baqla (بقلة) pl. *baql* (بقل) *buqūl* (بقول) generic name for annual vegetables produced from seeds and do not grow into trees. The category excludes the gourd family plants (*qarʿiyyāt*), which include *qarʿ* (gourd), *khīyār* and *qiththāʾ* (varieties of cucumber), and *biṭṭīkh* (melon).

baqlat al-amṣār (بقلة الامصار) cauliflower. See *kurunb* below.

baqla ḥamīda (بقلة حامضة) literally, ‘sour vegetable,’ sorrel. See *ḥummāḍ* below.

baqla ḥamqāʾ (بقلة حمقاء) purslane, a succulent sprawling plant, with tiny fruit capsules filled with round seeds. It has flat and fleshy paddle-shaped leaves. It is called *baqla ḥamqāʾ* (foolish vegetable) because it is said to choose flowing waterways for its growth, thus foolishly exposing itself to potential destruction. Because of its cooling effect on the body, it is used to quench thirst and relieve symptoms of fever.

Other names for this vegetable: *baqla mubāraka* (بقلة مباركة) literally, ‘blessed vegetable,’ *nijla* (رجلة), *al-baqla al-layyina* (البقلة اللينة) literally, ‘soft vegetable,’ *zubbād* (زباد) *zubbādā* (زبادى), *barbahūn* (بربهين), *farfakh* (فرفخ) *farfakhūn* (فرفخين), *farfahūn* (فرفحين), or simply *baqla* (Ibn al-Bayṭār 101).³

baqla layyina (بقلة لينه) purslane. See *baqla ḥamqāʾ* above.

baql maṭbūkh (بقل مطبوخ) cooked vegetables.

baqla mubāraka (بقلة مباركة) purslane. See *baqla ḥamqāʾ* above.

baql nayʾ (بقل نيء) raw vegetables.

baqlat al-Rūm (بقلة الروم) orach. See *qataf* below.

baql ṭarī (بقل طري) fresh vegetables.

baql yābis (بقل يابس) dried vegetables.

baqla Yamāniyya (بقلة يمانية) **baqla ʿArabiyya** (بقلة عربية) blite.⁴ People of al-Andalus call it *balṭīs* (بلطيس) or *ibḷidas* (ابليدس). It is described as being so bland and so mild that it hardly has any medicinal powers. However, nutrition it generates in the body is good. Because it has a remarkable cooling power—even more cooling than

³ Cf. *barbīn*, its name in Iraq today.

⁴ As identified by Levey, “Medieval Arabic Toxicology,” 116.

lettuce and gourd—it is used to treat headaches caused by exposure to the sun, and allay thirst. It is best eaten with sweet pomegranate juice, almond oil, coriander, and cilantro (Ibn al-Bayṭār 102; al-Isrāʾīlī 3: 81–82).

barbahīn (بربهين) purslane, see *baqla hamqāʾ* above. Cf. *barbīn*, its name in Iraq today.

baṣal (بصل) onion. See Section 9 above.

bayḍ al-kurunb (بيض الكرنب) and **bayḥ al-qinnabīṭ** (بيض القنبيط) cauliflower florets. See *kurunb* below.

buqūl al-zamān (بقول الزمان) seasonal vegetables.

dhukūr al-baql (ذكور البقل) literally, ‘male vegetables,’ no longer tender and young but tough and bitterish. Cf. *aḥrār al-buqūl* (أحرار البقول) young and tender vegetables (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. ذكر).

farfaḥīn (فرفحين) purslane. See *baqla hamqāʾ* above. Other variations on this name: *farfakh* (فرفخ), *farfakhīz* (فرفخيز), *farfīn* (فرفين), *farfīr* (فرفير), *farfa* (فرفة).

fujl (فجل) radish. *Fujl Shāmī* (فجل شامي) radish of the Levant, described as having white bulbous roots with leaves like those of turnip. It is hot and sharp in taste, and can be eaten raw and cooked. There must have been other varieties at the time, for in verses on radish, it is described as tusks of young elephants, and as long and slender as crystal rods (al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥādara* 363).

Radish is believed to stimulate the appetite, aid digestion, and induce burping. Eating it after a meal is recommended, especially the leaves. Medicinally, it is believed to cure arthritis and improve eye-sight and coitus (Ibn al-Bayṭār 514–15).

fuṭr (فطر) mushroom, of which there are the edible and the poisonous species. Dried mushroom is believed to be better and safer because poisonous mushroom rots before it dries out (al-Bīrūnī 290–91). The best mushroom looks white, rather dry, and not slimy to the touch. It is described as bland in taste, cold and moist in properties. Al-Rāzī says mushroom is almost akin to poisonous medicines with its cold properties, and cautions against over indulging. The best way to eat it is to boil it and mix it with lots of salt or *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), hot spices, thyme, and oil (189).

ghūshina (غوشنة) also called *karsana* (كرسنة) species of mushroom

usually stored dried, and in this state it is like gristle (*ghadārīf*). Boiling it is recommended, as this will rid it of excess saltiness. Ibn Sīnā says one gets more pleasure eating it than when munching on real gristle (al-Rāzī 190–91; Ibn Sīnā 392).

harshaf (خرشف) **kharshaf** (خرشف) wild artichoke. The cultivated variety is called **kankar** (کنکر) and **kanjar** (کنجر), eaten raw when still young and tender, like asparagus. It is usually served boiled. For hot-tempered people it is served with lots of spices and vinegar. Cold-tempered people have it cooked as *isfidbāj* (white stew).

It is believed to have the power to rid the body of its unpleasant odors, especially under the arms. The proof is the resulting stinking urine passed after eating it. It causes bloating, and as such, works as a coital-boost. It is recommended for people with coughs and asthma (al-Rāzī 193; Ibn Sīnā 276; Ibn al-Bayṭār 616).

hilyawn (هليون) asparagus. The cultivated variety is regarded as the most balanced and nutritious of all foods. It is believed to digest fully well because it agrees with the stomach. Also believed to ease flow of urine and increase semen (al-Isrāʾīlī 3: 106). In the western region of the Islamic world it is called *isfarāj* (إسفرج) and *isberj* (إسبرج) (Ibn al-Bayṭār 729).

hindabāʾ (هندباء) endive, of which there is the wild bitter variety and the cultivated. The latter has wide mild-tasting leaves, free of bitterness, especially when they first come out in spring. This tasty variety is also called *hindabā Shāmī* (هندبا شامي) of the Levant, and *hindabā Hāshimī* (هندبا هاشمي). Because it has a cooling effect comparable to that of lettuce, it is recommended for heat-related ailments (Ibn al-Bayṭār 732).

hummad (حماض) *baqla ḥamīḍa* (بقلة حامضة) *ḥamd* (حمض) sorrel, general name for several plants that have acid-flavored leaves. Of its other names: *baqla kḥurāsāniyya* (بقلة خراسانية) vegetable of *Kḥurāsān* (Persian region) and *kurunb Kḥurāsānī* (کرنب خراسانی) cabbage of *Kḥurāsān*. The plant has sour leaves that look like small cabbage leaves. Its cold nature is said to revive the appetite of people suffering from heat (al-Isrāʾīlī 3: 88; Ibn al-Bayṭār 103).

isfanākh (إسفناخ) spinach, the balanced properties of which render it suitable for cold and hot tempered people alike. It is a laxative

vegetable used to treat sicknesses caused by excess in yellow bile (al-Rāzī 197; al-Isrāʾīlī 3: 81).

jazar (جزر) carrots. Of the cultivated varieties:

1. Red-orange carrot (*jazar aḥmar*) literally, 'red', described as juicy, tender, and delicious. Poets compare it to carnelian, rubies, flames of fire, and coral reeds.
2. Yellow carrot (*jazar asfar*), thicker and denser in texture than the red (Ibn al-Bayṭār 164).
3. White carrot (*jazar abyad*) similar to parsnips, aromatic, and deliciously sharp in taste. It is also described as having a pleasant crunch.

Carrot is bloating and slow to digest. However, it is extremely effective in stimulating coitus, especially when eaten pickled in vinegar (*murabbā*). Prepared like this, it can warm up the stomach, stimulate the appetite, and help dispel gases (Ibn al-Bayṭār 164; al-Nuwayrī 1176).

jirjir (جرجير) watercress. Of the cultivated variety, there is the kind with wide leaves, tender and delicious, and not so sharp in taste. Another cultivated variety has narrow slit leaves that are bearably sharp and peppery.

The wild variety, also called *anbahqān* (أنبهقان), *khardal barrī* (خردل بری) wild mustard, and *kharsā* (خرسا), has leaves that resemble those of mustard. They are so hot and so sharp that they need to be eaten with other vegetables, cold in properties such as lettuce, endive, and purslane (Ibn al-Bayṭār 162).

The plant is used as a diuretic. As a deodorant, its broth is used to wipe under the arms. The leaves and the seeds are also touted as being highly aphrodisiac. Its ground seeds, for instance, are sprinkled on soft-cooked egg instead of salt for a sure and tried sexual stimulus. Rumor has it that it once caused a 30-day long erection, and the man who had it became the pride of his tribe (al-Dīnawarī 'Uyūn al-Akhbār 372).

junjul (جنجل) young shoots of the female hop plant on which grow the hop cones. The young shoots are boiled and eaten like *hilyawn* (asparagus). In properties they are described as having hot and moist properties, and are believed to generate good blood, albeit very little.⁵ This information is identical with what the ancient Roman Pliny (d. 113) said of hops. He also mentions that it is only the young spring

⁵ *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. جنجل; al-Bīrūnī 141; Ibn al-Bayṭār 176.

shoots that are eaten like this (Grieve 1: 411) The clusters of cones of the grown female plant are added to wines to impart aromatic oils, antiseptic resin, a bitter substance, and tannin. See Section 1, *dādhi* (the ingredient).

kam'a (كمأة) truffles, cold and moist in properties, bland in taste, and accepting of other flavors. In this respect, it is similar to gourd (*qar'*). It is deemed easier to digest than mushroom. The recommended way to cook it is to scrape it or peel it first.⁶ Then, it is slashed and boiled to allow water to get into the inside. When cooked, it is drained and served seasoned with *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce), oil, and spices. Drinking wine after having it is believed to help with its digestion. Mixing it with meat is not recommended. Neither is having it raw. When roasted, it has to be served with *murrī* and pepper. A good way of cooking truffles is stuffing them in roasted lamb and kids (Ibn al-Bayṭār 608; al-Isrā'īlī 3: 148–49).

Al-Bīrūnī gives these names for *kam'a*: *shahmat al-arḍ* 'tallow of the earth,' *baydat al-arḍ* 'egg of the earth,' and *nabāt al-ra'd* 'thunder plant' (321). In the western region of the Islamic world, it is called *tirfās*.

White truffle is called *farḥāna* 'the happy one' (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, s.v. كمأ). Before cooking them, dried truffles are first hydrated by burying them in mud for a day. The best quality truffle and the least harmful is described as big—it fills the hand holding it. It should look black and glossy as if rubbed with *duhn al-bān* 'oil of moringa' (al-Dīnawarī 'Uyūn al-Akhbār 370, 371).

khardal akhdar (خردل أخضر) mustard greens, both cultivated and wild. There is the pungent *khardal Fārisī* (خردل فارسی) Persian mustard with wide leaves. It grows abundantly in orchards throughout the Islamic world, but especially in the Levant where it is called *khardal Shāmī* (خردل شامي). Ibn al-Bayṭār mentions that the wild variety (*barrī*) is called *lubsān* (لبسان), a nutritious vegetable, but not as pungent as the cultivated variety. However, some say *lubsān* is a wild vegetable that looks like wild mustard but has nothing of its hot properties.

The recommendation is to eat mustard greens cooked only because they are bad for the digestion and cause headaches. Their properties need to be balanced with cold vegetables such as lettuce (196, 231, 622).

⁶ According to Ibn al-'Adīm's thirteenth-century cookbook *Al-Wuṣṣā ilā 'l-Habīb*, a pumice stone (*ḥajar al-rjīl*) is used in scraping truffles to get rid of sand (2: 719).

Despite such cautionary remarks, one of al-Warrāq's braised meat dishes is garnished with chopped mustard greens along with cilantro and rue (Chapter 86).

khashn (خشن) (of vegetables, fruits, etc) large and fully ripe. Cf. *nā'im* (ناعم) small and tender, not yet fully ripe.

khass (خس) lettuce, unanimously acclaimed as good food, which generates good blood. It digests fast and increases milk in breast-feeding women. It is diuretic and cooling to the stomach. On the down side—or another advantage, as the case might be—it is believed to dry up semen, allay coitus and recurrent night erotic dreams (*ih̥tilām*). It is recommended for insomnia. When eaten with drinks it helps slow down the intoxicating effect of wine (Ibn al-Bayṭār 238; Ibn Sīnā 383).

Lettuce stems *uṣūl al-khass* (أصول الخس) are used raw and cooked.

khīṭmī (خطمي) *khīṭmiyya* (خطميّة) marsh mallow. Al-Isrā'īlī identifies it as a species of *khubbāzī* (mallows, entry below) and says the whole plant—flowers, root, and stems—is mucilaginous. He adds that the Iraqis wash their hair with the ground dried white flowers and leaves of this plant. Since it is moderately hot, it is effective in subduing thirst and healing inflammations. He also says that when the crushed white root of this plant is dissolved in water and put aside exposed to the cool air of the night, the water will solidify as if frozen, i.e. like jelly (3: 85–87).⁷ Mucilage extracted from the plant is called *ṣamgh al-khīṭmī* (صمغ الخطمي).

khīyār (خيار) small and smooth cucumber, a variety of *qiththā'* (قثاء) entry below; **qathad** (قثد) is its name in Arabic.

In *Lisān al-'Arab* (s.v. قثد) it is called **khīyār bādharanq** (خيار بذرنق) and described as *qiththā' mudawwar*, i.e. the round variety of cucumber as opposed to the ridged.⁸

Al-Bīrūnī explains that people in Iraq, who use the Persian name *khīyār* for *qiththā'*, call the smooth and small variety *khīyār bādharank* (بادرنك). He further explains that *bādharank* is the Syriac name for *utruj*

⁷ The crushed white root looks like ground skinned almonds. We learn this from an almond *sawīq* recipe in Chapter 13.

⁸ According to Ibn Waḥshiyya, small and oval *khīyār* has more moisture and is more digestible than large and long *khīyār*. The big and fully ripe ones that have turned yellow are not good (2: 891–92).

‘citron’ (21, 300–01). This indicates that this variety is called so because it is similar to the elongated oval shape (*mudawwar-mustaṭīl*) of citron.

Khīyār has more moisture content than *qiththā*, which makes its flesh crisper and less dense. It has a good deal of pulp (*lubb*) with many small edible seeds. Medieval dieticians consider it a cross between a vegetable and a fruit (Ibn Zuhr, 59). The best cucumbers are small, with a lot of small tender seeds. The best part in *khīyār* is its *lubb* (لب) ‘pulp’ because it is easy to digest (Ibn al-Bayṭār 260).

Khīyār is good for the hot liver and stomach, because, like all other members of the gourd family, it has cold properties that relieve symptoms of heat-related maladies. The pulp *lubb* is even more effective because of its digestibility. It has to be eaten in moderation to avoid bloating and colic.

Cucumber with its pleasant aroma sweetens the breath and gladdens the heart. Poets compare it, for instance, to *rayḥān* (aromatic plant) and the sweet breath of a lover (al-Suyūṭī *Husn al-Muḥāḍara* 363).

khīyār mukhallal (خيار مخلل) pickled cucumber kept in vinegar is viewed as having a cooling and rarefying effect (*mulattif*) on the body (Ibn al-Bayṭār 260). It is used to revive people who faint due to excessive heat (al-Dīnawarī, *Uyūn al-Aḥbār* 372).

khubbāzī (خبّازي) *khubbāz* (خبّاز) mallows. Al-Isrāʾīlī describes three varieties:

khubbāzī per se, mallow, the wild variety (*barī*).

mulūkhīyya (ملوخية) *mulūkiyya* (ملوكية) Jew’s mallow, the cultivated variety (*bustānī*). See *mulūkhīyya* below.

khīṭmiyya (خطمية) marsh mallow (entry above).

To al-Isrāʾīlī, *mulūkhīyya* is more nutritious than the real *khubbāzī*. However, both of them are bad for the stomach because they are mucilaginous (3: 82–87)

kurunb (كرنب) cabbage, also known as *baqlat al-amṣār* (بقلة الامصار) urban vegetable. Following are varieties of the plant:

1. ***kurunb Nanaṭī*** (كرنب نبطي) cabbage indigenous to the Iraqi region. It is the same as *kurunb Andalusī* (كرنب أندلسي) cabbage of Andalusia, except that the latter has wrinkled leaves and the Nabatean has smooth leaves. This variety is similar to chard. It has very small hearts, and only the stalk and leaves are eaten. They are much more delicious than cauliflower. Of this type, there is a minor variety called *kurunb khūzī* (كرنب خوزي) cabbage of *Khūzistān* of Persia, which has thick and rough leaves.

2. ***kurunb bustānī*** (کرنب بستانی) literally, ‘cultivated cabbage,’ is cauliflower. It is also called *qumābūt* (قنابیط). This variety has a huge heart, called *jummār* (جمّار) because it is as white and crisp as the heart of the date palm. The florets are *bayḍ* (بيض) literally, ‘eggs,’ and *zahr* (زهر) literally, ‘flowers.’

3. ***kurunb Mawṣilī*** (کرنب موصلی) cabbage of Mosul, also called *kurunb Shāmī* (کرنب شامی) Levantine cabbage, and *kurunb Hamadhānī* (کرنب همدانی) cabbage of Hamadan in Persia. This variety is described as having wrinkled leaves, like the Andalusian type, but the whole plant’s leaves spread low on the ground. In the middle of the leaves comes out a yard-tall stalk with symmetrically-arranged bunches of small leaves, around the stalk, from bottom to top.⁹

Like eggplant, physicians have reservations towards this vegetable. They say it is better avoided because it generates bad blood and causes *qarāqir* (rumbling stomach noises). However, since like eggplant, people eat it anyway, physicians suggest ways to improve its digestibility. It has to be boiled twice, with changes of water to get rid of the smell. It has to be cooked with fat meat and chicken, and spiced with cumin, cilantro, and pepper, with oil and salt.

Kurunb is recommended for cold related ailments. Cabbage stew, for instance, is good for coughs. Having this vegetable before drinking alcohol slows the process of getting intoxicated. It also helps relieve hangover symptoms. As a contraceptive device: If a woman makes a tampon of the seeds after having sex, it will kill the sperms and purge them (Ibn al-Bayṭār 286–88; al-Isrā’īlī, 3: 94–99).

kurunb Khurāsānī (کرنب خراسانی) sorrel. See *ḥummāḍ* above.

lift (لفت) turnip, see *saḡam* below.

lubsān (لبسان) wild mustard greens. However, it is also said to be a vegetable that resembles wild mustard greens but has nothing of its hot properties. It is more nutritious and better for the stomach than sorrel (Ibn al-Bayṭār 622).

mullāḥ (ملاّخ) ***mullākh*** (ملاّخ) a variety of *ḥimḍ* (حمض) sorrel (see *ḥummāḍ* above). The plant is described as having pleasantly sour reddish

⁹ This description makes the plant look like Brussels sprouts. However, we are told only the roots, which look like turnip, are used of this plant.

and tender stems, usually eaten with yogurt as *naql* (نقل) mazza (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. ملح).¹⁰

mulūkhīyya (ملوخية) ***mulūkiyya*** (ملوكية) literally ‘fit for kings,’ Jew’s mallow, it is the cultivated variety of *khubbāzī* mallow (entry above), popular in Syria and Egypt. It is said to be tastier than *khubbāzī*, but rather salty in taste. Like the rest of the mallow family, it is deemed bad for the stomach because it is extremely mucilaginous. Medicinally it is believed to be good for the spleen and the chest (al-Isrā’īlī 3: 82; Ibn al-Bayṭār 225, 700).

qāqullā (قاقلى) ***qāqullī*** (قاقلي) salt plant of the sorrel family (*humṡād*). This is the Nabatean name for *qullām* (قلام) literally, ‘looking like pens.’ It is usually served with yogurt, and is said to sweeten the burping breath. Because cooking it spoils its healing properties, its extracted juice is usually called for in medicinal preparations. It is given mixed with brown sugar (*sukkar aḥmar*) as a diuretic and to encourage flow of milk in breast feeding mothers (Ibn al-Bayṭār 533). It is also effective in expelling all kinds of excretions, unblocking obstructions, and curing hip and back pains. It is highly aphrodisiac (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*, s.v. ققل). This plant is used to make alkali for hand-washing compounds such as *ushnān* (see Section 13 above).

qar (قرع) gourd, marrow, old world counterpart of squash. According to Ibn al-Bayṭār, this is the name the commoners give for *yaqlīn* (يقطين) entry below (742).

In al-Warrāq’s recipes the fresh young gourd is described as green. Instructions are to peel the vegetable and remove the pith and seeds. The gourd is always consumed cooked, having it raw is deemed unpalatable and hurtful to the stomach. Fully-grown gourds that develop woody skins are usually dried and used as containers for keeping liquids. Apparently there are other varieties of gourd, such the ones described in verses as resembling elephant trunks, smeared with rust (al-Suyūṭī *Husn al-Muḥāḍara* 363).

Gourd is exemplary for its cold properties, and this, coupled with its almost neutral flavor, makes it eligible for sick-people’s food, especially with fever-related maladies. As for healthy people, they can boil it first

¹⁰ In the same dictionary entry it is explained that *hāmīḍ* ‘sour’ is sometimes used synonymously with *māliḥ* ‘salty,’ which explains why this sour vegetable is called so.

then prepare it as *mutajjan* dishes—fried with olive oil, pepper and other spices, and probably vinegar and *murrī* to give it some heat. When mixed with yogurt, it has to be amended with mustard. The seeds and their oil are recommended as sleep-inducers for people with fevers and consumption (Ibn al-Bayṭār 540).

qataf (قطف) orach, with spinach-like leaves, somewhat mucilaginous like *mulūkhiyya* Jew's mallow. It is recommended for people with hot tempers and fevers but is said to cause flatulence (Ibn al-Bayṭār 555). Other names for the plant: *baqlat al-Rūm* (بقلة الروم) Byzantine vegetable, *baqla dhahabiyya* (بقلة ذهبية) golden vegetable, and *sarmaq* (سرمق).

qiththā' (قثاء) long and ridged variety of cucumber, with less moisture content than *khīyār* (entry above). Also unlike *khīyār*, it has denser flesh and no significant inner pulp (*lubb*). Unripe melon is compared to its taste (Ibn Sīnā 238). Small unripe *qiththā'* is called *sha'rūr* (شعور) because it is covered with down *sha'r*. Interestingly, ancient Assyrian tablets on botany mention a type of cucumber called 'sharuru.' The name *qiththā'* itself has its origin in this ancient languages, as well. It was called 'qishshu,' a word that survived in the Syriac *qatyā* (قطيا) and Arabic *qiththā'*.¹¹

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī mentions that a sweet variety of *qiththā'*, called *tar'ūz* (ترعوز), grows in a village belonging to the city of Ḥarrān whose inhabitants are mostly Sabeans (see Appendix, s.v. Ḥarrān). He adds that the village got its name from its temple, called *tar'ūz* (ترعوز) meaning 'the gate of Venus' (407).¹² Another variety of cucumber which grows in Basra is called *al-khūraybī* (الخریبی). It is a *fitr* long (about 7 inches) and as thin as a finger (Ibn abī-Uṣaybī'a 148).

Qiththā' is described as green, cylindrical, tender, and brittle.¹³ In poetry it is compared to a crescent clad in green silk, as cool as camphor to the touch, with a fresh blossom at the top, like a star (al-Nuwayrī 1172–73).

Qiththā' is recommended for people with hot temperaments, but

¹¹ Thompson *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 81–84; al-Bīrūnī 300–01.

¹² In modern Iraq, the name, slightly altered to *ta'nūzī*, still designates this variety of cucumber.

¹³ al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-Balāgha* (<http://www.alwaraq.net>) 116.

they are cautioned against overindulging as this will result in bloating and stomachaches (Ibn al-Bayṭār 534).

qulqās (قلقاس) taro root, described as resembling a coconut from the outside with a white interior, which is dense and slow to digest. Al-Isrāʾīlī says it can be eaten raw and cooked. Its flour is incorporated into nutritious soups (143–46). *Qulqās* is appreciatively described as *shahmat al-arḍ* ‘tallow of the earth’ (Shams al-Dīn al-Shāmī 2262).

qunnābirī (قنابري) water moss, which usually grows on banks of rivers but also in orchards and places far from rivers. It is a sweet-smelling wild winter vegetable, which resembles wild endive with smaller leaves. It is moderate in properties and is usually eaten cooked with fat meat, vegetables, and grains; or meatless with yogurt, as Ibn Waḥshiyya suggests (2: 842). Pickled in brine, it is served as an appetizer with vinegar and olive oil. It has the power to purge the lungs and the bowels, and clear blockages in liver and spleen.

Qunnābirī is its Nabatean name. Other names and variants are: *ghumlūl* (غملول) *numlūl* (نملول) *thumlūl* (ثملول) *qumlūl* (قملول) *barghashṭ* (بر غشت), and *warghashṭ* (ور غشت).¹⁴

qunnābīt (قنابيط) cauliflower. See *kurunb* above.

bayḍ al-qunnābīt (بيض القنبيط) florets of cauliflower

bayḍ al-kurunb (بيض الكرنب) another name for florets of cauliflower.

Al-Bīrūnī says the name *qinnabīt* derives from *qinn* and *Nabaṭ*, meaning ‘planted by the Nabateans,’ the indigenous population of Iraq (314).

rāzyānaj (رازيانج) also called *basbās* (بسباس) fresh fennel, a plant with bulbous base and feathery fronds. The leaves, roots, and seeds are all used in cooking and for medicinal purposes. It is not the same as the herb *anīsūn* (أنيسون) anise, grown mainly for its aniseeds. See also, *rāzyānaj* and *anīsūn* in Section 9 above.

rībās (ريباس) rhubarb, said to have properties similar to citron pulp and unripe sour grapes. Ibn al-Bayṭār compares its stalks ‘*aṣālīj* (عساليج) to those of chard, and describes them as greenish red and pleasantly sour and sweet. Medicinally, it is used to strengthen the stomach and abate thirst, vomiting, and diarrhea. Rhubarb condensed juice (*rubḥ al-rībās*) is made by first pounding the stalks of this plant to extract the

¹⁴ al-Rāzī 197; al-Isrāʾīlī 3: 87; Ibn al-Bayṭār 563.

juice and then boiling it down to syrup consistency. It is said to be as appetizing as *rubḥ hummāḍ al-utruj* ‘concentrate of citron juice’ (325). Poets sing praises of its pleasantly tart taste. It is enjoyed with drinks as *naql* ‘mazza’ (al-Nuwayrī 1178).

rijla (رجلة) purslane. See *baqla ḥamqā*’ above.

saljam (سلجم) *shaljam* (شلجم) *lift* (لفت) turnip. The first two names are the Arabized versions of the Persian *shalgham* (شلغم), and of the two the first is the approved version as good Arabic *faṣīḥ*. *Lift* has its roots in the ancient Mesopotamian languages. In the Akkadian it is ‘laptu,’ evolved to ‘lafta’ in the Aramaic and then to the Arabic *lift* (Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 51).

Available varieties of cultivated turnip:

1. Big and white, commonly used in cooking and pickling. Al-Warrāq does not specify the color in his recipes but Istanbul manuscript (fol. 248v) calls it white turnip (*saljam abyad*). The recommendation is to let the turnips cook thoroughly, preferably boiled with two changes of water to ensure its digestibility. It is highly praised for its nutritional and aphrodisiac properties.

2. Red and smaller turnip. Ibn Waḥshiyya says although the large white variety sometimes comes out tinged with redness, this small species is more intensely red. Apart from this, he says, they taste the same (2: 550). The red small ones are at their best when prepared as pickles, in brine or vinegar. Prepared like this, they have the power to stimulate the appetite. Both the seeds and the roots are used medicinally.¹⁵

sarmaq (سرمق) orach. See *qataf* above.

shaljam (شلجم) turnip, see *saljam* above.

silq (سلق) chard, leaf beet. It is a cultivated variety of *beta vulgaris* (common beet) to which both beet and chard belong. During medieval times, chard was cultivated for the leaves and the roots, which al-Isrāʿīlī describes as being similar to carrots in shape (1: 607). He further explains that the plant is categorized as a leaf vegetable (*buqūl*) because of its leaves, and as a root vegetable (*uṣūl*) because of its roots. Al-Warrāq’s recipes call for all parts of *silq* (chard):

awrāq al-silq (أوراق السلق) chard leaves.

qulūb al-silq (قلوب السلق) literally, ‘hearts of chard,’ inner tender chard leaves.

¹⁵ al-Bīrūnī 407-08; Ibn al-Bayṭār 427; Ibn Waḥshiyya 1: 543–52.

quḍbān al-silq (قضببان السلق) ‘**asālīj al-silq** (عساليج السلق)
adlā’ al-silq (أضلاع السلق) chard stalks.
uṣūl al-silq (أصول السلق) roots.

There are two main kinds of chard leaves:

silq aswad (سلق أسود) literally, ‘black chard,’ large wide leaves, tender, and nice-looking, called black because they are intensely green.

silq abyad (سلق أبيض) literally, ‘white chard,’ pale green, small, and wrinkled leaves.

The vegetable is regarded as a useful food when prepared the right way to allay its hot properties. It should be cooked in oil, vinegar or mustard, and caraway seeds, otherwise it will generate bad blood and cause bloating and *qarāqir* (rumbling stomach noises).

The root is believed to have the power to clear blockages in the liver and other organs. It is valued as an effective cure for cold related ailments. It is believed to increase blood and semen, and works as an aphrodisiac and euphoriant.¹⁶

shamandar (شمندر) red, and turnip-like beetroots. Variants on the name: *jughandar* (جغندر) and *jukandar* (جكندر).

There is evidence that the red beetroots existed in the ancient Mesopotamian region. In the Akkadian it was called ‘shumundar.’ After analyzing the Assyrian documents, Thompson concludes “it is reasonable to see in ‘shumundar’ a plant perhaps of spinning-top shape, and red” (*Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 49, 51). Besides, one of the Babylonian stew recipes is cooked with beet.¹⁷ Evidently they were also available in the Mediterranean region of antiquity. Apicius’ recipe for beetroot soup, for instance, calls for ‘red beet’ (Faas 213).

In the medieval sources there is no mention of this variety of beet, although references to *jughandar* (جغندر) and *jukandar* (جكندر), names close to *shamandar*, do occur. For instance, in the tenth-century *Al-Risāla al-Baghdādiyya* the protagonist criticizes people of Aṣbahān—a region in Persia—saying their pots of cooking turnip, cabbage, lettuce and *jughandar* stink like the fart of a feverish person or the belching of

¹⁶ Ibn Waḥshiyya 1: 607–14; Ibn Sīnā 329; Ibn al-Bayṭār 387–88; al-Isrā’īlī 3: 91–94.

¹⁷ Bottéro, *Mesopotamian Culinary Texts* 10. For details on the Babylonian recipes, see Introduction, Section VIII.

a satiated man (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī 167–68). *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, s.v. سلق, explains that these two words, *jughandar* and *jukandar* refer to *silq*, and elaborates on how delicious and beneficial the roots are.

It is quite possible that besides the long carrot-like chard roots (see *silq* above), the red ones did exist but had negligible culinary uses. Red beets can easily spoil an otherwise white, golden, or green pot of stew, and make it look blood-red, an undesirable color in a stew because blood is prohibited in Islam. See also *silq* above.

thūm (ثوم) garlic. See Section 9 above.

yaqtīn (يقطين) also known as *qarʿ* (قرع). The word *yaqtīn* designates ‘fresh gourd’ and the gourd bush itself. It is also a generic name for the gourd species—sprawling creepers—which include gourd, cucumber, and melon (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. قطن). See *qarʿ* above.

zubbād (زباد) *zubbādā* (زبادی) purslane. See *baqla hamqāʾ* above.

14.2 Legumes

‘**ads** (عدس) lentil, also known as *bulsun* (بلسن). Good quality lentil is light colored and flat, it cooks fast, and does not discolor the broth.

Lentil has dry and cold properties, which make it flatulent and heavy on the digestion. It is suspected of generating dense blood high in black bile, but cooking it thoroughly will improve its qualities. There is also the caution that lentil may induce bad dreams, which can be averted by mixing it with barley in a dish called *kishk al-ʿads* (كشك العدس). This will make it a perfectly balanced food, provided the amount of barley is half the amount of lentil used. It is also suggested that lentil pairs very well with dark green chard *silq aswad* (Section 14.1 above).¹⁸

bāqillā (باقلي) *bāqilāʾ* (باقلاء) *bāqillī* (باقلي) fava beans, also called *fūl* (فول) and *baysār* (بيسار) in regions other than Iraq, such as al-Andalus and Egypt. It is used fresh and dried. The fresh is described as harder to digest because it is not allowed to mature completely on the vine. The best way to cook the dried beans is prolonged soaking and cooking it with black pepper, salt, asafetida, thyme, caraway, rue, and oil. Oil in particular facilitates its going through the digestive system fast. It is commonly accused of being the most flatulent of all foods, and hence the headaches, sleepiness, laziness, nightmares, and depression that it

¹⁸ Ibn Sīnā 339; al-Rāzī 27; al-Isrāʾīlī 2: 93–103.

may cause. On the other hand, it is recommended for coughs and other chest ailments and treating diarrhea. Having fresh fava beans with ginger is touted as an excellent coital booster (Ibn al-Bayṭār 74–75).

bāqillā manbūt (باقلى منبوت) sprouted fava beans. The recommendation is not to soak the dried beans for long but just until they split. They are better eaten with olive oil (al-Rāzī 35).

bāqillā Miṣrī (باقلى مصري) literally, ‘Egyptian beans,’ also known as *turmus* (ترمس) lupine beans. See *turmis* below.

bāqillā Qibṭī (باقلى قبطي) Coptic beans, Egyptian variety of fava beans, smaller than the Iraqi variety.

baysār (بيسار) fava beans. See *bāqillā* above.

bulsun (بلسن) lentil. See ‘*ads*’ above.

ḥimmaṣ (حمص) chickpeas of which there are several kinds such as *ḥimmaṣ abyad* white, *ḥimmaṣ aswad* black, and *ḥimmaṣ aḥmar* red.

Ḥimmaṣ is described as slow to digest and exceedingly bloating. It has the same effect on the body as that of yeast on dough. For this reason, it is better eaten in the middle of the meal, neither before nor after. Nevertheless, it is the food of choice when arousing coitus is the goal because it possesses the three essential elements required to achieve this Viagra-effect: Food, to begin with, has to be hot in nature, it has to be nutritious and moist enough to increase semen, and it has to have the power to generate enough wind to fill and stiffen the veins of the ‘equipment’ (al-Isrāʾīlī 2: 105–10). For this reason, it is given as fodder to male horses. The recommended cooking method is prolonged soaking and thorough cooking. Besides, it has to be eaten seasoned with black pepper, salt, asafetida, and thyme.

Chickpeas are good for throat and lungs. They are also recommended for purging stones in kidneys and bladder.¹⁹

ḥimmaṣ akḥḍar (حمص أخضر) fresh green chickpeas, described as bloating and slow to digest. Drinking water while eating it will make the bloating even worse, unless the purpose is indeed to excite coitus (Ibn al-Bayṭār 210).

jullubān (جلبان) grass pea. In springtime, *jullubān akḥḍar* (جلبان أخضر) fresh green peas are tender and eaten raw. The best way to cook the

¹⁹ Ibn-Sīna 274; Ibn al-Bayṭār 209–10; al-Nuwayrī 1225.

dried beans is to skin them and boil them with a small amount of *naṭrūn* (sodium carbonate).²⁰ The bigger variety, called **bislā** (بسلا) is eaten cooked only.²¹ Ibn al-Bayṭār describes it as a vegetable that only hard workers and farmers can digest because it generates crude blood and a good deal of bloating gases (166).

lūbyā (لوبيا) *lūbyā'* (لوبياء) *lūbya* (لوبية) kidney beans and black-eyed peas.

lūbyā raṭba (لوبيا رطبة) fresh beans.

lūbyā yābisa (لوبيا يابسة) dried beans.

The word *lūbyā* designates *lūbyā per se* (black-eyed peas) and *fāṣūlyā* (haricot or kidney beans). Evidently, the word *fāṣūlyā* did actually exist in medieval times, though rarely used. Al-Tha'ālībī (d.1038) mentions it in *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (538). Apparently, it started to be used at a later date, unlike *lūbya*, which has its roots in the Mesopotamian region ever since ancient times. In the Akkadian it was called 'lubbu' (Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 94).

Al-Isrā'īlī comments that many types of *lūbyā* can only be eaten while still fresh because they are high in moisture. When dried, they are prone to be worm-ridden and rot quickly. Completely dried beans can be kept all winter long free of decay (110). See following entries for *lūbyā* varieties.

lūbya per se (i.e. black-eyed beans) described as having an eye ('*ayn*) (Ibn al-Bayṭār 657).

lūbyā bayḍā' (لوبيا بيضاء) 'white beans,' haricot or kidney bean. Today, more commonly known as *fāṣūlyā*. Ibn al-Bayṭār compares the beans to kidneys, and says some may be tinged with blackness or redness. He adds, the fresh green *lūbyā* of this variety is tender and somewhat larger and wider than *lūbyā* (black-eyed peas). The Greeks call it *samīlaqan* (سميلقن). Quoting Dioscorides, he says some call it *asfarāghas* (أسفار اغس) because the whole tender bean, jacket and all, is eaten like *hilyawn* (هليون) asparagus (643).

White beans are described as cold and humid in properties, and hence bloating—but not as bad as fava beans—and slow to digest. Al-Isrā'īlī recommends boiling the shelled white beans and then removing

²⁰ As suggested in the Istanbul MS (fol. 223r). Nowadays people add baking soda to hasten the cooking process of beans.

²¹ Interestingly, this name is similar to what nowadays is called *bazālya* and *bsilla* 'peas' in the Arab world.

their skins. They are served seasoned with *murrī* (liquid fermented sauce) instead of salt along with olive oil, cumin, and black pepper. Drinking undiluted wine after eating these beans helps the digestion. Pickling them in vinegar (*murabbā bi 'l-khall*) improves their properties (al- Isrā'īlī 2: 111).

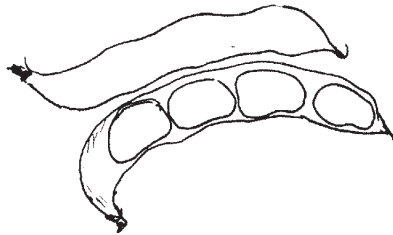
lūbyā ḥamrā' (لوبيا حمراء) red beans, most probably field peas, similar to 'red oriental pea' and the Hindi 'red chori.' They are described as easier to digest and more beneficial to the body than the white bean species because they are more moderate in properties.

lūbyā sawdā' (لوبيا سوداء) black beans, turtle beans.

lūbyā Yamāniyya (لوبيا يمانية) literally, 'Yemenite beans,' also called *liyā'* (لياء) or *liyā* (ليا) they can be white soy beans, described in *Lisān al- 'Arab*, s.v. ليا, as a variety of *lūbyā* growing in Hijaz and Yemen. It is further described as round as an onion, the size of a chickpea. It has a thin skin darkish in hue, which when removed reveals a white bean. Indeed, so white that a fair-skinned woman is compared to this skinned bean. It is usually toasted and then rubbed to remove the skin. It may also be eaten untoasted.

māsh (ماش) mung beans, used in ways similar to lentil, but are colder in properties. Therefore, the best time to eat them is in the summer. They are less bloating than fava beans, but are not as nutritious. Mung bean soup is recommended for coughs and colds (Ibn al-Bayṭār 657).

turmus (ترمس) lupine beans, also called *baqillā Miṣrī* (باقلى مصري) literally, 'Egyptian beans.' The recommended way to cook it is to boil it thoroughly then soak it in water for many days. This will help remove its bitterness and make it easier to digest. Medicinally, it is used to clear blockages in the liver and spleen. It is also applied as hair softener. Overall, it is more like medicine than food (Ibn Sīnā 372; Ibn al-Bayṭār 136).



15. *Weights and Measures*

Modern equivalents of medieval weights and measures are approximate. Some of the medieval weights had different values in different parts of the Islamic world. Al-Warrāq uses Iraqi weights and measures in his recipes with the exception of a few instances.

In giving modern equivalents, ounces and pounds are used. Small weights measuring less than an ounce are more conveniently given in grams. Liquid measurements are given in pint (= 2 cups), and cup (= 16 tablespoons).

The following guideline for modern equivalents of small weights is approximate because ingredients vary slightly in weight when measured by spoons:

1 ounce	=	30 grams	=	6 teaspoons	=	2 tablespoons
½ ounce	=	15 grams	=	3 teaspoons	=	1 tablespoon
5 grams	=	1 teaspoon				
2 ½ grams	=	½ teaspoon				
1 ¼ grams	=	¼ teaspoon				
1 gram	=	1/5 teaspoon				
¾ gram	=	1/8 teaspoon				
½ gram	=	1/10 teaspoon				
⅓ gram	=	1/15 teaspoon				
¼½ gram	=	1/20 teaspoon				

Weight measures

1 **sha'ira** (شعيرة) literally, 'a barley grain' = *habba* (حبة) = 1/12 gram¹

habba (حبة) literally, 'a grain' (1/12 gram)²

1 **qirat** (قيراط) = ¼ gram

1 **dānaq** (دانق) = ½ gram

1 **dirham** (درهم) = 3 grams = ½ teaspoon

1 **fals** (فلس) Egyptian coin weighs approx. 1 *dirham* = 3 grams

1 **mithqāl** (مئقال) = 4 ½ grams = 2/3 teaspoon

1 **dīnār** (دينار) = 4 ½ grams = 2/3 teaspoon

¹ According to al-Maqdisī 68.

² It also designates a small piece of anything such as *ḥabbat milḥ* a small lump of salt.

- 1 **istār** (استار) = 15 ½ grams = 1 tablespoon+
- 1 **ūqiyya** (أوقية) = 10 *dirhams* = 1 ounce = 30 grams = 2 tablespoons³
- 1 **raṭl** ‘*Irāqī*’ (رطل عراقي), *raṭl Baghdādī* (رطل بغدادی) = 12 *ūqiyas* = 1 pound
- 1 **raṭl** (liquid) = 1 pint = 2 cups⁴
- 1 **raṭl Shāmī** (رطل شامي) (Levantine) = 8 Iraqi *raṭls* = 8 pounds (?)⁵
- 1 **raṭl Miṣrī** (رطل مصري) (Egyptian) = approx. 8 *uqiyyas* = 8 ounces
- 1 **qisṭ** (قسط) = 1½ *raṭls* = 1½ pounds⁶
- 1 **mann** (من) = 2 *raṭls* = 2 pounds
- 1 **mudd** (مد) = 2 *raṭls* = 2 pounds
- 1 **kaylaja** (كيلجة) = 2½ pounds
- 1 **ṣāʿ** (صاع) = 3 *raṭls* = 3 pounds
- 1 **makkūk** (مكوك) = 3 *kaylajas* = 7½ pounds
- 1 **qafiz** (قفيز) = 8 *makkūks* = 60 *raṭls* = 60 pounds⁷
- 1 **kurr** (كر) = 60 *qafiz*

Containers and vessels used as volume measuring units

dawraq (دورق) jug, used to measure liquids = 20 *raṭls* = 40 cups.

kayl (كيل) *mikyāl* (مكيال) designates a dry measure by volume, as opposed to weight. It also designates the container itself, which is a metal or wooden vessel used for measuring dry ingredients such as grains. Sometimes *kayl* stands for ‘part’ or ‘ratio.’

kūb (كوب) cup, it is *kuz* without handles, made of different materials and in several sizes. The smallest might have equaled 1 cup. According to al-K_huwārizmī (33), the measuring cup equals 3 *raṭls* = 6 cups.

kūz (كون) pl. *kīzān* (كيزان) a cup with handles, made of earthenware, sometimes glazed, and comes in different sizes. The big one was used to scoop drinks and as a measuring unit = 6 *qisṭs* = 18 cups (al-

³ This is the Iraqi version. *Shāmī ūqiyya* (Levantine) weighs a little bit more.

⁴ *Raṭl* is also a mug (1 pint capacity) used for serving wine and *fūqqāʿ* (alcohol-free beer).

⁵ According to Maḥjūb and K_haṭīb 2: 455.

⁶ According to al-K_huwārizmī 33.

⁷ *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. قفیز.

Khuwārizmī 33). The smallest was used as a drinking glass, and might have equaled 1 cup.

mighrafa (مغرفة) a ladleful, about ½ cup.

qadah (قدح) drinking glass enough for two people.

raṭl (رطل) mug (1 pint capacity) used for serving wine and *fuqqā'* (alcohol-free beer). It is also a measuring unit (see weight measures above).

sukkurja (سكرجة) *uskurruja* (اسكرجة) a small bowl for serving condiments such as *kawāmīkh*. According to al-Khuwārizmī (33-34) the small bowl measures 3 *ūqiyas* = ½ cup, and the big one measures 9 *ūqiyas* = 1½ cups.

Approximate measurements

bi qadr ra'ī al-‘ayn (بقدر رأي العين) as much as the eyes measure to be right.

fum (فم) one round, one time.

ḥafna (حفنة) fistful, what the closed palm (fist) can grasp.

juz' (جزء) part, ratio.

mā taḥmiluhu al-rāḥa wa 'l-aṣābī' (ما تحمله الراحة والاصابع) what the palm and the stretched fingers can hold.

mā taḥmiluhu thalāth aṣābī' qā'ima (ما تحمله ثلاث اصابع قائمة) what the extended and put together three fingers (thumb, index, and middle finger) can hold.

qabḍa (قبضة) = **kaff** (كف) handful, what the cupped hand can hold.

qadr mā yaḥmil ḡifruka (قدر ما يحمل ظفرك) the amount that your nail can hold.

qatra (قطرة) drop.

rā'iha (رائحة) literally, 'smell,' used to indicate that a very small amount is used, to give just a hint of a flavor.

shay' min (شيء من) some, a little.

Length measurements

dhirā' (ذراع) literally, 'arm,' approx. 1 yard, 3 spans.

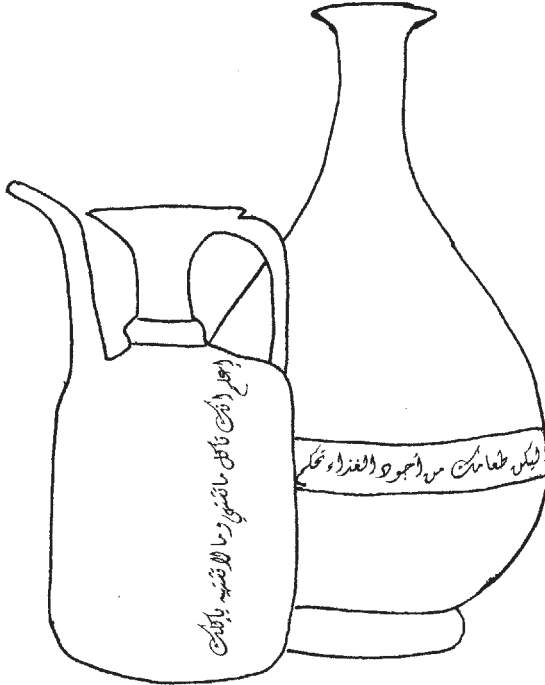
fitr (فتر) a small span. It is the distance between the tips of the thumb and index finger, stretched.

miqdār qabḍatayn (مقدار قبضتين) width of two fists put together.

qadr arba'at aṣābi' (قدر أربعة أصابع) width of four fingers put together.

qadr thalāthat aṣābi' (قدر ثلاثة أصابع) width of three fingers put together.

shibr (شبر) span. It is the distance between the tips of the little finger and the thumb, stretched.



ENGLISH-ARABIC

(Entries in the following sections help locate items in the corresponding Arabic-English sections)

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 - 12.1 Medical Terms and Sickesses
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14. Vegetables and Legumes
 - 14.1 Vegetables
 - 14.2 Legumes

1. *Beverages*

beer (alcohol-free) **fuqqā** (فقا)

beverages in general **sharāb** (شراب) pl. **ashriba** (أشربة)

date syrup wine **dūshāb** (دوشاب)

date wine **dādhī** (دادي)

hangover **khumār** (خمار), a person with a hangover **makhmūr** (مخمور)

henbane **binj** (بنج) see entry for **dādhī** (دادي) the ingredient, 4.3

hops **junjul** (جنجل), **hashīshat al-dīnār** (حشيشة الدينار) see entry for **dādhī** (دادي) the ingredient, 1

malted barley **daqīq al-sha'ir** (دقيق الشعير)

marijuana **hashīsha** (حشيشة) **qinnab Hindī** (قنب هندي) see entry for **dādhī** (دادي) the ingredient, 3

pine tree resin **dādhī al-qatrān** (دادي القطران) see for entry **dādhī** (دادي) the ingredient, 2

rosebay **alā'** (ألاء) see **murratayn** (مرتين)

rose water syrup **jullāb** (جلاب)

St. John's wort **hiyofāriqūn** (هيو فاريقون) see entry for **dādhī** (دادي) the ingredient, 4.1

water, see entries for **mā'**

wine, see entries for **nabīdh** and **khamr** (خمر)

wine dregs **durdī nabīdh** (دردي نبيذ)

wormwood **ja'da** (جعدة) **shīh** (شيخ) see entry for **dādhī** (دادي) the ingredient, 4.2

2. *Breads (leavened and unleavened), Grains, Pasta, and Pastries*
(sweet and savory)

barley **sha'ir** (شعير)

borax (baking) **būraq** (بورق) **būraq al-khubz** (بورق الخبز) see Section 12. 3

bran **nukhāla** (نخالة)

bread **khubz** (خبز) see this entry for varieties of bread

bread crust **qishr al-khubz** (قشر الخبز), **harf** (حرف)

bread pith **lubāb al-khubz** (لباب الخبز)

cake **furniyya** (فرونية)

cheese pie **mujabbana** (مجبنة) **mukhabbaza** (مخبزة)

coarsely ground grains **jashīsha** (جشيشة) **jarīsh** (جريش)

cookies **ka'k** (كعك) **kalijā** (كليجا) **khushkanānaj** (خشكاناج)

raghūnīn (رغونين)

crackers **fatīt** (فتيت) **aqrās fatīt** (اقراص فتيت)

crepes **khubz al-qaṭā'if** (خبز القطائف)

dough **ajīn** (عجين)

flour **daqīq** (دقيق)

fine bran-free white flour high in starch content **daqīq samīdh** (دقيق سميد)

fine bran-free white wheat flour **daqīq huwwārā** (دقيق حواري)

whole-wheat flour **khushkār** (خشكار)

green wheat, whole or cracked **farīk** (فريك)

gum Arabic **ṣamgh 'Arabī** (صمغ عربي)

millet **jāwars** (جاورس)

noodles and pasta:

dried noodles **iṭriya** (اطرية)

fresh noodles **rišta** (رشته)

fresh pasta **lakhsha** (لخشة), **tuṭmāj** (تطماج)

pastries (savory and sweet) **sanbūsaj** (سنبوسج)

rice **aruzz** (أرز) **tumman** (تمن)

sorghum **dhura** (ذرة)

starch extracted from wheat **lubāb al-qamḥ** (لباب القمح) **nashā** (نشا)

wheat **hinṭa** (حنطة)

husk of wheat **qishr al-hinṭa** (قشر الحنطة)

yeast **khamūr** (خمير)

3. *Condiments, Sauces, Dips, and Seasonings*

appetizers **idām** (إدام)

capers **kabar** (كبر)

condiments:

made with shrimps **rabīthā'** (ربيثاء)

made with small river fish or locusts **ṣaḥnāt** (صحناة)

fermented, made with rotted bread (*būḍaj*) **binn** (بن), **kāmakh** (كامخ)

fermented, milk-based **kāmakh rijāl** (كامخ ريجال)

juice of sour unripe grapes **mā' ḥiṣrim** (ماء حصرم)

mustard **khardal** (خردل)

mustard sauce **khardal ma'mūl** (خردل معمول)

olives **zaytūn** (زيتون)

pickles made with vinegar **mukhallalāt** (مخللات)

salt **milḥ** (ملح)

coarse salt **milḥ jarīsh** (ملح جريش)

rock salt (mineral salt) **milḥ andarānī** (ملح أندراني)

sea salt **milḥ bahrī** (ملح بحري)

seasoned salt **milḥ mutayyab** (ملح مطيب)

rotted bread used for making fermented condiments **būḍaj** (بودج)

sauces and dips:

liquid fermented **mā' kāmakh** (ماء كامخ) **murri** (مري)

unfermented **ṣibāgh** (صباغ)

tahini **taḥīn simsim** (طحين سمسم)

vinegar **khall** (خل)

4. *Dairy Products*

beestings **liba'** (لبأ)

butter **zubda** (زبدة)

buttermilk (مخيض)

sour **laban al-khad** (البن الخض), **makhīd al-laban al-hāmīd** (مخيض اللبن الحامض)

thick **dūgh** (دوغ)

completely thickened and dried by draining **makhīd jāmid**
(مخيض جامد)

dried **rakhbīn** (رخيين)

cheese **jubn** (جبنة)

ricotta **qarīsha** (قريشة)

semi soft Egyptian and Levantine cheese **ḥālūm** (حالموم)

soft, made from drained curdled milk **laban mujabban** (لبنة مجبنة)

sourish yogurt cheese **aqīṭ** (أقط)

sourish and soft, made from yogurt **qanbarīs** (قنبريس)

clotted cream **bīrāf** (بيرايف)

milk **ḥalīb** (حليب) **laban** (لبنة) **laban ḥalīb** (لبنة حليب)

sour **maḍīr** (مضير) **qarīṣ** (القريص) **al-qārīṣ** (القارص)

rennet **infāḥa** (إنفحة)

whhey **mā' al-jubn** (ماء الجبنة)

yogurt **laban** (لبنة):

thick yogurt made with rennet then drained **shīrāz** (شيراز)

yogurt from cow's milk and rennet **laban yāghart** (لبنة ياغرت)

yogurt made without rennet **al-rā'ib** (رائب)

yogurt, sour and thick, made with rennet **māst** (ماست)

yogurt salad **jājīq** (جاجق)

yogurt starter **khumra** (خمرة)

yogurt whey **maṣl** (مصل)

5. Desserts, Conserves, and Sweeteners

almond confection **lawzīnaj** (لوزينج)

bees' honey **asal naḥl** (عسل نحل)

cake **zalābiya furniyya** (زلابية فرنية) **furniyya** (فرننية) **ṣafanj**

(زلقنبع) **zalaqanba** (صفنج)

cake, with tallow **shahmiyya** (شحمية)

condensed juices of fruits and vegetables **rubb** (رب)

condensed pudding **khabīṣ** (خبيص)

- conserves made from fruits *murabba* (مرّبا), *anbijāt* (أنبيجات)
 crepes, delicate and sweet *qatāyif* (قطايف)
 date syrup *dibs* (دبس)
 fried fritters soaked in honey or drenched in sugar *zalābiya* (زلابية)
 golden translucent and condensed starch pudding *fālūdhaj* (فالودج)
 honey with its wax *ḍarīb* (ضريب) *shahd* (شهد)
 manna *mann* (منّ)
 milk pudding, sweet and smooth *muhallabiya* (مهلبية)
 molasses of cane sugar *quṭāra* (قطارة)
 nougat made with egg whites, honey, and nuts *nāṭif* (ناطف)
 rose petal conserve or syrup *jalanjabīn* (جلنجبين)
 rose water syrup *jullāb* (جلاب)
 sugar *sukkar* (سكر), also for other kinds of sugar
 crystallized cane sugar *qand* (قند)
 sugarcane syrup 'asal al-qasab (عسل القصب)
 sugar-candy, a variety of pulled taffy *fānīdh* (فانيد)
 sugar, powdered *daqīq al-sukkar* (دقيق السكر)
 walnut confection 'afzīnaj (عفز ينج) *jawzīnaj* (جوز ينج)

6. Dishes

- boiled dishes, meat, vegetables *ṣalāyiq* (صلايق)
 braised dish of sliced red meat *tabāhija* (طباهجة)
 braised poultry dish *muṭajjana* (مطجنة)
 bread, broken to pieces and sopped in broth *tharīd* (ثريد)
 chicken grilled on a rotating spit *kardhabāj* (كرذباج)
 dishes baked in the *tannūr* *tannūriyya* (تنورية)
 dish with beans *lūbyāyiyya* (لوبيايية)
 dish made with camel meat *jazūriyya* (جزورية)
 dish made with grass pea, meat and spices *jullubāniyya* (جلبانية)
 dish made with fresh pasta *lakhsha* (لخشة)

dish with pounded meat *madqūqa* (مدقوقة)

eggplant dish *bādhinjān Būrān* (بادنجان بوران)

eggplant, dressed *bādhinjān maḥshī* (بادنجان محشي)

filled pastries *sanbūsaj* (سنبوسج)

fish:

aspic *samak qarīs* (سمك قريس)

dusted with flour and salt, fried *samak maqlū* (سمك مقلو)

stuffed and roasted in the *tannūr samak maḥshū* (سمك محشو)

fried meat dishes *qaliyya* (قلية)

lentil dish *adasiya* (عدسية)

mazza dishes *naql* (نقل)

meat, big chunks seasoned and roasted *shiwā* (شواء)

meatballs *mukabbab* (مكباب) see *kabāb* (كباب)

meat cut up into small portions and grilled on coals *kabāb* (كباب)

meat with skin on preserved in vinegar *ahlām* (أهلام)

meat dishes, simple and fast *mulahwaja* (ملهوجة)

meat dish cooked with yogurt whey *maṣliyya* (مصلية)

meat made into flat patties *ṭardīn* (طردین)

meat preserved by sousing in vinegar, spices, and herbs *mamqūriyya* (ممقورية)

meat sliced thinly, seasoned and fried or roasted *sharā'ih mubazzara* (شرائح مبزرة)

meat soured with vinegar *maṣūṣiyya* (مصوصية) *maṣūṣ* (مصوص)

meatless dishes *muzawwarāt* (مزورات)

omelets *ujaj* (عجاج)

omelet with sunny-side-up eggs *narjisiyya* (نرجسية)

porridges:

porridge with grains *harīsa* (هريسة)

porridge with meat, pulses and grains *makhhlūṭa* (مخلوطة)

porridge with rice *aruzziyya* (أرزية)

porridge-like dish cooked with meat, pulses, and grains *ṭafshīl* (طفشیل)

pot roast *dākibriyān* (داکیریان)

ribs, whole side, rubbed with spices and roasted *janb mubazzar*

(جنب مبزر)

sandwiches:

made into a filled roll and sliced *bazmaward* (بزماورد)

bread filled with meat mix, and sliced *wast* (وسط)

open-faced *wast mashṭūr* (وسط مشطور)

sausages:

very large made with the lower intestines *maḥāshī* (محاشي)

made with large intestines *miḥ'ar maḥshū* (مبعر محشو)

small *laqāniq* (لقانق)

shrimp *rūbyān* (روبيان)

soft-cooked eggs *nīmbarisht* (نیمبرشت)

soups:

smooth and rather thick in consistency *aṣīda* (عصيدة)

silky smooth with flowing consistency *harīra* (حريرة)

smooth and thin in consistency *hasū* (حسو)

soup *shūrbā* (شوربا)

stews:

apricot stew *mishmishiyya* (مشمشية)

cabbage stew *kurunbiyya* (كرنبية)

delicate bird stew *zīrbāja* (زیرباجه)

onion stew *baṣaliyya* (بصلية)

pomegranate stew *rummāniyya* (رمانية), *nārbāja* (نارباجه)

radish stew *fujliyya* (فجلية)

sour beef stew *sikbāja* (سکباجه)

spinach stew *isbanākhiyya* (إسبناخية)

stew flavored with dried buttermilk *rakhbīna* (رخبينة)

stew soured with citron pulp *hum māḍiyya* (حماضية)

stew soured with juice of unripe grapes (*hiṣrimiyya*)
(حصرمية)

stew soured with sumac juice *sumāqiyya* (سماقية)

turnip stew *shaljamiyya* (شلجمية)

white stew *isfidhbāja* (إسفذباجه)

white stew cooked with meat and sour milk (*laban maḍīr*)
maḍīra (مضيرة)

stuffed kid *jedī maḥshū* (جدي محشو)

stuffed omasum tripe *qibba maḥshuzwa* (قبة محشوة)

7. *Fats and Oils*

- almond oil **duhn al-lawz** (دهن اللوز)
 clarified butter **samn** (سمن)
 fat of sheep's tail **alya** (اللية)
 grease of meat **dasam** (دسم)
 olive oil **zayt** (زيت)
 sesame oil **duhn al-simsim** (دهن السمسم) **shayraj** (شيرج) **duhn al-ḥal** (دهن الحل)
 tahini **rahshī** (رهشي)
 tallow **shahm** (شحم)
 walnut oil **duhn al-jawz** (دهن الجوز)

8. *Fruits (fresh and dried) and Nuts*

- acorn **ballūt** (بلوط)
 almond **lawz** (لوز)
 apples **tuffāh** (تفاح)
 apricot **mishmish** (مشمش)
 banana **mawz** (موز)
 cherries **qarāṣiya** (قراصيا) **burqūq** (برقوق)
 chestnut **shāhballūt** (شاهبلوط)
 citron **utruj** (اترج)
 clusters of first appearing dates in female palm, pollen of male palm **ṭalʿ** (طلع)
 coconut **jawz al-Hind** (جوز الهند)
 dates **tamr** (تمر)
 figs **tīn** (تين)
 fruit of the *sidr* (سدر) lote or medlar tree **nabq** (نبق)
 grapes **ʿinab** (عنب)
 hazelnut **bunduq** (بندق)

- heart of the date palm **jummār** (جَمَّار)
 jujube ‘**unnāb** (عَنَاب)
 lemon **laymūn** (لَيْمُون)
 macadamia **bunduq Hindī** (بندق هندي)
 mango **anbaj** (أَنْبَج) ‘**anbā** (عَنْبَا)
 melon and watermelon **biṭṭikh** (بَطِيخ)
 mulberry **tūt** (توت)
 orange **nāranj** (نَارَنْج)
 peach **khawkh** (خَوْخ)
 pears **kummathra** (كَمَثْرِي) **kummathrī** (كَمَثْرِي)
 pine nuts **habb al-ṣanawbar** (حب الصنوبر)
 pistachio **fustuq** (فَسْتَق)
 plum **ijjāṣ** (إِجَاص)
 pulp of citrus fruits **ḥummāḍ** (حَمَاض)
 pomegranate **rummān** (رَمَّان)
 quince **safarjal** (سَفَرْجَل)
 raisins with seeds **zabīb** (زَبِيب)
 seedless raisins **kishmish** (كَشْمِش)
 small sour plum, sour cherries **khawkh al-dubb** (خَوْخ الدب)
 sycamore figs **jummayz** (جَمِيز)
 tamarind **tamr Hindī** (تَمْر هندي)
 terebinth **buṭm** (بَطْم)
 terebinth green berries **habba khaḍrā** (حَبَّة خَضْرَاء)
 walnut **jawz** (جَوْز)

9. *Herbs, Spices, and Aromatics, Fresh and Dry*

- ajowan **nānkhawāh** (نَانَخَوَاه)
 aloe wood ‘**ūd** (عُود)
 ambergris ‘**anbar** (عَنْبَر)
 aniseeds **anīsūn** (أَنْيسُون)

asafetida plant:

leaves **anjudhān** (أنجذان)
resin of the root **hiltīt** (حلتيت)
root **mahrūt** (محروت)

basil **bādhārūj** (باذروج)

bay laurel **ghār** (غار)

berries of the aloe tree **fulayfula** (فليفة) **harnuwa** (هرنوة)

betel leaves **tānbūl** (تانبول)

betel palm **fawfal** (فوفل)

camphor **kāfur** (كافور)

capers **kabar** (كبر) see Section 3 above

caraway seeds **karawya** (كراويا)

cardamom, small **hāl** (هال)

cardamom, large **qāqulla** (قاقلة)

cassia **dār Ṣīnī** (دار صيني)

celery, parsley **karafs** (كرفس)

celery seeds **bazr al-karafs** (بزر الكرفس)

Ceylon cinnamon **qarfa** (قرفة) **qarfat al-ṭīb** (قرفة الطيب)

cilantro **kuzbara raṭba** (كزبرة رطبة) see **kuzbara** (كزبرة)

cloves **qaranful** (قرنفل)

coriander seeds, and fresh coriander leaves (cilantro) **kuzbara** (كزبرة)

costus **qust** (قسط)

cubeb **kabāba** (كبابة) **ḥabb al-‘arūs** (حب العروس)

cumin **kammūn** (كمون)

dill **shabat** (شبت)

dodder **ukshūth** (اكشوث)

elecampane **rāsan** (راسن)

fennel, fresh **basbās** (بسباس), **rāzyānaj** (رازيانج)

fennel seeds **rāzyānaj** (رازيانج)

fenugreek **hulba** (حلبة)

flax seed, linseed **bazr al-kattān** (بزر الكتان)

- fleawort, seeds **bazr qattūnā** (بزر قطونا)
frankincense **lubān** (لَبَان), **kundur** (كندر)
fumitory **shāhtaraj** (شاهترج)
galangal **khūlanjān** (خولنجان)
garden cress, or garden pepper grass **rashshād** (رشّاد)
garlic **thūm** (ثوم)
ginger **zanjabīl** (زنجبیل)
gum 'ilk (علك)
gum Arabic **ṣamgh 'Arabī** (صمغ عربي)
hemp seeds **shāhdānaj** (شاهدانج) **bazr al-qinnab** (بزر القنّب)
hyssop, dried **zūfa yābis** (زوفا يابس)
Indian leaf **sādhaj** (ساذج) **sādhaj Hindī** (ساذج هندي)
juniper berries 'ar'ar (عرعر)
leeks **kurrāth** (كرّاث)
lemon balm, species of mint **bādharnajbawayh** (باذرنبویه)
licorice **sūs** (سوس)
long pepper **dār fulful** (دار فلفل)
lovage **kāsham** (كاشم)
mace **basbāsa** (بسباسة)
mahlab (prunus mahaleb) **mahlab** (محلّب)
marjoram **marzanjūsh** (مرزنجوش)
mastic **maṣṭakā** (مصطكى) **mastakā** (مستكا)
melilot, **ḥandaqūqī** (حندقوقی) yellow sweet clover
mint **fūdhanaj** (فودنج)
 river mint **būtanaj nahrī** (بوتنج نهري)
 mint, cultivated **na'na'** (نعنع)
musk **misk** (مسك)
mustard **khardal** (خردل)
myrtle berries **habb al-ās** (حب الّأس)
nigella seeds **habba sawdā'** (حبّة سوداء) **shūnīz** (شونیز)
nutmeg **jawz bawwa** (جوزبوا) **jawz al-ṭīb** (جوز الطيب)

- onion **baṣal** (بصل)
 oregano, cultivated **nammām** (نَمَام)
 parsley **karafs** (كرفس)
 peppercorns **fulful** (فلفل)
 poppy seeds, white **khashkhash abyad** (خشخاش أبيض)
 rose water **mā' ward** (ماء ورد)
 rue **sadhāb** (سذاب)
 sea musk **haṣwat al-baḥr** (حصوة البحر)
 seed of garden cress **ḥurf** (حرف)
 safflower **uṣfur** (عصفر)
 safflower seeds **qurṭum** (قرطم)
 saffron **za'farān** (زعفران)
 Satyrion **khiṣī al-tha'lab** (خصي الثعلب)
 sesame seeds **simsim** (سمسم)
 shallots **thūm kurrāthī** (ثوم كراثي)
 spikenard **sunbul** (سنبل) **aṣāfir al-sunbul** (عصافير السنبل)
 spices **abāzīr** (ابازير) **afāwīh** (أفاويه) **afwāh al-tīb** (أفواه الطيب)
 squill **unṣul** (عنصل) **baṣal al-fār** (بصل الفار)
 sumac **summāq** (سمّاق)
 table vegetables **aḥrār al-buqūl** (أحرار البقول)
 tamarisk seeds **jazmāzaq** (جزمازق)
 tarragon **tarkhūn** (طرخون)
 thyme **ṣa'tar** (صعتر)
 wild caraway plant **qardamāna** (قردمانا)
 zedoary **zurnubād** (زرنباد)

10. Kitchen Utensils and Cooking Preparations and Techniques

10.1 Kitchen Utensils

- apron or shirt worn by cooks **sirbāl** (سربال)
 basin, large and shallow **tasht** (طشت)

basin, made of copper, mostly used for washing the hands **ṭast**
(طست)

board **lawḥ** (لوح)

bowls:

big and wide bowl **jafna** (جفنة)

big and wide bowl similar to a punch bowl **bāṭiya** (باطية)

big and wide bowl **qaṣ'a** (قصعة)

big, wide, and shallow serving bowl **sahfa** (صحفة)

big serving bowl **ṭayfūr** (طيفور)

bowl lid **mikabba** (مكببة)

single-serving bowl **suḥayfa** (صحيفة)

small bowl for serving dips **sukurruja** (سكرجة)

porcelain bowls imported from China **zubdiyya** (زبدية) pl.

zabādī (زبادي)

thin glistening china bowl **khāfiqiyya** (خافقية) **khawāfiq**
(خوافق)

small carved bowl **huqq** (حق)

bucket **na'ār** (نعار)

cage-like basket **qafaṣ** (قفص)

cask for wine, large cylindrical and tapers into a rounded bottom **dann**
(دن)

cleaver **sāṭūr** (ساطور)

clippers **miqrāz** (مقراظ)

coal **fahm** (فحم)

coarse thick cloth used for blankets **kisā'** (كساء) **kisā** (كسا)

cookie cutters and molds **qawālib** (قوالب)

copper or brass **ṣifr** (صفر)

cups and glasses:

round cup with handles but no spout **būqāl** (بوقال)

cup **kūb** (كوب)

cup with a handle **kūz** (كون)

big thick glass made of wood **qa'b** (قعب)

drinking glass, often made of glass (*zujāj*) **qadah** (قدح)

smallest drinking cup **ghumr** (غمر)

drinking vessel with a *raṭl* (pint) capacity **raṭl** (رطل)

decorating utensil **minqāsh** (منقاش)

- dowel *mirqāq* (مرقاق)
- earthenware, green glazed *ghaḍār* (غضار)
- earthenware jar, big *ḥubb* (حبّ) *khābiya* (خابية)
- earthenware trough, round *mājūr* (ماجور)
- ewer with a long spout and a handle *ibrīq* (إبريق)
- fabric, tightly woven *khirqa ṣafīqa* (خرقة صفيقة)
- feather *rīsha* (ريشة)
- felt *labda* (لبدة)
- fired-clay containers *khazaf* (خزف)
- fire poker *mihrāk* (محراك)
- flagon, large *qarrāba* (قراية)
- frying pan *maqlā* (مقلي)
- fuel *waqūd* (وقود)
- glass bottle *zujāja* (زجاجة)
- glass jar of various sizes *qaṭramīz* (قطرميز)
- hinged fish grill *miṭbaqat samak* (مطبقة سمك)
- hook *ṣinnāra* (سنارة)
- hooked iron rod *kullāb* (كلاب) *khuttāf* (خطاف)
- iron paddle-like spatula *iṣṭām* (إصطام)
- jars:
- jar *qulla* (قلة)
- jar made of glass *qārūra* (قارورة)
- earthenware ewer or jar *jarra* (جرة); *fakhkhāra* (فخّارة)
- earthenware, with a narrow neck *bustūqa* (بستوقة)
- unglazed ewer or jar *jarra midhāriyya* (جرة مذارية)
- green-glazed earthenware ewer or jar *jarra khadrā'* (جرة خضراء)
- skin jar *ziq* (زق)
- wide-mouthed jar *barniyya* (برنية)
- wine jar with handles *dastīja* (دستيجة)
- knife *sikkīn* (سكين)
- ladle *mighrafa* (مغرفة) *qafshīl* (قفشيل)
- ladle, slotted *mighrafa muthaqqaba* (مغرفة مثقبة)

large leather bags for keeping liquids *qirba* (قربة)

leather draw-string bag *kharīṭa* (خريطة)

leaves of date-plam tree *khūṣ* (خوص)

mat *haṣīr* (حصير)

mat made from reed *bāriya* (بارية)

mat made from date palm fronds *mistāh* (مسطاح)

mill stone *raha* (رحى)

mortar:

stone *jāwan ḥajar* (جاون حجر)

brass, metal *hāwan* (هاون)

ovens and stoves:

brazier, portable *kānūn* (كانون); *kānūn ‘ajlān* (كانون عجلان)

brick oven *furn* (فرن)

dug out pit with hot ashes and stones *malla* (ملة)

domed clay oven *tannūr* (تنور)

brazier blown by the wind rather than bellows *nafikh nafsīhi* (نافخ نفسه)

stove *mawqīd* (موقد)

needle, large *mikhyat* (مخيطة)

pan, large and flat, used for baking *ruqāq* (thin bread) *tābaq* (طابق)

paper *waraq* (ورق)

papyrus sheets *qirtās* (قراطاس)

piece of cloth *mindīl* (منديل)

plain white cotton *khām* (خام) (fabric)

plate, big flat, tray *ṭabaq* (طبق)

platter *jām* (جام)

platter for dessert *tabaq al-ḥalwa* (طبق الحلوى)

pots *qidr* (قدر):

big copper pot *nuqra* (نقرة) *nuqra nuḥās* (نقرة نحاس)

cauldron with rounded bottom *ṭinjīr* (طنجير)

copper pot coated with lead *qidr nuḥās muraṣṣaṣ* (قدر نحاس مرصص)

large brass pot *dast* (دست)

pot made of white copper *isfaydhūra* (إسفيدورة)

- soapstone pot *burma* (برمة)
- roasting spit; roasting skewer *saffūd* (سَفُود)
- rolling pin *shawbaq* (شوبق)
- sackcloth *khīsh* (خيش)
- sausage stuffer *mihashshā* (محشى)
- scraper, metal *miḥakk* (محك)
- serving tray *ṣīniyya* (صينية)
- sieve, round *ghirbāl* (غربال)
- skewer, flat *sikh* (سيخ)
- slab of marble *rukḥāma* (رخامة)
- spatula used as turner *kafīt* (كفيت)
- spoon *miḥaqa* (ملعقة)
- stamp for making impressions *rashm* (رشم)
- stirring wooden utensil *dakshāb* (دكشاب)
- strainer *miṣfāt* (مصفاة)
- sweep *miknasa* (مكنسة)
- table *mā'ida* (مائدة)
- table, low *khiwān* (خوان)
- three-legged wooden clothes hanger, used for fumigating food *mishjab* (مشجب)
- tied bundle of linen cloth for *bouquet garnis* *khirqat kattān maṣrūr* (خرقة كتان مصرور)
- tiles used to line bottom of heated *tannūr ājur* (آجر)
- tin used to coat other metals *ānuk* (آنك)
- tine or prong, eating fork *shawka* (شوكة)
- tinned copper *nuḥās maṭlī* (نحاس مطلي) *nuḥās mu'annak* (نحاس مؤنك)
- toothpicks *khilāl* (خلال)
- tongs *kalbatān* (كلبتان)
- trivet *daykadān* (ديكدان), *minṣab* (منصب)
- tub *ijjāna* (إجانة)

- vessel lined with pitch used for fermented wines **inā' muzaffat** (إناء مزفت)
 water-cooling green-glazed crock **muzammala** (مزملة)
 whetstone **mistahadda** (مستحدة)
 whisker **miḍrab** (مضرب)
 wicker basket **sallat quḍbān** (سلة قضبان)
 willow wood **khilāf** (خلاف)
 winnowing sieve **minsaf** (منسف)

10.2 Medieval Culinary Techniques and Expressions

- add liquid to moisten food v. **saqā** (سقى)
 bake v. (especially flat bread) **khabaza** (خبز)
 boil v. **ḥawwara** (فور), **ghalā** (غلى), **ṣalaqa** (صلق)
 break and bruise, smash v. **raḍḍkha** (رضخ)
 bruise, crush v. **raḍḍa** (رض)
 bundle **ḥuzma** (حزمة)
 bunch **bāqa** (باقة)
 burn and produce an unpleasant stench **tashyyaṭa** (تشيط)
 coat, smear, and daub (if sticky) v. **ṭalā** (طلى)
 consistency, dense **ghalīz** (غليظ)
 liquid **marqa** (مرقة) **maraq** (مرق)
 thin **raqīq** (رفيق)
 cooked in liquid **maṭbūkh** (مطبوخ)
 cooking **tarkīb** (تركيب) **ṭabkh** (طبخ)
 crisp v. (of roasting meat) **qabba** (قب)
 crumble v. **fattata** (فتت)
 crushed salt **milḥ mashūq** (ملح مسحوق)
 cut into thin slices (meat) **sharraḥa** (شرح)
 dish variety **lawn** (لون) literally, 'color'
 distillation **taqṭīr** (تقطير), **taṣ'īd** (تصعيد)

- dregs, lees, sediments **thūfl** (ثفل)
 drizzle liquid in drops v. **qattara** (قطر)
 dry (food cooking in a pot) adj. **nāshif** (ناشف)
 filter v. **rashaḥa** (رشح)
 fire **nār** (نار)
 slow-burning fire, low heat **waqīd layyin** (وقيد لين)
 strong burning fire, high heat **waqīd shadīd** (وقيد شديد)
 low heat **nār hādīya** (نار هادية)
 strong flaming fire **nār bi lisān qawī** (نار بلسان قوي) literally
 fire with visible tongues
 foam, froth formed as a result of boiling or beating **zabad** (زبد),
 raghwa (رغوة)
 foul-smelling **natn** (نتن)
 freeze, solidify, set v. (water, gel, eggs, etc.) **jamuda** (جمد)
 fried **maqlī** (مقلي)
 fumigate such as with aloe wood and camphor v. **bakhhkhara** (بخر)
 greasiness of animal fat and meat (desirable) **dasam** (دسم)
 greasy odors of meat (undesirable) **zafar** (زفر)
 grind and mash by pressing and pounding **dahaka** (دهك)
 grind coarsely v. **jashsha** (جش)
 hour **sā'a** (ساعة)
 impress with fingernail **zaffara** (ظفر)
 layer v. **ṣaffa** (صف)
 mix and moisten dry ingredients such as flour, with fatty substances
 bassa (بس)
 mix v. **khalata** (خلط)
 mix one liquid with another **mazaja** (مزج)
 moist and fresh as opposed to dried (fruit, vegetables) **raṭīb** (رطب)
 moist and tender (e.g. meat) **rakhiṣ** (رخص)
 molding, putridity **ʿafan** (عفن), rot v. **ʿafuna** (عفن)
 mucilaginous, viscous, slimy **lazij** (لزج)
 oily **duhnī** (دهني)

- overcook v. (e.g. meat) *taharra'a* (تَهَرَّأَ)
- parboil v. *yuslaq 'lā nisf nudjihi* (يسلق على نصف نضجه). See *ṣalaqa* (صلق)
- pick over (e.g. a bunch of parsley) v. *naqqā* (نَقَّى)
- plait or twist (e.g. dough or taffy) *ḍafara* (ضَفَرَ)
- pot-roasting *shawī al-qidr* (شوي القدر)
- pound v. *daqqa* (دَقَّ)
- press v. *dāsa* (دَاسَ)
- press and mash v. *marasa* (مَرَسَ)
- press the edges of pastries with the fingernail *ṣaffara* (ظَفَرَ)
- pull something out gently *salla* (سَلَّ)
- raw, uncooked *nay'* (نِيْءْ)
- recipe *ṣifa* (صَفَة)
- reduce in volume and become more concentrated (e.g. cooking stew) *qaraḍa* (قَرَضَ)
- roasted and grilled *mashwī* (مَشْوِي)
- roasting big chunks of meat *shawī* (شوي)
- roll v. *daraja* (دَرَجَ)
- rub between fingers v. *faraka* (فَرَكَ)
- rub over v. *masaḥa* (مَسَحَ)
- scald (slaughtered animal) v. dip in hot water to remove hair, etc. *samaṭa* (سَمَطَ)
- scrambled (eggs) *mubaḥrath* (مُبَحْرَث)
- second (time) *lahṣa* (لَحْظَة)
- shake liquid to mix *khadkhada* (خَضَخَضَ)
- shape dough into round flat discs *qarraṣa* (قَرَّصَ)
- sip v. *hasā* (حَسَا)
- slash v. *ḥazza* (حَزَّ)
- smash, crack v. (e.g. garlic clove) *shaddakha* (شَدَخَ)
- smear, coat v. *laṭṭakha* (لَطَخَ)
- smell bad (fish) *sahik* (سَهِك) adj.

- smoke food v. **dakhkhana** (دخن)
 smoking, fumigating **tabkhīr** (تبخير)
 snip or clip into small chips using *miqrād* (مقراض) clippers **qarraḍa** (قرّض)
 sour v. **qaraṣa** (قرص) (e.g. milk, beer)
 split adj. (e.g. chickpeas) **mufallaq** (مفلق)
 split v. into splinters **shazza** (شظى)
 spread v. to allow to dry **sharra** (شرّ)
 sprinkle v. (liquid) **rashsha** (رش)
 sprinkle lightly (liquid) **naḍḍaḥa** (نَضَحَ)
 sprinkle lightly (e.g. salt, sugar) **dharra** (نَرّ)
 squirt (by mouth) **nafakha** (نفخ)
 steam **bukhār** (بخار)
 stir v. **harraka** (حرّك) **khāta** (خاط)
 stir-fry v. **qala wa harraka** (قلّى وحرّك)
 stones removed (e.g. from dates) **mufallas** (مفلّس) adj.
 strip off (skin) v. **salakha** (سلخ)
 sweet smell 'arf (عرف)
 taste **madhāq** (مذاق) (also see Chapter 4)
 astringent 'afīṣ (عفص) **qābid** (قابض)
 briny **sabikh** (سبخ)
 burning hot and sharp **lādhi** (لاذع) **hādd** (حاد)
 insipid **tafiḥ** (تفه)
 mild **laṭīf** (لطيف)
 pungent **hirrīf** (حريّف)
 rancid (fat, food) **sanikh** (سنيخ)
 sweet **hulw** (حلو)
 sweet and sour **muzz** (مزّ)
 texture, coarse **khashin** (خشِن)
 soft **rakhū** (رخو)
 thicken in consistency (juice) **rabā** (ربّا)
 toast (seeds) v. **ḥammaṣa** (حمّص)
 toast (bread) v. **qammara** (قمّر)
 vitiate (food) v. **taghyyyara** (تغيّر)

whip v. **khafaqa** (خفق) **daraba** (ضرب)

winnow v. **nasafa** (نسف)

wipe something with the hand to smooth it **mallasa** (ملّس)

11. *Meat*

11.1 *Red Meat*

11.1.1 Names of Meat Cuts and Innards

bone marrow **muḥ** (مح) **mukh** (مخ)

blood **damm** (دم)

blood vessels ‘**urūq** (عروق)

brain **damāgh** (دماغ)

breastbone **qaṣṣ** (قص) ‘**azm al-qaṣṣ** (عظم القص)

caul fat **tharb** (ثرب)

cheek meat **lahyayn** (لحيين)

cured meat **namaksūd** (نمكسود)

diaphragm, skirt steak ‘**irq** (عرق)

dirt **daran** (درن)

fat from sheep’s tail **alya** (ألية)

fore legs **maqādīm** (مقاديم)

gall bladder **mararat al-kabad** (مرارة الكبد)

game meat **luhūm al-waḥsh** (لحوم الوحش)

grease of meat **wadak** (ودك) **dasam** (دسم)

head **ra’s** (رأس)

heart **qalb** (قلب)

hind legs **mawākhīr** (مواخير)

hump of camel **sanaam** (سنام)

innards **bātina** (باطنة) **buṭūn** (بطون)

intestines **am‘ā** (أمعاء)

small coiled intestines *dawwāra* (دَوَّارَة), *maṣīr al-dawwara*
(مَصِير الدَّوَّارَة), *muṣrān* (مَصْرَان)

large intestines *mib'ar* (مَبْعَر)

lowest part of the large intestines *maḥāshī* (مَحَاشِي)

jerked meat *qadīd* (قَدِيد)

kidney *kilya* (كَلِيَة)

liver *kabd* (كَبْد)

liver with the windpipe and lungs attached to it *mi'lāq* (مَعْلَاق)

loin *khāshira* (خَاصِرَة)

lower parts of fore and hind legs *aṭrāf* (أَطْرَاف)

lower neck *quṣayrā* (قَصِيرَا)

lung *riyya* (رِيَّة) *ri'a* (رِئَة)

meat *lahm* (لَحْم)

chunk of red meat cut from a larger piece *sharḥa* (شَرْحَة)

dense lean meat *lahm ṣulb* (لَحْم صُلْب)

fatty meat *lahm samīn* (لَحْم سَمِين)

lean, free of fat *lahm aḥmar* (لَحْم أَحْمَر)

marbled meat *lahm mujazza'* (لَحْم مُجَزَّع)

of slaughtered camel *lahm al-jazūr* (لَحْم الْجَزُور)

recently slaughtered *lahm hār* (لَحْم حَار)

tough fibrous meat *lahm 'aḍil* (لَحْم عَضَل)

meat and bones from the back bone area *aṭrāf al-mulḥā* (أَطْرَاف المُلْحَا)

membrane adhering to meat like a thin skin *istaydhaj* (إِسْتَيْذَج)

navel *surra* (سَرَّة)

nodules *ghudad* (غُدَد)

peritoneum, thin inner skin *ṣifāq* (صَفَاق)

ribs *aḍlā'* (أَضْلَاع)

tips of the lower ribs *sharasīf* (شَرَاسِيف)

top first few ribs *awā'il al-aḍlā'* (أَوَائِل الْأَضْلَاع)

rump *'ajz* (عِجْز), *aṣl al-alya* (أَصْل الْأَلِيَة)

sediments left after solid fat is rendered *ḥumam* (حُمَم)

shoulder *katif* (كَتِف), *matn* (مَتْن)

sinews *'aṣab* (عَصَب)

skin *jild* (جِلْد)

- skirt steak, diaphragm **‘irq** (عرق)
 spinal cord **nukhā** (نخاع)
 spleen **ṭihāl** (طحال)
 tallow **shahm** (شحم)
 tenderloin **kishtamāzija** (كشتمازجة)
 thigh **fakhdh** (فخذ)
 inner part of the thigh **bāṭin al-fakhdh** (باطن الفخذ)
 upper thigh near the hips **aṣl al-fakhdh** (أصل الفخذ)
 tripe **karish** (كرش)
 onasum tripe **qibba** (قبة)
 trotters **akārī** (أكارع) **kawārī** (كوارع)
 udder **dar** (ضرع)
 whole side of ribs **janb** (جنب)

11.1.2 Names of Quadrupeds (domesticated and wild)

- antelope **ḡabī** (ظبي)
 fawn, young antelope **khishf** (خشف)
 fawn, male **shādin** (شادن)
 gazelle, deer, small and swift antelope **ghazāl** (غزال)
 ass, wild **himār wahshī** (حمار وحشي)
 young wild ass **jaḥsh** (جحش)
 wild ass, female **atān** (أتان)
 camel **ba‘īr** (بعير) both male and female
 female camel **nāqa** (ناقة)
 lactating camel **laqūh** (لقوح)
 male camel **jamal** (جمل)
 slaughtered camel **jazūr** (جزور)
 weaned camel **faṣīl** (فصيل)
 cow **baqara** (بقرة)
 calf **‘ijl** (عجل)
 calf, wild **jawdhar** (جودر)
 cow, wild **maha** (مها), **baqar al-wahsh** (بقر الوحش)
 veal **lahm ‘ijl** (لحم عجل)
 donkey, young—both wild and domesticated **jaḥsh** (جحش)

ewe **na'ja** (نعجة)

gazelle, deer, small and swift antelope **ghazāl** (غزال)

goat **mā'iz** (ماعز) generic name

female goat more than one year old 'anz (عنز) **mā'iza** (ماعزة)
mī'zāt (معزاة)

male goat more than one year old **tays** (تيس)

mountain goat **ayyil** (أيل) **wa'l** (stag)

yearling goat **mā'iz ḥawliyya** (ماعز حولية)

young goat, kid (male son of mā'iz, less than one year old) **jedī** (جدي)

ibex **tays al-jabal** (تيس الجبل), **wa'l** (وعل)

rabbit **arnab** (أرنب)

sheep **ghanam** (غنم) generic name

female grown sheep, fattened and destined for slaughter **shāt** (شاة)

grown sheep **da'n** (ضأن)

grown male sheep **kabsh** (كبش)

lamb **kharūf** (خروف), **ḥamal** (حمل)

male sheep in its third year **kabsh thanī** (كبش ثني)

mutton **lahm al-da'n** (لحم الضأن)

yearling sheep **da'n ḥawli** (ضأن حولي)

yearling animal **ḥawli** (حولي)

wild ass **himār wahshī** (حمار وحشي) see 'ass' above

wild calf **jawdhar** (جودر) see 'cow' above

11.2 Poultry

bird **ṭayr** (طير)

aquatic bird **ṭayr al-mā'** (طير الماء)

mountain bird **ṭayr jabalī** (طير جبلي)

bustard **hubārā** (حبارى), bustard chick **yahbūr** (يحبور)

chicken **dajāj** (دجاج)

crane **kurkī** (كركي)

duck **baṭṭ** (بط)

eggs **bayḍ** (بيض)

egg white **bayāḍ al-bayḍ** (بياض البيض)

egg yolk *ṣafār al-bayḍ* (صفار البيض)
 soft-cooked eggs *nīmbarisht* (نیمبرشت)

falcon *bāz* (باز)

fowls, young domestic *firākh* (فراخ)

fowl old enough to spread its wings and fly *nāhid* (ناهض)

francolin, black partridge *durrāj* (درّاج)

gizzard *qāniṣa* (قانصة)

goose *iwazza* (اوزة)

grouse *ṭayhūj* (طيهوج)

guineafowl *hubaysh* (حبيش)

lark *qanbar* (قنبر)

ostrich *nī āma* (نعامة)

partridge *hajal* (حجل) *qabaj* (قبيج)

pheasant *tadruj* (تدرج)

pigeon *hamāma* (حمامة)

ringdove, undomesticated *fākhita* (فاخته)

turtledove, undomesticated *shifnūn* (شفنين) *yamām* (يمام)

pullets *farrūj* (فروّج)

quail *sammān* (سمّان)

rump *zamikkā* (زمكى)

sand grouse *qaṭā* (قطا)

sparrow *usfūr* (عصفور)

11.3 *Fish*

carp *shabbūt* (شبوط)

catfish *jirrīth* (جريث)

conch *halazūn* (حلزون)

crab *saraṭān* (سرطان)

gills *ghalāsim* (غلاصم)

fins *za'anif* (زعانف)

fish *samak* (سمك)

fresh fish *samak ṭarī* (سمك طري)

deep-sea fish **samak bahrī** (سمك بحري)
 ake fish **samak buḥayrī** (سمك بحيري)
 river fish **samak nahrī** (سمك نهري)
 salted and dried **samak māliḥ** (سمك مالح)

fish's lip **mishfar** (مشفر)

shellfish **ṣadaf** (صدف)

shrimps **rabīthā** (ربيثاء) **rūbyān** (روبيان)

Fishing tools:

hook **shuṣ** (شصّ)

lance **ḥirba** (حربة)

net **shabaka** (شبكة)

skin receptacle **ziq** (زق)

11.4 *Insects*

locust **jarāda** (جرادة)

male **jundub** (جندب)

12. *Medical Terms, Sicknesses, Medicines, Chemicals, Minerals, and Food Colors*

12.1 *Medical Terms and Sicknesses*

allaying pain **taskīn** (تسكين)

alopecia **dā' al-tha'lab** (داء الثعلب)

appetite **shahwa** (شهوة)

cause it to decline **yusqit al-shahwa** (يسقط الشهوة)

excite and stimulate it **yuthir al-shahwa** (يثير الشهوة)

ascaris **ṣafariyya** (صفريّة)

ascites **istisqā'** (استسقاء)

asthma **rabū** (ربو)

astringent **qābiḍ** (قابض)

astringency **ufūṣa** (عفوصة)

- bad breath *nakha* (نكهة), *bakhar* (بخر), *khulūf al-fam* (خلوف الفم)
- bile *al-marār* (المرار)
- blood high in black bile *dam aswad* (دم اسود)
- blood high in phlegm *dam balghamī* (دم بلغمي)
- catarrh *nazla* (نزلة)
- chyme *kaylūs* (كيلوس)
- cleansing, purging *jallā* (جلأ)
- coitus *bāh* (باه) invigorate coitus v. *yuzīd fī 'l-bāh* (يزيد في الباه)
- colic *qawlanj* (قولنج)
- consistency, dense *ghalīz* (غليظ)
 glutinous, slimy, mucilaginous *lazij* (لزج)
 mucous *mukhātī* (مخاطي)
 rarefying *latīf* (لطيف)
- constipation *imsāk* (إمساك), *habs al-baṭn* (حبس البطن)
- coughing *su'āl* (سعال)
- cupping *hijāma* (حجامة)
- curb v. *yaqma* (يقمع)
- debility *da'f* (ضعف)
- diarrhea *ikhṭilāf al-baṭn* (إختلاف البطن) *ishāl* (إسهال) *istitlāq* (إستطلاق)
 (مشي) *mashī*
- acute diarrhea and vomiting *hayḍa* (هَيْضَة)
 severe diarrhea *khilfa* (خلفة)
- digestion *haḍm* (هضم)
 eating to surfeit n *tukhama* (تخمة)
 food easy to digest *marī* (مري)
 food that slackens the stomach *yurakhkhī al-ma'ida* (يرخي المعدة)
 indigestion *fasād al-ma'ida* (فساد المعدة), *wakhām* (وخم)
- dissolution *tahallul* (تحلل)
- diuretic *mudirr* (مدر)
- dizziness *dawarān* (دوران)
- dysentery *zahīr* (زحير)

- eczema **qawbā'** (قوباء)
 elements **arkān** (أركان), also see **'unṣur** (عنصر)
 esophagus **marī** (مريء)
 excretions **fuḍūl** (فضول)
 expectoration **naftḥ** (نفث)
 expel, purge v. **yajlū** (يجلو)
 eyesight:
 dimming of vision **ẓulmat al-baṣar** (ظلمة البصر)
 nocturnal blindness **'ashā** (عشى) **'ashū** (عشو)
 facial paralysis **laqwa** (لقوة)
 fainting fits **ghashī** (غشي)
 fever **ḥumma** (حمى)
 ague fit, malaria **humma nāfiḍ** (حمى نافض)
 flatulence **naḥkh** (نفخ)
 fluids (body) **ruṭūbāt** (رطوبات)
 fluids (humoral) **ruṭūbāt khalṭiyya** (رطوبات خلطية)
 foods (varieties regarding their properties, digestibility, density, etc.) see
 entries beginning with **aṭ'ima** (أطعمة)
 foul odor **natn** (نتن) **natāna** (نتانة); **muntin** (منتن) adj.
 freckles **namash** (نمش)
 gall bladder **marāra** (مرارة)
 giddiness **sadar** (سدر)
 gout **naqris** (نقرس)
 gripes **maghs** (مغص)
 alleviate colic gripes v. **yusakkin al-maghṣ** (يسكن المغص)
 hangover **khumār** (خمار)
 having a cold **zūkām** (زكام)
 having excess of humid peoperties **martūb** (مرطوب)
 having gastric ailments **mabṭūn** (مبطن)
 having a laxative effect on the bowels **yutliq al-baṭn** (يطلق البطن)
 having over-stimulated hot properties **mahrūr** (محرور)

having the power to break down densities and help purge them

muqaṭṭi (مقطع)

having the power to thin down densities and help purge them (محلل)

having a raw chest **khushūnat al-ṣadr** (خشونة الصدر)

having restorative powers **muqawwi** (مقوّي)

having a tannic effect on the stomach **yadbugh** (يدبغ)

hectic fever **diqq** (دقّ)

help control bowel movements **ya'qil al-baṭn** (يعقل البطن)

help soften the bowels **yulayyin al-baṭn** (يلين البطن)

hemiplegia **fālaj** (فالج)

hemoptysis **naftḥ al-dam** (نفث الدم)

hemorrhoid **bāsūrā** (باسور)

hiccups **fawāq** (فواق)

hoarseness of the voice **bahḥa** (بحّة)

humors **akhlāt** (أخلّاط)

degeneration of the humors **fasād al-mizāj** (فساد المزاج)

harmful humors **akhlāt radiyya** (أخلّاط رديّة)

humoral powers **qiwā** (قوى) sing. **quwwa** (قوة)

humoral qualities or properties **ṭab'** (طبع)

humoral temperaments **amzija** (أمزجة)

inducing sneezing **tas'īt** (تسعيط)

inflammation **iltihāb** (التهاب)

itch *n* **hakka** (حكة)

jaundice **yaraqān** (يرقان), **ṣufra** (صفرة)

joint pains **awjā' al-mafāṣil** (أوجاع المفاصل)

laxative **mulayyin** (ملين), **mushil** (مسهل)

mange, scabies **jarab** (جرب)

melasma **kalaf** (كلف)

nausea **ghathayān** (غثيان)

nightmares **aḥlām radiyya** (أحلام رديّة)

nutrients, nutriment, foodstuff **ghidhā'** (غذاء)

food generating poor quality *kaylūs* (chime) **radī' al-ghidhā'**
(رديء الاغذاء)

food lacking in nutritive value **qalīl al-ighdhā'** (قليل الاغذاء)
nourishment **taghdhiya** (تغذية)

obstruction **sudd** (سدّ)

pain reliever **musakkin** (مسكّن)

parasitic worms **ṣafariyyāt** (صفریات)

phlebotomy **faṣd al-dam** (فصد الدم)

phlegm **balgham** (بلغم)

pimples, blisters **buthūr** (بثور)

pleurisy **barsām** (برسام)

power to break down dense foods and humors **taqṭī'** (تقطيع)

pungency, sharpness, acidity (taste) **harāfa** (حرافة)

purging bodily excretions **istifrāgh** (إستفراغ)

putridity **ufūna** (عفونة), putrefying **mu'affin** (معفن)

quench, abate, allay **yutfī'** (يطفئ)

rarefying medicines that help reduce density **mulattifāt** (ملطّفات)

ringworm **sa'fa** (سعفة)

rumbling stomach noises **qarāqir** (قراقر)

satiety **basham** (بشم)

semen **manī** (مني)

sexual intercourse, coitus **jimā'** (جماع) **bāh** (باه)

sharp, burning (taste) **lādhi'** (لاذع)

shortness of breath **buhr** (بهر), **hashā** (حشى)

sick person **alīl** (عليل)

soothing to the throat **mulayyin li 'l-ḥalq** (ملين للحلق)

soreness of the throat **awjā' al-ḥalq** (أوجاع الحلق)

stomach, top gate **fam al-ma'ida** (فم المعدة) **fu'ād** (فؤاد)

teeth, sensitivity to sour food **ḍaras** (ضرس)

temperance of properties **ītidāl** (اعتدال)

tightness of the chest **ḥaṣar** (حصر)

tremors **ra'sha** (رِيشَة)
 tuberculosis **sull** (سَل)
 ureters **hālibayn** (حَالِبَيْن)
 urine **bawl** (بَوْل)
 vapors **bukhārāt** (بَخَارَات)
 wheezing **ṣufār** (صَفَار)
 wind pipe **hulqūm** (حَلْقُوم)

12.2 Medicinal Ingredients and Preparations

agaricum **ghārīqūn** (غَارِيقُون)
 alembic **inbīq** (إِنْبِيق)
 balsam of Gilead tree **balasān** (بَلْسَان)
 blossoms of wild pomegranate **jullanār** (جَلْنَار)
 chamomile **uqhuwān** (أَقْحُوَان)
 chiretta **qaṣab al-dharīra** (قَصَب الذَّرِيرَة)
 condensed syrups from juices **rub** (رَب)
 conserve **murabbā** (مُرَبَّأ) **murabbayāt** (مُرَبَّيَات)
 costus **quṣṭ** (قُصْط)
 cream , salve **marham** (مَرْهَم)
 eglantine, wild rose **ward dhakar** (وَرْد ذَكَر) **julnistrīn** (جُلْنَسْرِين)
 electuary **juwārishun** (جَوَارِشْن) pl. **juwārishnāt** (جَوَارِشْنَات)
 of cumin **kammūnī** (كَمُونِي)
 of pepper **fulāfulī** (فَلَافُلِي)
 eye lotions **shiyāf** (شِيَاْف)
 drinks of diluted syrups **ashriba** (أَشْرِبَة) sing. **sharāb** (شَرَاب)
 drinks, digestive **hāḍimāt** (هَاضِمَات)
 drinks, digestive and rarefying **mashrūbāt mulattifa** (مَشْرُوبَات مُلَطِّفَة)
 gum-lac **luk** (لُك)
 gum of pine tree **rātīnaj** (رَاتِينَج)
 gum resin of opoponax plant **jawshīr** (جَوْشِير)

- gum of tragacanth tree *kathīrā* (كثيراء)
 henbane *binj* (بنج) *shaykarān* (شيكران)
 honey-based fruit jams *anbijāt* (أنبجات)
 Indian leaf *sādhaj* (سادج) *sādhaj Hindī* (سادج هندي)
 lavender *khuzāmā* (خزامى)
 medicinal drug *iqār* (عقار)
 medicinal tablet *qurṣ* (قرص)
 myrtle *ās* (أس)
 moringa tree *bān* (بان)
 musk rose *nistrīn* (نسرين)
 myrobalan *hatīlaj* (هليلج) *ihlīlaj* (اهليلج)
 myrobalan-electuary *itrīfal* (اطريفل)
 myrrh *murr* (مر)
 oil of balsam *duhn balasān* (دهن بلسان)
 oil of citron *duhn al-utruj* (دهن الاترج)
 oil of jasmine *duhn al-zanbaq* (دهن الزنبق)
 oil of Persian roses *duhn ward Fārisī* (دهن ورد فارسي)
 oil of seeds of moringa tree, benzoin oil *duhn al-bān* (دهن البان)
 oil of turpentine *zayt al-qatīrān* (زيت القطران)
 oil of white lilies *duhn al-rāziqī* (دهن الرازقي), *duhn al-sawsan* (دهن السوسن)
 oleander *difla* (دفلا)
 opium *afyūn* (أفيون)
 pills, medicinal tablets *ḥabb* (حب)
 pitch *zift* (زفت), *qār* (قار)
 poppy seeds, black *khashkhāsh aswad* (خشخاش أسود)
 powder, medicinal *safūf* (سفوف)
 quince drink *mayba* (ميبة)
 rose petal conserve or syrup *jalanjabīn* (جلنجبين)
 rose water syrup *jullāb* (جلاب)
 sandalwood *ṣandal* (صندل)

scammony tree *saqmūnyā* (سقمونيا)

Spanish fly *dhurrāh* (ذراح)

suppository *farzaja* (فرزجة)

urine *bawl* (بول)

violets *banafsaj* (بنفسج)

water lily *naylūfar* (نيلوفر)

12.3 Minerals and Chemicals

ammonia *nawshādir* (نوشادر)

borax *būraq* (بورق)

lime borax *būraq al-jīr* (بورق الجير)

lime *jīr* (جير), *kils* (كلس), *nūrā* (نورا)

natron *naṭrūn* (نطرون)

plaster, gypsum *jaṣ* (جص)

salt *milh* (ملح) see entry in Section 3

12.4 Food Colors

ceruse *isfīdhāj* (إسفيداج)

cinnabar (vermillion) *sayraqūn* (سيرقون)

crimson dye from cochineal worms *ṣaryūq* (صريوق)

dark red pigment *zunjufr* (زنجفر)

gum-lac *luk* (لك)

houseleek *bustān abrawīz* (بستان ابرويز) *ḥayy al-ālam* (حي العالم)

indigo *nīl* (نيل)

lapis lazuli *lazaward* (لازاورد)

madder *fuwwa* (فوة)

verdigris *zinjār* (زنجار)

wine lees *akar* (عكر)

13. *Personal Hygiene and Perfumes*

- alkali (soda ash) **ushnān** (أشنان)
- aloe wood **‘ūd** (عود)
- ambergris **‘anbar** (عنبر) see entry in Section 9
- aromatic compound formed into pastilles, used to flavor foods and drinks **sukk** (سك)
- aromatic shell shards **azfār al-ṭīb** (أظفار الطيب)
- balsam of Gilead tree **balasān** (بلسان)
- barks of trees closely related to the cassia family **salīkha** (سليخة)
- carnation, gillyflower **khīrī** (خيري)
- coffee beans and husk **bunk** (بنك)
- costus **qust** (قسط)
- cubeb, a small variety **falanja** (فلنجة)
- cyperus **su‘d** (سعد)
- fagara **fāghira** (فاغرة)
- frankincense **lubān** (لبان) See *lubān* in Section 9
- gillyflower, carnation **khīrī** (خيري)
- grass, esparto, halfa grass **idhkhīr** (إذخر) **khilāl māmūnī** (خلال ماموني)
- grass, sweet rush **thumām** (ثمام)
- honey of storax tree **may‘a sā’ila** (مiece سائلة)
- lye **maḥlūl al-qilī** (محلول القلي)
- mahlab (prunus mahaleb) **maḥlab** (محب) see Section 9
- musk **misk** (مسك) see Section 9
- musk rose **nistrīn** (نسرین)
- myrrh **murr** (مر) see Section 12.2
- myrtle **ās** (أس)
- narcissus **narjis** (نرجس)
- oil of balsam **duhn balasān** (دهن بلسان) see entry in Section 12.2
- oil of citron **duhn al-utruj** (دهن الأترج)

- oil of gillyflower **duhn al-khūrī** (دهن الخيري) see **khūrī**
- oil of jasmine **duhn al-zanbaq** (دهن الزنبيق)
- perfume compounds ‘**abīr** (عبير) **nidd** (ند)
- perfume compound for men **ghāliya** (غالية)
- perfume compound, powder **dharīra** (ذرية)
- perfume compound for women **khalūq** (خلق)
- perfumes for men **dhukūr al-ṭīb** (ذكور الطيب)
- perfumes for women **ṭīb al-nisā’** (طيب النساء)
- perfume pellet **shammāma** (شمّامة)
- potpourri **lakhlakha** (لخلة)
- resin of pine tree **rātīnaj** (راتينج)
- resin of storax tree **may’a** (مיעة)
- roses **ward** (ورد)
- saltwort **qāqullā** (قاقلى), see also, Section 14.1
- sandalwood **ṣandal** (صندل)
- toothbrush **siwāk** (سواك)
- toothpicks **khilāl** (خلال) **khilāl māmūnī** (خلال ماموني)
- white clay **ṭīn abyad** (طين أبيض)
- wild rue **ḥarmal** (حرمل)
- willow or common osier tree **khilāf** (خلاف)

14. Vegetables and Legumes

14.1 Vegetables

Vegetables that do not make the principal ingredient of the dish are mentioned in Section 9.

- artichoke **ḥarshaf** (حرفش)
- asparagus **hilyawn** (هليون)
- beetroot **shamandar** (شمندر), also see **jaghandar** (جغندر)
- blite **baqla Yamāniyya** (بقلة يمانية)

- cabbage **kurunb** (كرنب)
 carrot **jazar** (جزر)
 cauliflower **qunnābīt** (قنابيط)
 chard **silq** (سلق)
 cucumber, long and ridged **qiththā'** (قثاء)
 cucumber, pickled **khiyār mukhallal** (خيار مخلل)
 cucumber, small and smooth **khiyār** (خيار)
 eggplant **bādhinjān** (بادنجان)
 endive **hindabā'** (هندباء)
 fennel, fresh **rāzyānaj** (رازيانج)
 gourd **qar'** (قرع)
 hop **junjul** (جنجل)
 Jew's mallow **mulūkhiyya** (ملوخية)
 lettuce **khass** (خس)
 mallows **khubbazī** (خبازي)
 marsh mallow **khiṭmī** (خطمي)
 mushroom **fuṭr** (فطر)
 mushroom, dried **ghūshina** (غوشنة)
 nettle **anjura** (أنجرة)
 okra **bāmya** (بامية)
 orach **qaṭaf** (قطف)
 purslane **baqla hamqā'** (بقلة حمقاء)
 radish **fujl** (فجل)
 rhubarb **rībās** (ريباس)
 salt plant of the sorrel family **qāqullā** (قاقلى) **qāqullī** (قاقلي)
 sorrel **ḥummāḍ** (حمّاض)
 sorrel, a variety **mullāḥ** (ملاح) **mullākḥ** (ملاخ)
 spinach **isfanākḥ** (إسفناخ)
 taro root **qulqās** (قلقاس)
 truffles **kam'a** (كمأة)
 turnip **saljam** (سلجم) **shaljam** (شلجم) **lift** (لفت)

vegetable **baqla** (بقلة)

cooked vegetables **baql maṭbūkh** (بقل مطبوخ)

dried vegetables **baql yābis** (بقل يابس)

fresh vegetables **baql ṭarī** (بقل طري)

raw vegetables **baql nay'** (بقل نيء)

seasonal vegetables **buqūl al-zamān** (بقول الزمان)

watercress **jirjir** (جرجير)

water moss **qunnābirī** (قنابري)

14.2 Legumes

beans, see **lūbyā** (لوبيا) for all the following varieties:

black-eyed peas **lūbyā** (لوبيا)

black beans **lūbyā sawdā'** (لوبيا سوداء)

haricot beans **lūbyā bayḍā'** (لوبيا بيضاء)

red beans **lūbyā ḥamrā'** (لوبيا حمراء)

white soy beans **lūbyā Yamāniyya** (لوبيا يمانية)

chickpeas **ḥimmaṣ** (حمص)

fresh green chickpeas **ḥimmas akḥḍar** (حمص أخضر)

fava beans **bāqillā** (باقلى)

Coptic beans **bāqillā Qibṭī** (باقلى قبطي)

sprouted fava beans **bāqillā manbūt** (باقلى منبوت)

grass pea **jullubān** (جلبان)

peas **bisla** (بسلا) see **jullubān** (جلبان)

lentil '**ads** (عدس)

lupine beans **turmus** (ترمس)

mung beans **māsh** (ماش)

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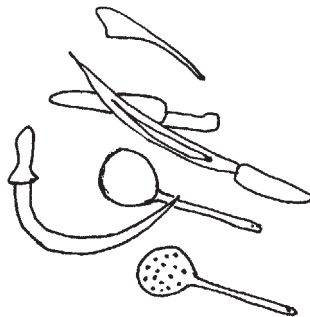
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